

# **Kinyarwanda and Kirundi Comparative Grammar**

**R. David Zorc  
and  
Louise Nibagwire**

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Louise Nibagwire**

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# Table of Contents

<b>List of Tables</b> .....	a
<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	i
<b>Preface</b> .....	iii
A Note on the Rendering of Bantu Language Names in English .....	iii
Differences in Interpretation or Treatment .....	iv
<b>Abbreviations</b> .....	ix
<b>Resources</b> .....	xi
<b>1. Overview of Bantu Grammar</b> .....	1
1.1. Major Rwanda-Rundi Differences .....	1
1.1.1. Difference Spelling System .....	1
1.1.2. Minor Differences in Word Formation .....	2
1.1.3. Differences in Noun Class .....	2
1.1.4. Differences in Word Pairs .....	3
1.1.5. Same Words with Different Meaning .....	3
1.1.6. Completely Different Words .....	4
1.1.7. Different Grammatical Constructions .....	4
1.2. Writing vs. Speech .....	6
1.2.1. Homonyms, Homographs, and Homophones .....	6
1.2.2. Conjunctive Writing .....	9
1.3. Strong vs. Weak Noun Classes .....	10
1.4. Sound Changes .....	12
1.5. The Makeup of Words (Root, Stem, Number of Syllables) .....	12
1.6. Learning Words Together .....	13
1.7. Multiple Word Units .....	13
1.8. Major Grammatical Categories .....	14
1.8.1. Person .....	14
1.8.2. Gender .....	17
1.8.3. Class or Noun Groups .....	18
1.8.4. Number .....	19
1.8.5. Case .....	20
1.8.6. Inflection .....	21
1.8.7. Derivation: The Makeup of Word Families .....	21
1.9. Irregularities .....	22
1.10. Using a Rwanda-Rundi Dictionary .....	22
<b>2. The Sound System</b> .....	23
2.1. Consonants .....	23
2.2. Vowels .....	26
2.2.1. Short Vowels .....	27
2.2.1.1. Initial Vowels Are Usually Short .....	27
2.2.1.2. Final Vowels Are Usually Short .....	28
2.2.1.3. Shortening of Long Vowels .....	28
2.2.1.4. The Rwanda Suffix /-aga/ .....	28
2.2.2. Long Vowels .....	29
2.2.2.1. Vowel Sequences Become Long .....	29
2.2.2.2. The Presentative Demonstrative Prefix Has a Long Vowel .....	29
2.2.2.3. Lengthening of a Short Vowel after Possessives or Connectives .....	29
2.2.2.4. Lengthening of a Short Vowel after Certain Markers .....	29
2.2.2.5. Long Vowels Next to Complex Consonants .....	30
2.2.2.6. Long Vowels Follow by a Nasal and a Consonant .....	30
2.2.2.7. Not All Digraphs Are Complex Consonants .....	31
2.2.2.8. Palatalized Labials Can Be Followed by Long or Short Vowels .....	31
2.2.2.9. Lengthening of a Short Vowel before a First Person Object .....	31
2.2.2.10. Lengthening of a Vowel after Negator nt- .....	31
2.3. Allophones (Alternate Pronunciation of Sounds) .....	32
2.4. Tonality and Intonation .....	33
2.4.1. Root Tonality [abr: R] .....	34
2.4.2. Low Tonality [abr: L] .....	35
2.4.3. Obligatory High Tonality [abr: T] .....	36

2.4.4. Postradical Syllabic Tonality (Second Syllable of the Root) [abr: P]	36
2.4.5. Postradical Moraic Tonality (Second Moraic of the Root) [abr: P2]	36
2.4.6. Borrowed Noun Tonality [abr: B]	37
2.4.7. Vocative Tonality for Low-Tone Roots [abr: Voc]	37
2.4.8. Jump to the Right Tonality [abr: J]	38
2.4.9. Mobile Tonality or Leftward Tone Shift [abr: M]	38
2.4.10. Tone Dissimilation or Flip-flop [abr: D]	38
2.4.11. Obejct Verb ("Skipping") Tonality [abr: O]	39
2.4.12. Two Object Postradical Tone Rule [abr: O2]	39
2.4.13. None-stable Initial Tone [abr: N]	40
2.4.14. First Vowel after a Consonant [abr: 1]	40
2.4.15. Tone on Second Mora of Word [abr: 2]	40
2.4.16. Tone on First Mora after Prefix [abr: A]	41
2.4.17. Tone on Second Mora after Prefix [abr: A2]	41
2.4.18. High Tone after Prefix, if Allowed [abr: H]	42
2.4.19. High Tone on Affix [abr: F]	42
2.4.20. Subject Relative Tonality [abr: U]	42
2.4.21. Reflexive /i-/ Tone Pattern [abr: I]	42
2.4.22. High Tone on Final or End Syllable [abr: E]	43
2.4.23. High Tone on Second Syllable from End [abr: E2]	43
2.4.24. High Tone on Third Syllable from End [abr: E3]	43
2.4.25. Elimination of Two High Tones in a Row [abr: X]	43
2.5. Sound Changes (Morphophonemics)	44
2.5.1. Consonant Voice Dissimilation (Dahl's Law)	44
2.5.2. Nasal Assimilation	46
2.5.3. Murmuring of Voiceless Stops after Nasals	46
2.5.4. Consonant Strengthening after a Nasal	46
2.5.5. Deaffrication after a Nasal	47
2.5.6. Nasal Harmony (Ganda Law, Meinhof's Law)	47
2.5.7. Palatal Consonant Change or Mutation	47
2.5.8. Palatalization of Fricatives Across a Syllable Boundary	48
2.5.9. Consonant Loss or Deletion (Change to Zero)	48
2.5.10. Vowel Loss or Deletion	49
2.5.10.1. Loss of the Pre-prefix	49
2.5.10.2. Loss of Final Non-round Vowels	49
2.5.10.3. Loss of /a/, /i/ or /u/ before Another Vowel	49
2.5.10.4. Three or More Morae Are Shortened to Two	50
2.5.11. Vowel Coalescence	50
2.5.12. Vowel Gliding (Vowels Change to Semivowels)	50
2.5.13. Vowel Harmony	51
2.5.14. Syllable Addition	52
2.5.15. Syllable Deletion or Truncation	53
2.5.16. Sound Switching or Metathesis	53
2.5.17. Reduplication	53
<b>3. Nouns</b>	<b>56</b>
3.1. Noun Groups or Classes	56
3.1.1. Problems with Semantic Classes	56
3.1.2. The Tonality of Nouns	59
3.1.2.1. Maintaining the Tonality of the Root [Rule]	60
3.1.2.2. High Tone on the Second Mora of the Root [P2rule]	60
3.1.2.3. High Tone Introduced Immediately Following the Noun Prefix [Arule]	60
3.1.2.4. High Tone on the Second Syllable of the Root [Prule]	61
3.1.2.5. Borrowed Tonality [Brule]	61
3.1.2.6. High Tone on the Final Syllable [Erule]	61
3.1.2.7. High Tone on the Second Last Syllable [E2rule]	62
3.1.2.8. High Tone on the Third Last Syllable [E3rule]	62
3.2. Characteristics of the Noun Classes	63
3.2.1. Group 1 - Bantu Classes 1 and 2	63
3.2.1.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 1	63
3.2.1.2. Derivations in Group 1	64
3.2.1.3. Loans in Group 1	65
3.2.1.4. The Grammar of Group 1 Nouns	65
3.2.1a. Group 1a - Personal Names & Kin Terms	67
3.2.1a.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 1a	67
3.2.1a.2. Derivations in Group 1a	68
3.2.1a.3. Loans in Group 1a	70
3.2.2. Group 2 - Bantu Classes 3 and 4	70

3.2.2.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 2 .....	70
3.2.2.2. Derivations in Group 2.....	72
3.2.2.3. Loans in Group 2.....	73
3.2.2.4. The Grammar of Group 2 Nouns.....	73
3.2.3. Group 3 - Bantu Classes 5 and 6.....	74
3.2.3.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 3.....	75
3.2.3.2. Derivations in Group 3.....	77
3.2.3.3. Loans in Group 3.....	78
3.2.3.4. The Grammar of Group 3 Nouns.....	78
3.2.4. Group 4 - Bantu Classes 7 and 8.....	80
3.2.4.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 4 .....	80
3.2.4.2. Derivations in Group 4.....	82
3.2.4.3. Loans in Group 4.....	84
3.2.4.4. The Grammar of Group 4 Nouns.....	84
3.2.5. Group 5 - Bantu Classes 9 and 10 .....	87
3.2.5.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 5 .....	87
3.2.5.2. Derivations in Group 5.....	89
3.2.5.3. Loans in Group 5.....	90
3.2.5.4. The Grammar of Group 5 Nouns.....	90
3.2.5a. Group 5a - No Nasal in the Prefix.....	91
3.2.5b. Group 5b - Singular Zero (Ø-) Prefix, Plural zaa-.....	92
3.2.6. Group 6 - Bantu Classes 11 and 10.....	93
3.2.6.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 6 .....	93
3.2.6.2. Derivations in Group 6.....	95
3.2.6.3. Loans in Group 6.....	96
3.2.6.4. The Grammar of Group 6 Nouns.....	96
3.2.7. Group 7 - Bantu Classes 12 and 13.....	98
3.2.7.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 7 .....	98
3.2.7.2. Derivations in Group 7.....	98
3.2.7.3. Loans in Group 7.....	100
3.2.7.4. The Grammar of Group 7 Nouns.....	100
3.2.8. Group 8 - Bantu Classes 14 and 6 .....	101
3.2.8.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 8 .....	101
3.2.8.2. Derivations in Group 8.....	102
3.2.8.3. Loans in Group 8.....	104
3.2.8.4. The Grammar of Group 8 Nouns.....	104
3.2.9. Group 9 - Bantu Classes 15 and 6 .....	106
3.2.9.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 9 .....	106
3.2.9.2. Derivations in Group 9 Are the Verbal Noun Subclass (9a).....	106
3.2.9.3. No Loans in Group 9 and above.....	107
3.2.9.4. The Grammar of Group 9 Nouns.....	107
3.2.10. Group 10 Locative - Bantu Class 16.....	109
3.2.10.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 10 .....	109
3.2.10.2. Derivations in Group 10.....	109
3.2.10.3. The Grammar of Group 10 Nouns.....	109
3.2.11. Group 11 - Bantu Class 17 .....	111
3.2.11.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 11 .....	111
3.2.11.2. Derivations in Group 11.....	112
3.2.11.3. The Grammar of Group 11 Nouns.....	112
3.2.12. Group 12 - Bantu Class 18.....	114
3.2.13. Group 13 - Bantu Class 23.....	114
3.2.13.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 13 .....	114
3.2.13.2. Derivations in Group 13.....	115
3.2.13.3. The Grammar of Group 13 Nouns.....	115
3.3. How Nouns Are Formed (Noun Derivations).....	115
3.4. The Forms of the Noun.....	119
3.5. Irregular Nouns.....	121
3.5.1. Irregular in Formation .....	121
3.5.2. No Plural .....	121
3.5.3. No Singular.....	122
3.5.4. Jumping of Classes .....	122
3.6. Noun Cases.....	123
3.6.1. Subject (Nominative).....	123
3.6.2. Object (Accusative).....	123
3.6.3. Possessive or Attributive (Genitive) - Noun Phrase Agreement Markers.....	125
3.6.3.1. The Tonality of Possessive Constructions .....	125
3.6.3.2. The Meaning or Use of Possessive Constructions.....	126
3.6.3.3. Normalized Possessive Constructions .....	128

3.6.4. Locative.....	129
3.6.4.1. The Preposition i.....	130
3.6.4.2. The Preposition mu (muu, mw', murí).....	132
3.6.4.3. The Preposition ku (kuu, kw', k', kurí).....	133
3.6.4.4. The Preposition kwaa.....	135
3.6.5. Vocative.....	135
3.6.5.1. Truncated Noun Vocatives.....	135
3.6.5.2. Reduced Noun Vocatives.....	136
3.6.6. Agentive (Passive Agent).....	138
<b>4. Pronouns.....</b>	<b>139</b>
4.1. Emphatic or Long Form Pronouns.....	141
4.2. Subject Pronouns.....	144
4.3. Object Pronouns.....	145
4.4. Possessive Pronouns.....	147
4.4.1. Norminalized Possessive Pronouns.....	152
4.5. Relative Pronouns.....	154
4.6. Locative Pronouns.....	155
4.7. Vocative Pronouns.....	156
4.8. Indefinite Constructions.....	157
4.9. Distributive Pronouns.....	159
4.10. Enumerative Pronouns.....	159
4.10.1. Singulative -'nyéne {Rundi}, -'nyiné {Rwanda} 'Alone, Only'.....	159
4.10.2. Dual -mpi {Rundi}, -mbi {Rwanda} 'Both'.....	161
4.10.3. Total -se {both} 'All, Each, Every'.....	162
4.10.4. 'Another of the Same vs. Different Kind (-ndi).....	163
4.10.4.1. High Tone on the Second Mora after the Prefix (Mrule).....	163
4.10.4.2. High Tone on the First Mora (Arule).....	164
4.10.4.3. High Tone on the Final Mora (Rrule).....	165
4.10.4.4. Low Tone throughout.....	165
4.11. Similative (Adverbial) Pronouns.....	166
4.12. Conjunctive Pronouns.....	167
<b>5. Demonstrative Pronouns (Deictics).....</b>	<b>169</b>
5.1. Form 1 - First Person (-VCV).....	170
5.2. Form 2 - First Person Affective (-no).....	172
5.3. Form 3 - First and Second Person (-rya).....	173
5.4. Form 4 - Second Person (-VCo).....	174
5.5. Form 5 - Second Person Past (-aa).....	176
5.6. Form 6 - Third Person (-riiya).....	177
5.7. Form 7 - Invariable Anaphoric Deictic (nyaa) {Rundi only}.....	179
5.8. The Tonality of Inflected Demonstratives.....	180
<b>6. Adjectives &amp; Other Descriptives.....</b>	<b>181</b>
6.1. The True Adjective Class.....	181
6.2. The Attribute Use of a Noun.....	184
6.3. Qualifying Demonstratives (Deictics).....	185
6.4. Relative Verbs Used to Qualify Nouns.....	185
6.5. Attributive Verbs with -ek- or -ik-.....	185
6.6. Expressing Degrees of Comparison.....	186
<b>7. Numerals (Number Systems) &amp; Enumeration.....</b>	<b>189</b>
7.1. Cardinal Numbers.....	189
7.2. Ordinal Numerals.....	196
7.3. Adverbial Use of Numbers.....	198
7.4. Units of Time.....	198
7.5. Enumeratives.....	201
<b>8. Verb Conjugations.....</b>	<b>202</b>
8.1. Indicative.....	209
8.1.1. Indicative Immediate.....	209
8.1.2. Indicative Recent.....	212
8.1.3. Indicative Preterit.....	214
8.1.4. Indicative Conditional.....	217
8.1.5. Indicative Future.....	220
8.1.6. Indicative Conditional Future {Rwanda only}.....	221
8.1.7. Indicative Persistent.....	222



8.1.8. Indicative Inceptive.....	223
8.1.9. Indicative Narrative.....	224
8.2. Participial.....	225
8.2.1. Participial Immediate.....	225
8.2.2. Participial Recent.....	226
8.2.3. Participial Preterit.....	228
8.2.4. Participial Conditional.....	230
8.2.5. Participial Future.....	231
8.2.6. Participial Conditional Future {Rwanda only}.....	232
8.2.7. Participial Persistent.....	232
8.2.8. Participial Inceptive.....	233
8.3. Relative.....	234
8.3.1. Relative Immediate.....	236
8.3.1.1. Subject Relative Immediate {Rwanda only}.....	238
8.3.2. Relative Recent.....	239
8.3.2.1. Subject Relative Recent {Rwanda only}.....	240
8.3.3. Relative Preterit.....	241
8.3.3.1. Subject Relative Preterit {Rwanda only}.....	242
8.3.4. Relative Conditional.....	243
8.3.4.1. Subject Relative Conditional {Rwanda only}.....	244
8.3.5. Relative Future.....	245
8.3.5.1. Subject Relative Future {Rwanda only}.....	246
8.3.6. Relative Conditional Future {Rwanda only}.....	247
8.3.6.1. Subject Relative Conditional Future {Rwanda only}.....	248
8.3.7. Relative Persistent.....	248
8.3.7.1. Subject Relative Persistent {Rwanda only}.....	250
8.3.8. Relative Inceptive or Punctual.....	251
8.3.8.1. Subject Relative Inceptive {Rwanda only}.....	251
8.4. Autonome.....	252
8.4.1. Autonome Immediate.....	252
8.4.2. Autonome Recent.....	254
8.4.3. Autonome Preterit.....	255
8.4.4. Autonome Conditional.....	257
8.4.5. Autonome Future.....	258
8.4.6. Autonome Conditional Future {Rwanda only}.....	259
8.4.7. Autonome Persistent.....	260
8.4.8. Autonome Inceptive.....	261
8.5. Subjunctive.....	262
8.5.1. Immediate Subjunctive.....	262
8.5.2. Future Subjunctive.....	264
8.5.3. The Gerund Construction.....	264
8.6. Infinitive.....	266
8.7. Imperative.....	268
8.7.1. Imperatives with -a.....	269
8.7.2. Imperatives with -e.....	269
8.8. Jussive (-ii) {Rwanda only}.....	270
8.9. Hortative.....	271
8.9.1. Hortative Immediate (-ra-Δ-a) {Rundi}, (-ra-Δ-e) {Rwanda}.....	271
8.9.2. Hortative Future (-ra-zoo-Δ-a) {Rundi}, (-ra-zaa-Δ-e) {Rwanda}.....	271
8.10. Optative.....	271
8.10.1. Optative Affirmative (-ra-ka-, -ra-ga-, -ra-k-) {both}.....	272
8.10.2. Optative Affirmative (-áa-ká-, -óo-ká-) {Rwanda only}.....	272
8.10.3. Optative Affirmative (ø-ka-Δ-e) {Rwanda only}.....	272
8.10.4. Optative Affirmative Expressions (ø-nya-ku-Δ-a).....	273
8.10.5. Optative Negative (nti-S-ka-Δ-e).....	273
8.11. Exclamative Constructions {Rwanda only}.....	274
8.12. Sequence or Subsecutive Constructions.....	274
8.13. Reflexive (íi-) {both}.....	278
8.14. Valence (Verb Augments or Extensions).....	279
8.14.1. Benefactive or Applicative (-ir-, -er-, -irir-, -erer-).....	280
8.14.2. Causative (-iish-, -eesh-).....	282
8.14.3. Causative or Factitive (+y-).....	283
8.14.4. Reciprocal, Mutual, or Associative Verbs (-an-).....	285
8.14.5. Attributive or Stative (-ik-, -ek-).....	286
8.14.6. Reversives (Transitive -uur-, -oor-; Intransitive -uuk-, -ook-).....	287
8.14.7. Intensive or Repetitive (-agur-, -agir-, -agagur-, -agar-).....	288
8.14.8. Durative or Frequentative (-iriz-, -erez-).....	288
8.14.9. Multiple Augments.....	289

8.15. Voice (Passive).....	290
8.16. Irregular Verbs.....	291
8.16.1. The Possessive Verbs.....	292
8.16.2. The Cognitive Verbs.....	292
8.16.3. The Comparative Verbs.....	293
8.16.4. The Prohibitive Verb.....	294
8.17. Copulative Verbs.....	294
8.17.1. The Invariable Predicative Copulatives (ni, si).....	294
8.17.2. The Locative Copulative (-rí).....	295
8.17.3. The Monosyllabic Copulative (-bá, -báaye).....	296
<b>9. Negatives.....</b>	<b>298</b>
9.1. Indicative & Subjunctive Negative (nti-, nt-, si-).....	298
9.2. Dependent Negative (-ta-, -da-, -t-).....	299
9.3. Predicative Negatives.....	300
9.3.1. Indicative Predicative Negative (nta, ntaa).....	300
9.3.2. Participial Predicative Negative (ntáa {Rwanda}, atá {Rundi}).....	302
9.3.3. Relative Predicative Negative (ntáa {Rwanda}, ata, ataa {Rundi}).....	303
9.4. Invariable Copulative Negative (si, s').....	304
9.5. Invariable Negatives (Adverbs, Interjections).....	305
<b>10. Auxiliary Verbs.....</b>	<b>306</b>
10.1. Coverbs.....	306
10.1.1. Quotative Coverb.....	306
10.1.2. Deictic Coverbs of Manner.....	306
10.1.3. Interrogative Coverbs of Manner.....	308
10.2. Auxiliary Verbs.....	309
10.2.1. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Participial.....	310
10.2.2. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Infinitive.....	311
10.2.3. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Subjunctive.....	313
10.2.4. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Indicative Disjoint with -ra-.....	313
10.2.5. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Simple Indicative.....	314
10.2.6. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Subsecutive or Sequence with -ka-.....	314
10.3. Copulative Auxiliary Verbs.....	315
10.4. Multiple Auxiliary Verbs.....	318
<b>11. Adverbs.....</b>	<b>319</b>
11.1. Adverbs of Time.....	319
11.2. Adverbs of Place.....	320
11.3. Adverbs of Manner.....	320
11.4. Adverbs of Degree or Intensity.....	320
11.5. Adverbs of Measure, Quantity, or Frequency.....	321
11.6. Adverbs of Opinion.....	321
11.7. Adverb Derivation.....	321
11.7.1. Adverbs of Comparison (nka-).....	321
11.7.2. Adverbs Marked by na-.....	321
11.7.3. Adverbs Derived from Nouns.....	322
<b>12. Conjunctions and Coordination.....</b>	<b>323</b>
12.1. Coordinating or Non-Influencing Conjunctions.....	323
12.2. Subordinating Conjunctions.....	325
12.2.1. Conjunctions Governing the Relative.....	325
12.2.2. Conjunctions Governing the Participial.....	326
12.2.3. Conjunctions Governing the Infinitive.....	327
12.2.4. Conjunctions Governing the Subjunctive.....	327
12.2.5. Conjunctions Governing the Indicative.....	328
<b>13. Interrogatives and Question Words.....</b>	<b>329</b>
13.1. The Overall Structure of Question Sentences.....	329
13.2. 'Who?' - Person Noun Interrogative (ndé, baandé).....	330
13.3. 'What?' (invariable /ikí/ or root /-kí/).....	330
13.4. 'What kind or sort of?' (invariable /kí/).....	331
13.5. 'Which (of two or several)?' (-:he).....	332
13.6. 'When?' - Time Interrogative (ryáarí).....	333
13.7. 'Where?' - Place Interrogative (hé and hééhé).....	334
13.8. 'How much?, How many?' - Numerical Interrogative.....	334
13.9. 'How?' - Coverb (-té, Adverbial of Manner).....	335
13.10. 'Why?' - Reason Interrogative.....	335

<b>14. Interjections</b> .....	338
14.1. Independent Interjections.....	338
14.2. Dependent Interjections.....	338
<b>15. Ideophones</b> .....	340
<b>16. Word Order</b> .....	342
16.1. Word Order within Phrases (Nouns and Other Elements) .....	342
16.1.1. Word Order of Possessive Constructions.....	342
16.1.2. Word Order of Adjective Constructions.....	342
16.1.3. Word Order of Numeral Constructions.....	343
16.1.4. Word Order of Locative Constructions.....	344
16.2. Standard Word Order within Sentences [SVO] .....	346
16.3. Forms of Sentence Reversal.....	347
16.3.1. Passivization [OVS] .....	348
16.3.2. Other Kinds of Object-First Constructions [OV(S)].....	348
16.3.3. Indefinite Constructions [VS].....	349
16.3.4. Impersonal Constructions [V(O)].....	350
16.3.5. Locative First Constructions [LocV(S)] .....	350
16.3.6. Grammatical Reversal [(O)VS] .....	351
<b>17. Index of Grammatical Terminology</b> .....	353



## List of Tables

A. Differences in Noun Class Treatment.....	v
B. Differences in Tonal Marking.....	vi
C. Dialect-specific Tonal Marking in Kirundi.....	vii

### Chapter 1

1. Rundi and Rwanda Spelling Differences.....	2
2. Minor Rundi and Rwanda Differences.....	2
3. Rundi and Rwanda Noun Class Differences.....	3
4. Rundi and Rwanda Word Pairs, One Matched, the Other Completely Different.....	3
5. Rundi and Rwanda "False Friends".....	3
6. Different Words in Rundi and Rwanda.....	4
7. Some Grammar Differences Between Rundi and Rwanda.....	4
8. Text Example Illustrating Rundi and Rwanda Differences.....	5
9. Primary Homographs in Rundi and Rwanda.....	7
10. Derived Homographs in Rundi and Rwanda.....	7
11. Disjunctive vs. Conjunctive Spelling.....	10
12. Weak Noun Forms.....	10
13. Strong Noun Forms.....	11
14. Weak vs. Strong Pronoun Forms.....	11
15. Weak vs. Strong in Participial Verbs.....	12
16. Person-Oriented (Primary) Kin Terms.....	15
17. Plural-Possessed (Secondary) Kin Terms.....	16
18. Singular Possession with General (Non-Personal) Kin Terms.....	17
19. English Gender Implied in Noun Classes.....	18
20. Proto-Bantu and Rwanda-Rundi Noun Classes.....	19
21. Number Marking in Rwanda-Rundi.....	19
22. Realization of Case in Rwanda-Rundi.....	20
23. Example of Derivation (a Word Family) in Rwanda-Rundi.....	21
24. Some Irregular Nouns and Verbs.....	22

### Chapter 2

25. Kinyarwanda-Kirundi Consonants.....	24
26. Acceptance of Kinyarwanda Consonants.....	24
27. Acceptance of Kirundi Consonants.....	25
28. Kinyarwanda-Kirundi Vowels.....	26
29. Importance of Short vs. Long Vowels.....	27
30. Summary of Tone Patterns.....	34

### Chapter 3

31. Body Parts among the Noun Classes.....	57
32. Time Words among the Noun Classes.....	58
33. Word Families among Flora.....	58
34. Rwanda-Rundi Noun Groups.....	59
35a. Group 1 Nouns with Consonant Stems.....	66
35b. Group 1 Nouns with Vowel Stems.....	67
36a. Group 2 Nouns with Consonant Stems.....	73
36b. Group 2 Nouns with Vowel Stems.....	74
37a. Group 3 Nouns with Consonant Stems.....	79
37b. Group 3 Nouns with Vowel Stems.....	79
38a. Group 4 Nouns with Consonant Stems.....	85
38b. Group 4 Nouns with Vowel Stems.....	86
39a. Group 5 Nouns with Consonant Stems.....	90
39b. Group 5 Nouns with Vowel Stems or /y/.....	91
39c. Group 5a and 5b Nouns (Consonant Stems Only).....	92
39d. Group 5 and Group 6 Vowel Root Forms.....	93
40a. Group 6 Nouns with Consonant Stems.....	97
40b. Group 6 Nouns with Vowel Stems (See also Table 39d).....	97
41a. Group 7 Nouns with Consonant Stems.....	100

41b. Group 7 Nouns with Vowel Stems.....	101
42a. Group 8 Nouns with Consonant Stems.....	105
42b. Group 8 Nouns with Vowel Stems.....	105
43a. Group 9 Nouns with Consonant Stems.....	107
43b. Group 9 Nouns with Vowel Stems.....	108
44a. Group 10 Nouns with Consonant Stems.....	110
44b. Group 10 Nouns with Vowel Stems.....	111
45a. Group 11 Nouns with Consonant Stems.....	112
45b. Group 11 Nouns with Vowel Stems.....	113
46a. Group 12 with Consonant Stems.....	114
46b. Group 12 with Vowel Stems.....	114
47. Group 13 with Consonant and Vowel Stems.....	115
48. Possessive or Noun Phrase Agreement Markers.....	124
49. Nominalized Possessive Constructions.....	129

#### Chapter 4

50. Pronoun Roots.....	140
51. Pronoun Roots with Copulative ni.....	141
52. Emphatic or Long Form Pronouns.....	142
53. Emphatic Deictic + Pronoun Combinations.....	143
54. Subject Pronoun Prefixes.....	144
55. Object Pronoun Infixes.....	146
56. Possessive Personal Pronouns.....	149
57. Possessive Pronouns Groups 1-3.....	150
58. Possessive Pronouns Groups 4-6.....	151
59. Possessive Pronouns Groups 7-11.....	152
60. Nominalized Possessive Pronouns.....	153
61. Object Relative (Precessive) Pronouns.....	155
62. Locative Pronouns.....	156
63. Indefinite Pronouns.....	158
64. Singulative Pronouns.....	160
65. Dual Pronouns.....	161
66. Pronouns Expressing Totality (-se 'All').....	162
67. Pronouns Expressing 'Other' and 'Another'.....	164
68. Similative Pronouns ( <b>nka-</b> ).....	166
69. Conjunctive Pronouns ( <b>na-</b> ).....	167

#### Chapter 5

70. Overview of Kirundi and Kinyarwanda Demonstrative Roots.....	169
71. Deictics Oriented to the First Person.....	170
72. Predicative Deictics Oriented to the First Person.....	171
73. Double Predicative Deictics Oriented to the First Person.....	171
74. Affective Deictics Oriented to the First Person.....	172
75. Deictics Oriented to the First and Second Person.....	173
76. Deictics Oriented to the Second Person.....	175
77. Predicative Deictics Oriented to the Second Person.....	175
78. Double Predicative Deictics Oriented to the Second Person.....	176
79. Deictics Oriented to the Second Person Past.....	177
80. Deictics Oriented to the Third Person.....	178
81. Predicative Deictics Oriented to the Third Person.....	178

#### Chapter 6

82. Adjective Roots in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi.....	181
83. Adjective Agreement Affixes.....	183
84. Adjectives Serving as Nouns.....	183
85. Intensive Adjectives in Kirundi.....	186

#### Chapter 7

86. Inflection of Numbers from One through Seven.....	189
87. Numeral Prefixes.....	190
88. Counting from One through Ten.....	190

89. Numbers from Eight through Ten (Uninflected).....	191
90. Numbers from Eleven through Nineteen (as Roots).....	191
91. Numbers from Twenty through Twenty-Nine (in Group 1).....	192
92. Numbers from Thirty through Ninety.....	193
93. Numbers in the Hundreds.....	194
94. Numbers in the Thousands.....	195
95. Ordinal Numbers.....	196
96. Counting by Ordinals from One through Ten.....	197
97. The Traditional Names of the Calendar Months.....	198
98. Numerical Names of the Calendar Months.....	199
99. Days of the Week.....	199
100. Hours of the Day (from Swahili).....	200

## Chapter 8

101. Order of Affixes (Morphology) in the Verb Complex.....	202
102. Grammar of the Rwanda-Rundi Verb.....	202
103. Criteria Determining Government (Conjoint vs. Disjoint).....	208
104. Tonality of Verbs Having Object Infixes.....	208
105. Subject vs. Object Relative in Kinyarwanda.....	235
106. Typical Order of Co-occurring Verb Augments.....	289

## Chapter 9

107. Indicative Predicative Negative.....	301
108. Participial Predicative Negative.....	302
109. Relative Predicative Negative.....	303
110. Negative Copulative ( <b>si</b> ) and Pronoun Roots.....	304

## Chapter 10

111. Quotative Coverb (- <b>ti</b> ).....	307
112. Manner Coverbs (- <b>tyá</b> {both}, - <b>rtyá</b> {Rundi}).....	307
113. Manner Coverbs (- <b>tyó</b> {both}, - <b>rtyó</b> {Rundi}).....	308
114. Interrogative Coverb 'How?' (- <b>té</b> ).....	309
115. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Participial.....	311
116. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Infinitive.....	312
117. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Subjunctive.....	313
118. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Indicative Disjoint with - <b>ra</b> -.....	314
119. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Simple Indicative.....	314
120. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Subsecutive or Sequence with - <b>ka</b> -.....	315

## Chapter 12

121. Coordinating or Non-Influencing Conjunctions.....	324
122. Vowel Length and Tone after Conjunctions <b>na-</b> and <b>nka-</b> .....	324
123. Conjunctions Governing the Relative.....	326
124. Conjunctions Governing the Relative Conditional.....	326
125. Conjunctions Governing the Participial.....	327
126. Conjunctions Governing the Infinitive.....	327
127. Conjunctions Governing the Subjunctive.....	327
128. Conjunctions Governing the Indicative.....	328

## Chapter 13

129. Question Markers.....	329
130. Declined forms of - <b>ki</b> 'which?'.....	331
131. 'Which (of two or several)?' (-: <b>hé</b> ).....	333
132. Numerical Interrogatives (- <b>ngáhé</b> ).....	334





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## PREFACE

This book has been prepared to fill a number of needs.

Firstly, no detailed comparison of Kinyarwanda and Kirundi has ever been published. Gasarabwe 1992 is primarily a treatment of Rwanda with a few parallel examples in Rundi (133–42); also see footnote 6 in §1.1.

Secondly most textbooks and grammars are aimed at beginning or intermediate levels (ILR 2-3); they either ignore complex constructions (ILR 4-5) or else mention that they are extremely difficult. In our own research we also faced the same frustration of incompleteness of treatment or exemplification that students have heretofore had to face, such as not having full paradigms of consonant vs. vowel root verbs in all major conjugations or the lack of coverage of how tonality is affected in the various moods and tenses when an object is incorporated into the verb.

Thirdly, most of the information on the grammar of these languages is only available in French; some monolingual publications are also available in each respective language.

Fourthly, while the grammatical structure of these dialects is enormously complex, there are ways to present them in a student-friendly manner.

Lastly, there are a number of innovative approaches herein, such as the difference in declension between vowel-initial roots of *n5* with **iny-** and *n6* with **inz-** (§3.2.6 and Table 39d), the interpretation of mood (§8 #2, Table 102, footnote 346), and the determination that subjunctive is an aspect (rather than a mood) in these languages (see end of footnote 346, §8 #10, §8.5).

We therefore hope to have provided an American learner of either or both of these dialects with an understandable and clear explication of the grammatical challenges these Bantu languages present. Wherever constructions coexist or are parallel, we provide exemplification in both dialects. If there is no parallel construction we explicitly state this.

### A Note on the Rendering of Bantu Language Names in English

Many of the people of Rwanda and Burundi would take issue with the use of the Bantu roots for their language names. An appropriate rendition would require *Ikinyarwanda* and *Ikirundi*. However, these are the forms that would occur if the words were the first part of a sentence or direct objects of a verb. There are also the shortened forms *Kinyarwanda* and *Kirundi*, which are the names most often encountered in the literature<sup>1</sup> and which we have used in our title for this book. But the problem does not stop there. A speaker of the language wishes to be identified as *Munyarwanda* (full form: *Umunyarwanda*) or *Murundi* (full form: *Umurundi*), and the group collectively as *Banyarwanda* (*Abanyarwanda*) or *Barundi* (*Abarundi*). In short, an English speaker would be required to have a pretty basic knowledge of Bantu grammar in order to talk about Bantu people or their respective languages. But English does not operate this way. Hence, we say *Paris*, not [parí], *Vienna*, not [veen], *Munich*, not [münchen], *Canton* not [guang zhou]. The recent accommodation of *Beijing* (for *Peking*) is relatively rare. Other well-known Bantu languages are also referred to in English by their root (*Swahili*, *Zulu*, *Xhosa*, *Sotho*, *Shona*), rather than by the autonym with a class prefix (*Kiswahili*, *IsiZulu*, *IsiXhosa*, *SeSotho*, *chiShona*). With few exceptions, through most of this book we will be using the terms *Rwanda* and *Rundi*, since they are the accepted language names in standard American English and further serve to save some space, frequently as they are employed, as abbreviations. In the case of «Rwanda», this does entail a homograph referring both to a country and to its language, but context will always insure which is meant.

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<sup>1</sup> Only Ntahokaja (1976) uses the full form *Ikirundi*.

## DIFFERENCES IN INTERPRETATION OR TREATMENT

Authors do not always agree in classification or terminology. Usually the student must draw up tables of equivalents if working with more than one book or author. For example, Overdulve (1975:302f and 1998:357) discusses nineteen noun classes, Kimenyi (1980:3) sixteen, while Hands (1952:6), Hurel (1959:21-24) and Cristini (2000:18) only ten. Thirteen are discussed in the present comparative survey. Such discrepancies have to do in part with whether singular and plural forms are treated together (as GROUPS) or separately (as CLASSES), and in part with comparison across the entire Bantu language family. We present a comparative overview in Table A.

Earlier scholars writing on Rwandan grammar interpreted the reciprocal verb augment as **-na**,<sup>2</sup> whereas virtually every author after 1970 has correctly identified it as **-an-**.<sup>3</sup> Note that some authors preferred to call it ASSOCIATIVE, either instead of or in addition to characterizing it as RECIPROCAL. There are similar interpretations of «**-ompi**» vs. «**-mpi**» {Rundi} or «**-ombi**» vs. «**-mbi**» {Rwanda} 'both' or «**-ose**» vs. «**-se**» {both} 'all.'

Given such complexities, the introduction of still more technical terms would not normally be welcome. However, in a few instances new terms have been introduced if they could explain some phenomena more clearly, e.g., **-ek-** or **-ik-** [ATTRIBUTIVE verb] (rather than NEUTER, §8.14.5), **-er-** or **-ir-** BENEFACTIVE (rather than APPLIED, §8.14.1).

Lastly, where necessary, we have set sail on uncharted waters where scholars have been silent. One such area is that some verb conjugations have more than one tone rule affecting them, sometimes two or three, rarely even four. Furthermore, no grammarian or textbook author (to our knowledge) has outlined the complexity of auxiliary verbs – the number and kind of verbal complements they can govern. Ironically, the most thorough resource that we were able to consult on this topic is not a grammar, but rather a dictionary (Rodegem 1970). There, at appropriate entries, one finds clear statements to this effect:

**kugera** ... En complexe verbal, ce verbe régit cinq modes: l'indicatif, le conjonctif, l'infinitif, le subjonctif et le subsécutif. Il exprime diverses nuances circonstancielles: *enfin, finalement*. (Op cit:110f)<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Bagein 1951:83 [*récioproque*], Hands 1952:252 [*reciprocal*], Hurel 1959:81 [*récioproque*], Cox 1970:22 [*reciprocal, associative*].

<sup>3</sup> Rodegem 1967:146 [*récioproque*], Overdulve 1975:212f [*l'associatif*], Kimenyi 1980:5 [*reciprocal*], Dubnova 1984:54f [*reciprocal -ana*], Ntahokaja 1994:126f [*le récioproque/associatif*], Cristini 2000:256,263 [*le récioproque*].

<sup>4</sup> Freely translated using our terms: When used with another verb, this verb governs five moods: indicative, participial, infinitive, subjunctive, and sequential. It expresses various shades of meaning: *finally, lastly, after all*.

**Table A. Differences in Noun Class Treatment**

prefix	Zorc herein	ALO, TIO	RLD	RGK	GKH	ERH, NGC
<b>umu-</b>	n1-sg	c01	c01	c01	1-sg	c1-sg
<b>Ø-</b>	n1a-sg	no label	c01a	no label	no label	no label
<b>aba-</b>	n1-pl	c02	c02	c02	1-pl	1-pl
<b>ba-</b>	n1a-pl	no label	c02a	no label	no label	no label
<b>umu-</b>	n2-sg	c03	c03	c03	2-sg	2-sg
<b>imi-</b>	n2-pl	c04	c04	c04	2-pl	2-pl
<b>i(ri)-</b>	n3-sg	c05	c05	c05	5-sg	5-sg
<b>ama-</b>	n3-pl	c06	c06	c06	5-pl	5-pl
<b>iki-</b>	n4-sg	c07	c07	c07	4-sg	4-sg
<b>ibi-</b>	n4-pl	c08	c08	c08	4-pl	4-pl
<b>iN-</b>	n5-sg	c09	c09	c09	3-sg	3-sg
<b>i-</b>	n5a-sg		c09a		##	3-pl
<b>iN-</b>	n5-pl	c10	c10	c10	3-pl	3-pl
<b>uru-</b>	n6-sg	c11	c11	c11	6-sg	6-sg
<b>iN-</b>	n6-pl	c10	c10		6-pl	6-pl
<b>aga-</b>	n7-sg	c12	c13	c12	7-sg	7-sg
<b>utu-</b>	n7-pl	c13	c12	c13	7-pl	7-pl
<b>ubu-</b>	n8-sg	c14	c14	c14	8-sg	8-sg
<b>ubu-</b>	n8-pl		c14a		##	8-pl
<b>ama-</b>	n8-pl	c06	c06	c06	8-pl	8-pl
<b>uku-</b>	n9-sg	c15	c15	c15	9-sg	9-sg
<b>ku-</b>	n9a-vn					
<b>ama-</b>	n9-pl	c06	c06	c06	9-pl	9-pl
<b>aha-</b>	n10	c16	c16	c16	10	10
<b>ku-</b>	n11	c17	prep	prep	prep	prep
<b>mu-</b>	n12	c18	prep	prep	prep	prep
<b>i-</b>	n13	c19		prep	prep	prep

One of the greatest areas of disagreement is the marking of high tone. The student will be confronted by an array of different conventions, where sometimes the same symbol, e.g., ^ (the circumflex) has a completely different value. An overview is presented in Table B for students who work with other sources. However, all of our representations of both Rwanda and Rundi throughout this book have been regularized (in a single consistent system).

**Table B. Differences in Tonal Marking**

symbol	explanation	Rundi	Rwanda	English
plain vowel a, e, i, o, u {both}	short vowel low tone	(gu)saba umugezi (gu)shika ikiraro gusa	(gu)saba umugezi (gu)shyika ikiraro gusa	ask, request stream, river arrive bridge only, just
acute á, é, í, ó, ú {both} but {Rwanda} pre-1998	short vowel high tone	inká intébe igití urugó urutúgu	inká intébe igití urugó urutúgu	cow seat, chair tree; wood yard, corral shoulder
circumflex â, ê, î, ô, û {Rwanda} recent IRS, TIO	short vowel high tone	inká intébe igití urugó urutúgu	inkâ intêbe igitî urugô urutûgu	cow seat, chair tree; wood yard, corral shoulder
macron ā, ē, ī, ō, ū {Rundi}	long vowel both with low tone	igisābo icēgēra (ku)gīsha ingōna urūho	igisaabo icyeegeera (ku)giisha ingoona uruho	gourd churn plant sp. make go crocodile gourd utensil
circumflex â, ê, î, ô, û {Rundi}	long vowel high tone on the first mora	amâzi (gu)têka izîko (ku)ryôha (gu)kûnda	amâazi (gu)téeka izîko (ku)ryóoha (gu)kúunda	water cook hearth taste good love, like
hacek ǎ, ǣ, ǐ, ǒ, ǔ {Rundi}	long vowel high tone on the second mora	ububǎsha Aběga umuhǐgi umukǒbwa umǔnsi	ububaásha Abeéga umuhiígi umukoóbwa umuúnsi	ability (Tutsi clan) hunter girl, daughter day, date
double dots ä, ë, ï, ö, ü {Rundi}	long vowel high tone on both morae	bäkoze mwëse nari nzi böse war-üzi	<i>[no equivalent tonal pattern in Rwanda]</i>	having done all of you I have known all of them you knew
Little stick á, é, í, ó, on penult {Rundi}	Dialect dif- ference (high tone on final except for <u>one</u> dialect)	isáhu ikiméne igití inkóko ubúshe	isahú ikimené igití inkokó ubushyé	booty fragment tree chicken burning

In 1959, Meeussen (passim) introduced a hacek or “little hat” tone mark, which correlates with a “little stick” tone mark in Rodegem’s *Dictionnaire Rundi-Français* (1970). In both these instances, the authors were trying to accommodate a dialect found in the southwest of Burundi where words which have a high tone on the final vowel in most of Burundi (and all of Rwanda) have a high tone on the penult (second last) vowel.

**Table C. Dialect-specific Tonal Marking in Kirundi**

Meeussen (1959)	English	Page reference	DRF (1970)
amāta	milk	ERM:11	amáta
ig̃ti	tree	ERM:66	ig̃ti
ikiměne	fragment	ERM:67	ikimène
inkōko (ninyiínshi)	chickens are many	ERM:19,67	inkòko
ir̃gi	egg	ERM:68	ir̃gi
isáhu	booty	ERM:9	isáhu
ubūshye	burning	ERM:67	ubúshe
umug̃zi	cord	ERM:67	umug̃zi
urukōba	skin	ERM:17	urukòba

Sadly, the introduction of symbols that were not employed in the writing of French, i.e., the macron (for long vowels) and the little stick, resulted in an enormous number of errors of omission in publications typeset by linguistically unsophisticated printer's assistants. The cumulative effect of dialectal disagreements and unedited infelicities made the student's task all the harder in languages where inappropriate intonation led to confusion or downright misunderstanding.





## ABBREVIATIONS

/	sound change	CC	complex consonant (e.g., <b>rw, mw, tw</b> )	fut	future tense or preverb
//	metathesis (sound switching)	cl	noun class affix	G§	see Grammar Section #
∅	zero or null (no affix when one might be expected)	CM	noun class marker	geog	geographic or place name
[ ]	pronunciation (in phonetic script)	cmp	compound	ger	gerund (verb form)
//	the essential sounds of a word in phonemic (not phonetic) script	col	collective noun	GKB	Bagein. 1951.
>	goes to, becomes	con	conjoint or dependent verb (having an object or complement)	GKH	Hurel. [1911] 1959.
<	comes from, derives from	cond	conditional 'then' verb [Fr <i>conditionnel</i> ]	GN	Girard Ntwari p.c.
«»	orthographic form, the way a word is spelled (not pronounced)	conj	conjunction	GSN	Ntahokaja. 1994.
Δ	root word	cop	copulative verb <b>-ba, ni, ri</b> 'to be' or <b>si</b> 'not be'	H	high tone after prefix (if allowed) §2.4.18
1	tone on first vowel after a consonant §2.4.14	C <sup>w</sup>	velarized consonant (e.g., <b>bw, kw, tw</b> )	hort	hortative verb mood
1pl	first person plural ( <i>we</i> )	C <sup>y</sup>	palatalized consonant (e.g., <b>by, vy, sh, shy</b> )	hyp	hypothetical
1sg	first person singular ( <i>I</i> )	D	tonal flip-flop or tone dissimilation §2.4.10	I	reflexive ( <b>ii-</b> ) tone pattern §2.4.21
2	tone on second vowel complex §2.4.15	DEC	Cox. 1969.	idiom	idiomatic construction
2pl	second person plural ( <i>you, ye</i> )	deic	deictic or demonstrative pronoun	if	conditional 'if' verb [Fr <i>conditionnant</i> ]
2sg	second person singular ( <i>you, thou</i> )	DFB	Bonneau. 1950.	IIK	Kimenyi website article on ideophones
3pl	third person plural ( <i>they</i> )	dim	diminutive	IKN	Ntahokaja. n.d.
3sg	third person singular ( <i>he, she, it</i> )	dis	disjoint or independent verb form (no object or complement)	imm	immediate tense (present, today past or future)
A	tone on first mora after prefix §2.4.16	ditr	ditransitive verb (takes two objects)	imp	imperative mood
A2	tone on second mora after prefix §2.4.17	DKC	Cox. 1969.	impf	imperfect verb form
abr	abbreviation	DRF	Rodegem. 1970.	inch	inchoative verb ['becoming']
abs	abstract noun	DRJ1/3	Jacob et al. [3 vols] 1984–1987.	ind	indicative verb form
adj	adjective	E	end syllable tone pattern §2.4.22	inf	infinitive verb form
adv	adverb	E2	second syllable from end tone pattern §2.4.23	instr	instrumental ['with, by means of']
aff	affirmative construction (opposite of negative)	E3	third syllable from end tone pattern §2.4.24	intens	intensive construction
AGC	Coupez. 1980	emph	emphatic; emphasis	intj	interjection
AK	Alexandre Kimenyi p.c.	Eng	English loanword	intl	international word (exact donor language unclear)
ALO	Overdulve et al. 1975.	ERH	Hands. 1952.	intr	intransitive verb
Alt:	alternate form	ERM	Meeussen. 1959.	inv	word order inversion [Fr <i>renversement</i> ]
Alt sp:	alternate spelling	EWB	Bennett. 2001.	invar	invariable form (does not change)
Arb	Arabic loanword	EWK	Kimenyi. 2001.	IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
atr	attributive [noun or verb functioning as an adjective]	ex	example	ir	irregular
auto	autonomous relative form [autonome]	excl	exclamative (used for insistence or contrast)	IRS	Bizimana. 1998.
aux	auxiliary (verb)	exis	existential ( <b>-bá hó</b> or <b>-rí hó</b> 'there is')	IYN	Ntahokaja. 1976.
B	borrowed noun tone pattern §2.4.6	expr	expression	J	jump tone pattern (moves right one mora) §2.4.8
ben	benefactive verb (do s.t. <i>for</i> or <i>to</i> s.o.)	ext	extended meaning	JeN	Jeanine Ntahirageza p.c.
caus	causative verb	F	high tone on affix pattern §2.4.19	JH	Josephine Hatungimana p.c.
C	any consonant	fact	factitive verb form	JN	Juvenal Ndayiragije p.c.
		fig	figurative meaning	KBS	Stevick. 1965.
		Fr	French loanword	kin	kinship term
				L	low tone pattern §2.4.2
				lit.	literally (means)
				LN	Louise Nibagwire p.c.
				loc	locative case (in, at)
				M	mobile or leftward tone pattern (moves left one mora) §2.4.9

MWE	<i>Ubumwe</i> (Rundi weekly)	part	participial verb mood [Fr <i>conjonctif</i> ]	revers	reversive verb, e.g., ‘un-’ or ‘dis-’
n	noun	pass	passive verb	RGK	Kimenyi. 1980.
N	non-stable initial tone pattern §2.4.13	past	past tense (see: <i>preterit vs. recent</i> )	RLD	Dubnova. 1984.
n1	group 1 noun ( <b>umu-</b> / <b>aba-</b> )	p.c.	personal communication	Rundi	Ikirundi
n1a	group 1a noun ( <b>Ø-</b> / <b>bá-</b> )	perf	perfect or current relevance	rw	root word
n2	group 2 noun ( <b>umu-</b> / <b>imi-</b> )	persist	verb aspect	Rwanda	Ikinyarwanda
n3	group 3 noun ( <b>i-</b> / <b>ama-</b> )		persistent preverb ( <i>still, yet; no longer</i> )	seq	sequential verb [Fr <i>subsécutif</i> ]
n4	group 4 noun ( <b>iki-</b> / <b>ibi-</b> )	PGR	Rodegem. 1967.	sg	singular
n5	group 5 noun ( <b>iN-</b> / <b>iN-</b> )	PKG	Gasarabwe. 1992.	sim	simulative ( <b>nka</b> )
n5a	group 5a noun ( <b>i-</b> , no nasal)	pl	plural	s.o.	someone
n5b	group 5b noun ( <b>Ø-</b> / <b>za-</b> )	pn	proper noun	sp	spelling
n6	group 6 noun ( <b>uru-</b> / <b>iN-</b> )	pn-f	female personal name	s.t.	something
n7	group 7 noun ( <b>aka-</b> / <b>udu-</b> )	pn-geog	place name	st	stative (verb)
n8	group 8 noun ( <b>ubu-</b> / <b>ama-</b> )	pn-m	male personal name	sub	subjunctive verb form
n9	group 9 noun ( <b>uku-</b> / <b>ama-</b> )	pol	polite or respectful	subj	subject
n9a	group 9a verbal noun ( <b>ku-</b> )	pos	positive (not pejorative)	suf	suffix
n10	group 10 locative noun ( <b>aha-</b> )	poss	possessive construction	Syn:	synonym
n11	group 11 adverbial or manner noun ( <b>uku-</b> )	post	postposition	T	obligatory high tone pattern §2.4.3
n12	group 12 locative noun ( <b>mu-</b> ) [usually prep]	pred	predicative ( <i>it is here</i> ) or presentative ( <i>here it is!</i> )	TC	thematic consonant ( <b>b</b> [n1-pl], <b>k</b> [n4-sg])
n13	group 13 locative noun ( <b>i-</b> ) [usually prep]	prep	preposition	TGK	Kimenyi. 2002.
narr	narrative	pret	preterit or before-today past tense	time	temporal or time marker
neg	negative (verb or construction; Opp: aff)	prf	prefix	TIO	Overdulve & Jacob. 1998.
NGC	Cristini. 2000.	pro	pronoun	tr	transitive verb
NIGU	not in general use	prog	progressive (is VERBing)	TV	thematic vowel ( <b>a-</b> , <b>i-</b> , <b>u-</b> of noun groups)
nom	nominalized construction	pron	pronunciation	U	subject relative tone pattern §2.4.20
np	noun phrase	q.v.	see entry referred to [Latin <i>quod vide</i> ‘which see’]	v	verb
num	number or numeral	qw	question word or interrogative	V	any vowel
O	object or skipping tone pattern §2.4.11	R	root tone pattern §2.4.1	VΔ	a root starting with a vowel
O2	second object postradical tone pattern §2.4.12	R1	Selection 1 (–40) in Nibagwire & Zorc. 2002.	VL	vowel loss
obj	object	RDZ	R. David Zorc	vn	verbal noun
Opp:	opposite, antonym	recent	recent past tense	v-poss	possessive verb [- <b>gira</b> , - <b>fise</b> , - <b>fite</b> ‘to have’]
opt	optative mood	recip	reciprocal verb (do s.t. to each other)	voc	vocative case
ord	ordinal number	red	reduced or shortened form	Voc	vocative tone pattern (on low tone roots) §2.4.7
P	postradical syllabic tone pattern (on second syllable of the root) §2.4.4	redup	a reduplicated form §2.5.17	vp	verb phrase
P2	postradical moraic tone pattern (on second mora of the root) §2.4.5	refl	reflexive verb (do s.t. to oneself)	X	loss of immediately following high tone (two high tones do not normally occur in a row §2.4.25)
		rel	relative verb mood	x	number of occurrences (e.g., objx2 = two objects, objx3 = three objects)
		relObj	object relative verb construction		
		relSubj	subject relative verb construction		

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## 1. OVERVIEW OF BANTU GRAMMAR

Rwanda /**ikinyarwaanda**/ and Rundi /**ikiruúndi**/ are the primary and national languages of Rwanda and Burundi, respectively. Both are co-members of a chain of dialects<sup>5</sup> within a northern subgroup of the Bantu language family. Since there are other dialects in each country, some of which are quite divergent, the term RWANDA here refers to the dialect of the greater Kigali area, while RUNDI to that of Bujumbura.

It is assumed that the reader has had some exposure to Rwanda or to Rundi. No matter how one has learned the language, he or she will have encountered many different grammatical patterns, some of which are difficult to control. The more the reader understands about the basic linguistics of this language family, the more effectively one can come to grips with the patterns covered in the study of either dialect. It is the goal of this chapter to introduce the reader to terms and constructions which should help in the understanding of later chapters and to offer a brief overview of the major variations between these two dialects.

### 1.1. Major Rwanda-Rundi Differences

The differences between these two speech varieties will be detailed throughout this book. However, it would be useful to have a general overview of the nature and ranges of the differences one encounters. The following sections outline them by order of difficulty or complexity, starting with "easy" or "trivial" ones, such as spelling, and ending with "hard" or "subtle" ones, such as grammar.<sup>6</sup>

#### 1.1.1. Different Spelling Systems

Rwanda and Rundi both utilize all but two letters of the Roman alphabet (*q* and *x*). Nevertheless, an examination of textual material between the two immediately reveals several differences, which are also reflected in the pronunciation. This comes about mostly when letters (especially «y») are combined «**cy**, **sh**, **jy**, **pf**», etc. Such two-letter combinations are called DIGRAPHS. There are also three-letter combinations, such as «**shy**», which are called TRIGRAPHS.

Because of the constant need to distinguish the way these dialects are written from the way they are spoken, we put the way a word is spelled in angle braces «**akagwa**» and indicate pronunciation (vowel length and tone) within slashes /**akáagwá**/ {Rwanda} 'banana beer.'

The following table outlines the spelling differences between Rundi and Rwanda. All of these are AUTOMATIC in that one can work backwards from the Rwandan spelling to that of Rundi, e.g., Rw «**cy**» > Ru «**c**», Rw «**shy**» > Ru «**sh**», Rw «**by**» > Ru «**vy**». The inverse is not possible (e.g., Rundi «**sh**» ≠ Rwanda «**shy**»), because both dialects have words with just «**sh**», such as «**ishami**» {both} 'branch,' «**ubushita**» {both} 'smallpox,' «**igishanga**» {both} 'swamp, marsh.'

<sup>5</sup> The terms dialect and language are used loosely in everyday conversation. In linguistic terms, the two are bound together in the same definition: a language consists of all the dialects that are connected by a chain of mutual intelligibility. Thus, if a person from Bronx, New York can speak with someone from Mobile, Alabama, and these two can converse with someone from Sydney, Australia without significant misunderstandings, then they all form part of the English language. Kigali and Bujumbura are similarly connected within a chain of dialects that collectively make up the Rwanda-Rundi language.

<sup>6</sup> The only attempt to do this kind of comparison in print of which we are aware is Gasarabwe 1992, but the discussion is cursory and brief (133–42). The bulk of that book is dedicated to Rwanda.

Table 1. Rundi and Rwanda Spelling Differences

summary	Rundi	Rwanda	English
c+y	«cane» «canje» «icubahiro» «ntaco»	«cyane» «cyanjye» «icyubahiro» «ntacyo»	very my [n4] respect nothing
j+y	«-ja» «jewe» «yanje»	«-jya» «jyewe» «yanjye»	go I [emph] my [n5-sg]
sh+y	«-shira» «indesho» «nsha»	«-shyira» «indeshyo» «nshya»	put, place height new [n5]
v/b+y	«umuvyeyi» «gorovyeyi» «-ivyeyi»	«umubyeyi» «-gorobyeyi» «-ibyeyi»	parent became evening stole [perf]

### 1.1.2. Minor Differences in Word Formation

There are many instances in which the two speech varieties have words that are slightly different. However, unlike those described as automatic above, these differences are SPORADIC and, as such, do not continually recur. The student has to memorize such differences as Rundi «-anka» vs. Rwanda «-anga» 'dislike, reject,' because the shift from «k» to «g» is exceptionally rare; witness «inka» {both} 'cow,' «inkono» {both} 'pot,' and over a hundred similar words where «nk» is common to both dialects. Such minor variations involve different consonants, vowels or vowel lengths, tones, or affixes.

Table 2. Minor Rundi and Rwanda Differences

summary	Rundi	Rwanda	English
consonants	«imfyisi» «(kw)an <del>k</del> a» «amajambo» «umu <del>s</del> i» «izosi»	«imp <del>y</del> isi» «(kw)an <del>g</del> a» «amagambo» «umun <del>s</del> i» «ijos <del>i</del> »	hyena, jackal dislike, hate words day neck
vowels	«ibiyoba» «(ku)yogeza» «(ku)raaba»	«ibiyobe» «(ku)yogoza» «(ku)reeba»	peanuts annihilate see, look
vowel length	/-ringanira/ /-piima/ /-sáaguura/	/-riinganira/ /-pima/ /-sáagura/	of equal length weigh, measure be in excess
tone	/umukóno/ /mugúfi/ /ikigúzi/	/umukonó/ /mugufí/ /ikiguzí/	signature short [n2-sg] price, value
mixed	«umukate»	«umugati»	bread
formation	«inabukwe» «inakuru»	«nyirabukwe» «nyirakuru»	mother-in-law grandmother

### 1.1.3. Differences in Noun Class

There are a number of words which, while derived from the same root and having the same meaning, happen to fall into different noun classes in each national language. Some of the words in Table 3 are used more frequently in one dialect, but are not unknown in the other. The difference is therefore a matter of frequency rather than non-existence.

Table 3. Rundi and Rwanda Noun Class Differences

Rundi	Rwanda	English
/umudúga/ [n2]	/imódoká/ [n5]	automobile
/ihahá/ [n3]	/igihahá/ [n4]	lung
/ikinezero/ [n4]	/umunezero/ [n2]	happiness, joy
/igituúngwa, ibituúngwa/ [n4]	/itúungo, amatúungo/ [n3]	livestock, domestic animal
/impené/ [n5]	/ihené/ [n5a]	goat
/uruvyino/ [n6]	/imbyino/ [n5]	song (and dance)
/ubucafu/ [n8]	/umucafu/ [n2]	dust

#### 1.1.4. Differences in Word Pairs

Rundi often has synonyms wherein one word is the same as or similar to the Rwandan word while the other is completely different. Less commonly, it is Rwanda which has a pair while Rundi has one. A mnemonic device to characterize such instances might be "Two for the price of one."

Table 4. Rundi and Rwanda Word Pairs, One Matched, the Other Completely Different

English	Rundi	Rwanda
his / her	«be, biwe»	«be»
bicycle	«ikinga, igare»	«igare»
but, however	«mugabo, ariko»	«ariko»
cost a lot, be expensive	«(ku)zimba»	«(gu)henda, (ku)zimba»
fireplace	«icoto, iziko»	«iziko»
hide	«(ku)nyegeza, «(gu)hisha»	«(gu)hisha»
kill	«(ku)gandagura, «(kw)ica»	«(kw)ica»
left; to the left	«ibubamfu, ibumoso»	«ibumoso»
lion	«intambwe, intare»	«intare»
money	«amahera, amafaranga»	«amafaranga»
elderly person	«umutama, umusaza»	«umusaza»
search, look for s.t.	«(ku)rondera, «(gu)shaka»	«(gu)shaka»
sell	«(ku)dandaza, «(gu)curuza»	«(gu)curuza»
understand	«(gu)tegera, (kw)umva»	«(k)umva»
want, wish	«(ku)gomba, (gu)shaka»	«(gu)shaka»

#### 1.1.5. Same Words with Different Meaning

There are times when Rundi and Rwanda have INTERDIALECTAL HOMOGRAHS, i.e., the words look (or even sound) the same, but have a completely different meaning. Within the field of translation, these are known as FALSE FRIENDS, and can lead one away from the true meaning.

Table 5. Rundi and Rwanda "False Friends"

Word	Rundi meaning	Rwanda meaning
«(ku)gana»	mash, extract juice (of bananas); brew (beer)	go towards, go somewhere
«Kigarama»	December	commune in Kibungo
«Nyakanga»	September /nyakaánga/	July /nyakáanga/
«umugenzi»	friend	traveler; walker; passerby
«umushumba»	servant	herder, shepherd
«umusenzi»	fighter; bully	drunkard

1.1.6. Completely Different Words

Although Rwanda and Rundi have an enormous amount of vocabulary in common, there are words unique to each dialect. The most consistent area of difference is the name of each of the months.<sup>7</sup>

Table 6. Different Words in Rundi and Rwanda

English	Rundi	Rwanda
January	«Nzero»	«Mutarama»
February	«Ruhuma», «Nyamagoma»	«Gashyantare»
March	«Ntwarante», «Rwirabura»	«Werurwe»
April	«Ndamukiza», «Kaboza»	«Mata»
May	«Rusama»	«Gicurasi»
June	«Ruheshi», «Kiyumpu»	«Kamena»
July	«Mukakaro»	«Nyakanga»
August	«Myandagaro»	«Kanama»
September	«Nyakanga»	«Nzeri»
October	«Gitugutu»	«Ukwakira»
November	«Munyonyo»	«Ugushyingo»
December	«Kigarama»	«Ukuboza»
cultivator	«umurimyi»	«umuhinzi»
be dumbfounded, be aghast	«(ku)gwa mu gahundwe»	«(ku)gwa mu kantu»
harvest	«umwimbu»	«umusaruro»
liver	«igitigu»	«umwijima»
number	«igitigiri», «igiharuro»	«umubare»
or [conj]	«canke»	«cyangwa»
saliva	«amate»	«amacandwe»
week	«indwi»	«icyumweru»

1.1.7. Different Grammatical Constructions

Finally, while there is substantial overlap, there are several ways in which the grammar patterns of these two dialects differ, as illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7. Some Grammar Differences Between Rundi and Rwanda

Rundi	Rwanda	Grammar function
/-oo-/ /tweekwiibuka/	/-aa-/ /tweekwiibuka/	would [conditional] 'we might remember'
/-zoo-/ /azookora/	/-zaa-/ /azaakora/	will [future preverb] 'he will work'
-fise /mfise/	-fite /mfite/	have [possessive verb] 'I have'
Ø [NIL] /yatáanga/	-ga /yatáangaga/	[recent & preterit suffix] 'he has given'
[NO EQUIVALENT]	-aa-zaa- /tweekzaakira/	[conditional future, see §8.1.6] 'we would be better off'
a- /akubíta/	u- /ukúbita/	[subject relative] 'he who hits'
ní S-a-Δ-a /ní nabaashá/	ní-S-Ø-Δ-a /niimbaashá/	if [hypothetical] <sup>8</sup> 'if I can'

<sup>7</sup> Speakers of the two dialects get around this difference by referring to a month by its number, i.e., /ukweézi kwaa mbere/ or /ukwaa mbere/ 'first month, January' (see §7.4, Table 98).

<sup>8</sup> Both Rundi and Rwanda use the hypothetical conjunctive /ní/, however Rundi forms this with the RECENT RELATIVE (§8.3.2) while Rwanda uses the IMMEDIATE RELATIVE (§8.3.1).



-ra- /muráazi kó .../	[less frequently used] /muuzi kó .../	[progressive / factual] 'you know that'
S-ra-Δ-a /uramenya/	S-ra-Δ-e {both} /uramenye/	should [hortative] 'you should know'
[NO EQUIVALENT]	/-ruuzi/	'see, notice' [irreg v]

In summary, Table 8 illustrates how all these dialectal differences can combine in an actual text. The Rundi passage (R5 in Nibagwire & Zorc 2002:8) was translated into Rwanda by L. Nibagwire. Superscript numbers relate to the seven differences described in this section.

- <sup>1</sup> spelling change
- <sup>2</sup> minor difference in word formation
- <sup>3</sup> noun class variation
- <sup>4</sup> word pair as opposed to a single word
- <sup>5</sup> false friend [Note: none appeared in this text sample]
- <sup>6</sup> completely different word
- <sup>7</sup> grammatical variation

**Table 8. Text Example Illustrating Rundi and Rwanda Differences**

Rundi	<sup>6</sup> Ingene	Mwezi	<sup>7</sup> yasa	mu gihe	<sup>1</sup> c'amasezerano
Rwanda	<sup>6</sup> Uko	Mwezi	<sup>7</sup> yasaga	mu gihe	<sup>1</sup> cy'amasezerano
English	how	Mwezi	he looked	at the time	of peace treaty

i Kiganda	Gisabo	yambaye	ibisanzwe.	Igipande	<sup>1</sup> c <sup>6</sup> impuzu
i Kiganda	Gisabo	yambaye	ibisanzwe.	Igipande	<sup>1</sup> cy <sup>6</sup> umwenda
at Kiganda	Gisabo	he wore	ordinary	piece	of clothing

<sup>3</sup> y'igiti	<sup>3</sup> y <sup>6</sup> ubuyonga,	ba <sup>6</sup> komye	<sup>1</sup> cane	<sup>7</sup> kugira
<sup>3</sup> w'igiti	<sup>3</sup> cy <sup>6</sup> umuvumu,	ba <sup>6</sup> kanye	<sup>1</sup> cyane	<sup>7</sup> kugira ngo
of tree	of fig bark	which they pounded	well	so that

<sup>1</sup> corohe,	kizingwe,	kandi	<sup>1</sup> aje <sup>7</sup> aragiterera
<sup>1</sup> cyorohe,	kizingwe	kandi	<sup>1</sup> ajye <sup>7</sup> agiterera
it should be supple	it should be pliable	also	so he would throw it

ku rutugu	uko ashatse.	Ku <sup>3</sup> gitugu	<sup>3</sup> c <sup>2</sup> iburyo
ku rutugu	uko ashatse.	Ku <sup>3</sup> rutugu	<sup>3</sup> rw <sup>2</sup> iburyo
on shoulder	as he wished.	on (big) shoulder	(of) right

<sup>6</sup> hashororoka <sup>7</sup>	<sup>2</sup> imihivu.	Hagati ku mutwe	<sup>7</sup> hasigara
<sup>6</sup> hashokaga <sup>7</sup>	<sup>2</sup> uruhivu.	Hagati ku mutwe	<sup>7</sup> hasigaraga
there tumbled down	raffia fibers.	middle of (his) head	there remained

<sup>6</sup> akagundu k'umushatsi	ahasigaye	<sup>7</sup> hari	uruhara.
<sup>6</sup> isunzu	ahasigaye	<sup>7</sup> hakaba	uruhara.
tuft of hair	the place that remains	there was	bald spot

<sup>7</sup> Mu gikonjo	Gisabo	<sup>7</sup> yambara	imiringa	ibiri	y'isenga,
<sup>7</sup> Ku gikonjo	Gisabo	<sup>7</sup> yambaraga	imiringa	ibiri	y'isenga,
on wrist	Gisabo	he wore	bracelets	two	of charm

<sup>7</sup> nini <sup>7</sup> na <sup>6</sup> ntoyi,	igafatwa	n <sup>6</sup> urubare	<sup>3</sup> rw <sup>6</sup> umujumbu.
<sup>7</sup> umunini <sup>7</sup> n <sup>6</sup> umuto,	igafatwa	n <sup>6</sup> agakwege gato cyane	<sup>3</sup> k <sup>6</sup> umuringa.
large and small	and they are held	by very thin wire	of copper

### 1.2. Writing vs. Speech

Because we have been educated in literacy from a very early age, we tend to think of language in terms of its written form. We forget that language, almost by definition, is a spoken medium. Nevertheless, there are many who primarily, if not exclusively, deal with the written form of a language (e.g., reading books or newspapers, translating texts, working through forms or other documents, etc.). In having to do so, one misses the many subtleties and clues presented by the spoken language, such as intonation, gesture, and even context. In the case of tone languages this can readily lead to misunderstanding or misinterpretation.

The Roman alphabet characters chosen for Rwanda and Rundi capture the consonant sounds fairly well, but the five vowel symbols «**a, e, i, o, u**» are unmarked for both length and tone. The absence of such distinction leads to serious problems in interpretation of which the student or translator must be aware.

#### 1.2.1. Homonyms, Homographs, and Homophones

A HOMONYM is one of two or more forms that have the same sound but a completely different meaning. Thus the combination of English sounds /rayt/ can refer to:

- correct «right»
- the opposite of left «right»
- to put down in graphic form «write»
- a profession title «wainwright»
- a family name «Wright»

Because we spell some of these differently, even if they are pronounced the same, we need the term HOMOPHONE (a word with the same sound but a different spelling). When we consider a word like English «close», we also need the term HOMOGRAPH (for a word with the same spelling but a different sound) because it is spelled the same, but pronounced differently: /klos/ as opposed to /klo:z/. Note that in some dialects of English the verb «close» is itself a homophone of the noun «clothes». There are very many homographs in Rwanda-Rundi, which could seriously affect the correctness of a translation or interpretation.<sup>9</sup> Especially when dealing with the written form, one should understand that, while many words may be spelled the same, they may have different tones or vowel length. Hence they are not homonyms, but rather HOMOGRAPHS.

The forms in Table 9, which would all be written «**gusoma**», illustrate what may be called PRIMARY HOMOGRAPHS, similar to English «light» 'not heavy' – «light» 'not dark.' What is important is that they are all the same part of speech and therefore can more readily lead to confusion.

Throughout this book phonemic representation for vowels in BOTH Rwanda and Rundi will follow these conventions:  
a long vowel is doubled /**aa, ee, ii, oo, uu**/  
a high tone vowel has an accute accent /**á, é, í, ó, ú**/  
a low tone vowel is unmarked /**a, e, i, o, u**/

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<sup>9</sup> Cristini exemplifies this for Rundi in considerable detail (2000:13).

Table 9. Primary Homographs in Rundi and Rwanda

/gusoma/ {both}	to read	v-tr-inf
/gusoma/ {both}	to drink	v-tr-inf
/kugaba/ {both}	to distribute one's goods; to pass out gifts	v-tr-inf
/kugaba/ {both}	to rule over, to be master of, to dominate	v-tr-inf
/umushitsi/ {Rundi}	guest, visitor, stranger	n1-sg
/umushitsi/ {Rwanda}	exorcist, sorcerer, wizard	n1-sg

There are also SECONDARY or DERIVED HOMOGRAPHS, similar to English «raise» – «rays», in which the difference is exaggerated by different grammar patterns, e.g., verb root vs. plural noun. In Rwanda-Rundi, there are a variety of prefix combinations written as «ba-», which can be /ba-/ {both} [subject], /b-aa-/ {both} [subject + recent past], /b-aa-/ {both} [subject + preterit], /b-aa-/ {Rwanda} [subject + conditional] made all the more difficult by the failure to represent long vowels and tones in writing. The examples in Table 10, which would all be written «basoma»,<sup>10</sup> illustrate DERIVED HOMOGRAPHS.

Table 10. Derived Homographs in Rundi and Rwanda

/basoma/ {both}	they are reading s.t.	indicative affirmative immediate imperfect conjoint <sup>11</sup>
/baasoma/ {Rundi} <sup>12</sup>	they recently read s.t.	indicative affirmative recent imperfect conjoint
/baásoma/ {Rundi} <sup>13</sup>	they have read s.t.	indicative affirmative preterit imperfect conjoint
/baasoma/ {Rwanda} <sup>14</sup>	they would read	indicative affirmative conditional immediate imperfect
/básoma/ {both}	they reading	participial affirmative immediate imperfect
/báasoma/ {Rundi} <sup>15</sup>	they having read (recently)	participial affirmative recent imperfect conjoint or disjoint
/báásoma/ {Rundi} <sup>16</sup>	they having read (formerly)	participial affirmative preterit imperfect disjoint
/basomá/ {both}	who read; that they read	relative affirmative immediate imperfect
/baasomá/ {Rundi} <sup>17</sup>	who recently read	relative affirmative recent imperfect
/baásoma/ {Rundi} <sup>18</sup>	who have read	relative affirmative preterit imperfect
/baasomá/ {Rwanda} <sup>19</sup>	if they read; who then would read	relative affirmative conditional immediate imperfect
/basóma/ {both} <sup>20</sup>	those who read	reduced autonome affirmative immediate imperfect
/baásoma/ {Rundi} <sup>21</sup>	those who read (recently)	reduced autonome affirmative recent imperfect
/baásoma/ {Rundi} <sup>22</sup>	those who read (formerly)	reduced autonome affirmative preterit imperfect
/baásoma/ {Rwanda} <sup>23</sup>	those who would read	reduced autonome affirmative conditional imperfect

<sup>10</sup> Many of these are adapted from Kimenyi 1980:212–6, but our representation of tone differs from his. For additional Rundi examples, see the excellent paradigm for «bavuze» in Cristini 2000:13.

<sup>11</sup> The disjoint form in both Rwanda and Rundi is /barasoma/.

<sup>12</sup> Rwanda is /baasomaga/.

<sup>13</sup> Rwanda is /baásomaga/.

<sup>14</sup> Rundi is /boosoma/.

<sup>15</sup> Rwanda is /báasomaga/.

<sup>16</sup> Rwanda is /báarasómaga/.

<sup>17</sup> Rwanda is /baasomága/.

<sup>18</sup> Rwanda is /baásomaga/.

<sup>19</sup> Rundi is /boosomá/.

<sup>20</sup> As in /mu básoma/ {both} 'among those who read.'

<sup>21</sup> As in /mu baásoma/ {Rundi} 'among those who read (recently);' Rwanda would be /baásomaga/.

<sup>22</sup> The preterit is homographic with the recent; thus /mu baásoma/ {Rundi} 'among those who read (formerly).'

<sup>23</sup> Rundi is /boósoma/.

## Chapter 1: Overview of Bantu Grammar

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The above HOMOGRAPHS are the most frequent because they involve the forms of any verb so conjugated. There are other areas where one must be on guard for the possibility of different interpretations. There are, of course, true HOMONYMS, which are words identical in both vowel length and tone. The following pairs have neither long vowels nor high tone, i.e., they all have short low-toned vowels:

- «**huri**» /**huri**/ {Rwanda} (1) *pro-dist* 'each, every'<sup>24</sup> –  
{both} (2) *v-loc-n8-sg* 'it is (in, at a specific location)'
- «**-guma**» (**ku**)/**guma**/ {both} (1) *v-intr* 'be firm, hard, solid, stable, permanent; [ext] stay, remain, dwell' –  
(2) *v-aux* 'continue VERBing; do VERB nonstop'
- «**-kena**» (**gu**)/**kena**/ {both} (1) *v-st* 'be poor; become indigent; live in poverty' – (2) *v-tr* 'need, be in need of; miss; not have'

There are also sets of words which have the same tone pattern, although this is unmarked in the orthography. The following are homonyms that have a high tone on the final syllable:

- «**hamwe**» /**hamwé**/ {both} (1) *num-n10-loc* 'one (place)' – (2) *adv-loc* 'together (with reference to time or place); in one place'
- «**kimwe**» /**kimwé**/ {both} (1) *num-n4-sg* 'one' – (2) *adv* 'the same'
- «**-shya**» /**-shyá**/ {Rwanda} «**-sha**» /**-shá**/ {Rundi} (1) *adj-root* 'new' – (2) *v-inch* 'burn oneself, get burned; be cooked; be ripe'

The following homonyms have a long low-toned vowel in the first syllable:

- «**-hinda**» (**gu**)/**hiinda**/ {both} (1) *v-intr* 'thunder' – (2) *v-tr* 'chase (s.o.) away; tell s.o. off'
- «**-vana**» (**ku**)/**vaana**/ {both} (1) *v- recip* 'exit together, come out (of) with each other' – (2) {Rwanda} *v-tr* 'take (away, out)'

These homonyms have a long vowel in the first syllable with high tone on the first mora:<sup>25</sup>

- «**-bumba**» (**ku**)/**búumba**/ {both} *v-tr* (1) 'form, shape, work (clay), mold (pottery), make (bricks)' –  
{Rwanda} (2) *v-tr* 'close, shut (e.g., one's mouth, eye, hand; a book)'
- «**-cana**» (**gu**)/**cáana**/ {both} *v- recip* (1) 'cut one another; separate oneself from, fall out (of people)' – (2) *v-tr* 'kindle, build a fire'
- «**-eza**» (**kw**)/**éeza**/ {both} (1) *v-caus* 'whiten, brighten, make white' – (2) *v-caus* 'ripen, make ripe; [ext] have a good harvest'
- «**-kunda**» (**gu**)/**kúunda**/ {both} (1) *v-tr* 'like, love' – (2) *v-aux* 'VERB often; VERB continually or habitually'
- «**umwijima**» /**umwújímá**/ (1) {both} *n2-sg* 'darkness, obscurity; new moon' – (2) {Rwanda} *n2-sg* 'liver'<sup>26</sup>

Some are homographs which differ in vowel length:

- «**-gisha**» (**ku**)/**gisha**/ {both} *v-intr* 'transhume, go to better pastures (of cows)' – (**ku**)/**giisha**/ {both} *v-caus* 'cause to go'
- «**-hisha**» (**gu**)/**hísha**/ {both} *v-st* 'hide, conceal' – (**gu**)/**húisha**/ {both} *v-caus* 'cause s.o. to get burned; let s.t. be cooked; make s.t. become ripe'
- «**urutoke**» /**urutoke**/ {both} *n6-sg* 'finger' – /**urutooke**/ {both} *n6-sg* 'banana plantation'

Still others differ in tone:

- «**inda**» /**inda**/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'belly, abdomen, stomach' –  
/**indá**/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'louse, [pl] lice'
- «**ikiyaga**» /**ikiyaga**/ {both} *n4-sg-aug* 'big wind' –  
/**ikiyága**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'lake'
- «**ryari**» /**ryári**/ {both} *qw-adv-time* 'when?' –  
/**ryaari**/ {both} *v-cop-recent-n3-sg* 'it was'
- «**-zima**» /**kuzima**/ {both} *adj-n9-sg* 'healthy, well; alive; normal' –  
/(**ku**)**zíma**/ {both} *v-intr* 'go out, die (of fire); be out (of fire)'

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<sup>24</sup> Rundi is «**umwe-umwe**» /**umwúumwé**/.

<sup>25</sup> The term MORA refers to the length of time it takes to pronounce a single vowel (this obviously differs from speaker to speaker). A long vowel consists of two MORAS or two MORAE (see §2.2).

<sup>26</sup> Rundi is /**igitigú**/ 'liver.'

There are homographs that differ in both tone and vowel length:

- «-hana» /(**gu**)hana/ {both} *v-tr* 'punish, reprimand' –
- /(**gu**)háana/ {both} *v- recip* 'give to each other, exchange'
- «ikiza» /ikiiza/ {both} *n4-sg* 'disaster, famine, epidemic; illness' –
- /(**kw**)iikiza/ {both} *v-refl* 'save oneself; heal spontaneously (of a wound)'
- «pfuka» /(**gu**)pfúka/ {both} *v-tr* 'cover' –
- /(**gu**)pfuuka/ {both} *v-atr* 'be dead (of hair only), be defeathered; lose one's hair, feathers'

Although a study of the contrasting meaning of the above examples would illustrate that homonyms can seriously affect the correctness of a translation, this point is particularly brought home by the stark differences of the following words:

- «-gwira» /(**ku**)gwiira/ {both} *v-ben* 'fall on or at (a specific place)' –
- /(**ku**)gwiira/ {both} *v-st* 'increase, be numerous; multiply'
- «-nebwa» /(**ku**)nebwa/ {both} *v-st* 'loaf around; be lazy; have nothing to do' –
- /(**ku**)neebwa/ {both} *v-pass* 'be excreted'
- «-rwaza» /(**ku**)rwáaza/ {both} (1) *v-caus* 'sicken, make s.o. sick' –
- (2) *v-tr* 'nurse, aid or help s.o. who is sick; have s.o. who is sick in one's household'
- «-zira» /(**ku**)zira/ {both} *v-st* 'be forbidden, prohibited, taboo, illegal' –
- /(**kuu**)zira/ {both} *v-ben* 'come to s.o., visit; come (at a certain time)'

Difficult as this may appear, most homonyms can be differentiated by their CONTEXT in a sentence. One should always be on the lookout for clues. For example, a capital letter would help distinguish the following two words:

- «bukeye» /búkeeye/ {both} *adv-time* 'the next morning, the following day' –
- «**B**ukeye» *pn-geog* (commune in the province of Muramvya in Burundi)

Surrounding grammar also helps clarify which form is intended:

- «umwe» /umwé/ {both} *num-n1-sg* 'one' – (2) *num-n2-sg* 'one'
- «umuntu umwe» {both} 'one person' [n1]
- «umwaka umwe» {both} 'one year' [n2]
- «umusozi umwe» {both} 'one hill' [n2]
- «umwana umwe» {both} 'one child' [n1]

Here are some other examples of where and how grammatical clues help make the meaning of homonyms clear:

- «nkabaruhurira» (R28.2) could mean 'and I allow [you / them] to rest,' but given the context of «**Si jye ubacanira indaro, ngahemba abakozi, kandi nkabaruhurira bakaryama**» the -ba- refers to **abakozi** 'workers,' and is therefore an object form of the group 1 plural, i.e., 'them.'
- «**tub**amenyeshe ko» (R30.2) could be translated as 'we should inform [you / them] that' – in the context of a news report on a soccer game, the author is addressing the readers, hence, 'you.'

Furthermore, many homonyms involve special applications within a single word class (such as a marker of subject, object, or relative agreement).

### 1.2.2. Conjunctive Writing

English generally writes DISJUNCTIVELY, that is, whole words are separated by spaces, as in *they will have bought it*. Rwanda-Rundi, on the other hand, represent entire verb phrases CONJUNCTIVELY (written together), as in /bazaabisoma/ {Rwanda} or /bazoobisoma/ {Rundi} 'they will read them' and /ukawuroonga/ {both} 'then you rinse it' (R18). This is the case in many other

## Chapter 1: Overview of Bantu Grammar

Bantu languages, such as Swahili, Shona, Xhosa, and Zulu, where everything in agreement is written together as one word.<sup>27</sup>

This is reasonably well established for verbs. However, there are some other areas where authors do not agree. This especially applies to locative constructions where **mw-** or **mu**, **kw-** or **ku**, and **i-** may be written either disjunctively or conjunctively.

**Table 11. Disjunctive vs. Conjunctive Spelling**

DISJUNCTIVE SPELLING	CONJUNCTIVE SPELLING
« <b>i bunyina</b> »	« <b>ibunyina</b> »
« <b>i muhira</b> »	« <b>imuhira</b> »
« <b>kw isi / ku isi</b> »	« <b>kwisi / kw'isi</b> »
« <b>mw ishure / mu ishure</b> »	« <b>mwishure / mw'ishure</b> »

### 1.3. Strong vs. Weak Noun Classes<sup>28</sup>

If a noun prefix consists of a single vowel, e.g., «**i-**», or if it always has a single nasal, «**m, n**», then it is called a WEAK NOUN, and follows different rules from strong nouns. One must draw a distinction between a WEAK **m** vs. a STRONG **m**. The former (in n1-sg, n2-sg, n3-pl, etc.) will be *lost* (see Tables 12, 14, 15); the latter (in n12-loc and pro-2pl) will be *retained* or strengthened into the cluster **mw** (see Tables 13–15). Weak verb forms have shorter prefixes and sometimes a different tone pattern from their strong counterparts, a factor which applies across the entire Rwanda-Rundi grammatical system. This affects subject agreement in that only the class vowel survives while any nasal is lost. In the possessive,<sup>29</sup> one of two semivowels will always appear: **w**, for forms originally with **u**, and **y** for forms with **i** or **a**. Demonstrative pronouns or deictics (§5) are included in Tables 12–13 because their derivation heavily reflects this distinction. Weak forms of the first person affective [deic1 emph] (Table 12) have high tone on the final syllable; strong forms (Table 13) have high tone on the penult. In the third person [deic-3], high tone is on the first of two long vowels (on the second in the strong).

**Table 12. Weak Noun Forms**

weak noun	prefix	subj	poss	num	deic-1	deic1emph	deic1+2	deic-2	deic-3
n1-sg	<b>umu-</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>wa waa</b>	<b>u-</b>	<b>uyu</b>	<b>unó</b>	<b>urya</b>	<b>uwo</b>	<b>uríiya</b>
n1a-sg	<b>Ø-</b>								
n2-sg	<b>umu-</b>	<b>u-</b>	<b>wa waa</b>	<b>u-</b>	<b>uyu</b>	<b>unó</b>	<b>urya</b>	<b>uwo</b>	<b>uríiya</b>
n2-pl	<b>imi-</b>	<b>i-</b>	<b>ya yaa</b>	<b>i-</b>	<b>iyi</b>	<b>inó</b>	<b>irya</b>	<b>iyo</b>	<b>iríiya</b>
n3-pl n8 n9	<b>ama-</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>ya yaa</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>aya</b>	<b>anó</b>	<b>arya</b>	<b>ayo</b>	<b>aríiya</b>
n5-sg	<b>iN-</b>	<b>i-</b>	<b>ya yaa</b>	<b>i-</b>	<b>iyi</b>	<b>inó</b>	<b>irya</b>	<b>iyo</b>	<b>iríiya</b>
n13	<b>i-</b>	n/a	<b>ya</b> <sup>30</sup>	n/a	n/a	<b>inó</b>	<b>iryá</b>	<b>iyo</b>	<b>iríiya</b>

<sup>27</sup> An exception among Bantu languages is Sotho, wherein nouns are written conjunctively, but verbs are written disjunctively, e.g., «**o ile a mo tswala**» 'she gave birth to him' (Zorc & Mokabe 1998:132), which in Rwanda would be rendered conjunctively as «**yaramubyaye**».

<sup>28</sup> This valuable distinction does not appear in any discussion of Rwanda or Rundi, but can be found in some grammars of South African Bantu languages, such as Xhosa (Dowling 1998:37, 57, 123, 157).

<sup>29</sup> Only weak nouns have an alternate possessive, short vs. long vowel; strong nouns (Table 13) have a single form with a long vowel, high tone on the first.

<sup>30</sup> It is probable that possessive constructions involving locatives (e.g., «**haruguru y'amavi**» 'above the knees') represent n13 rather than n5-sg.

In contrast, a STRONG NOUN has a consonant (stop or strong nasal) within its prefix. Note how each affix tends to keep its shape (its characteristic class marker) intact throughout. There are only two exceptions: the n3-sg has a thematic consonant **r-** which does not appear in the prefix (**i-**) and n5-pl/n6-pl has a thematic consonant **z-** which also does not appear in the prefix (**iN-**). The irregularity is actually in the class prefix (where the consonant is lost), not in the various derivations (all of which retain the consonant). The first person affective [deic1-emph] has high tone on the penultimate syllable (whereas in the weak classes it is on the final syllable). The third person deictic has a high tone on the second of the long vowels, as well as on its first (thematic) syllable.

**Table 13. Strong Noun Forms**

strong noun	prefix	subj	poss <sup>31</sup>	num	deic-1	deic1-emph	deic1+2	deic-2	deic-3
n1-pl	<b>aba-</b>	<b>ba-</b>	<b>baa</b>	<b>ba-</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>báno</b>	<b>bárya</b>	<b>abo</b>	<b>báriíya</b>
n1a-pl	<b>baa-</b>								
n3-sg	<b>i-</b>	<b>ri-</b>	<b>ryaa</b>	<b>ri-</b>	<b>iri</b>	<b>ríno</b>	<b>rírya</b>	<b>iryo</b>	<b>ríriíya</b>
n4-sg	<b>iki-</b>	<b>ki-</b>	<b>cyaa</b>	<b>ki-</b>	<b>iki</b>	<b>kíno</b>	<b>kírya</b>	<b>icyo</b>	<b>kíriíya</b>
n4-pl	<b>ibi-</b>	<b>bi-</b>	<b>byaa</b>	<b>bi-</b>	<b>ibi</b>	<b>bíno</b>	<b>bírya</b>	<b>ibyoy</b>	<b>bíriíya</b>
n5-pl	<b>iN-</b>	<b>zi-</b>	<b>zaa</b>	<b>eCC-</b>	<b>izi</b>	<b>zíno</b>	<b>zírya</b>	<b>izo</b>	<b>zíriíya</b>
n6-pl									
n6-sg	<b>uru-</b>	<b>ru-</b>	<b>rwaa</b>	<b>ru-</b>	<b>uru</b>	<b>rúno</b>	<b>rúrya</b>	<b>urwo</b>	<b>rúriíya</b>
n7-sg	<b>aka-</b>	<b>ka-</b>	<b>kaa</b>	<b>ka-</b>	<b>aka</b>	<b>káno</b>	<b>kárya</b>	<b>ako</b>	<b>káriíya</b>
n7-pl	<b>utu-</b>	<b>tu-</b>	<b>twaa</b>	<b>tu-</b>	<b>utu</b>	<b>túno</b>	<b>túrya</b>	<b>utwo</b>	<b>túriíya</b>
n8-sg	<b>ubu-</b>	<b>bu-</b>	<b>bwaa</b>	<b>bu-</b>	<b>ubu</b>	<b>búno</b>	<b>búrya</b>	<b>ubwo</b>	<b>búriíya</b>
n9-sg	<b>uku-</b>	<b>ku-</b>	<b>kwaa</b>	<b>ku-</b>	<b>uku</b>	<b>kúno</b>	<b>kúrya</b>	<b>ukwo</b>	<b>kúriíya</b>
n10-loc	<b>aha-</b>	<b>ha-</b>	<b>haa</b>	<b>ha-</b>	<b>aha</b>	<b>háno</b>	<b>hárya</b>	<b>aho</b>	<b>háriíya</b>
n11-loc	<b>ku-</b>	n/a	<b>kwaa</b>	n/a	<b>uku</b>	<b>kúno</b>	<b>kúrya</b>	<b>uko</b>	<b>kúriíya</b>
n12-loc	<b>mu-</b>	n/a	<b>mwaa</b>	n/a	<b>umu</b>	<b>múno</b>	<b>múrya</b>	<b>umwo</b>	<b>múriíya</b>

Sources: Cristini 2000:18, Overdulve 1975:303.

This distinction also applies to the PRONOUNS in that factors of vowel length or tone differ in various inflections between the WEAK and the STRONG forms (Table 14).

**Table 14. Weak vs. Strong Pronoun Forms**

weak form	subject	recent conjoint	recent disjoint	preterit	object
pro-1sg <i>I</i>	<b>n-, m-</b>	<b>na-</b>	<b>naa-</b>	<b>na-</b>	<b>-n-, -m-, -ny-</b>
pro-2sg <i>you</i>	<b>u-, w-</b>	<b>wa-</b>	<b>waa-</b>	<b>wa-</b>	<b>-ku-, -gu-, -kw-</b>
pro-3sg ( <i>s/he</i> )	<b>a-</b>	<b>ya-</b>	<b>yaa-</b>	<b>ya-</b>	<b>-mu-, -mw-</b>

strong form	subject	recent conjoint or disjoint	preterit	object
pro-1pl <i>we</i>	<b>tu-, tw-, du-</b>	<b>twaa-</b>	<b>twaá-</b>	<b>-tu-, -du-, -tw-</b>
pro-2pl <i>you</i>	<b>mu-, mw-</b>	<b>mwaa-</b>	<b>mwaá-</b>	<b>-ba-, -b-</b>
pro-3pl <i>they</i>	<b>ba-, b-</b>	<b>baa-</b>	<b>baá-</b>	<b>-ba-, -b-</b>

While such distinctions *appear* to be GRAMMATICAL (i.e., a NUMBER difference between singular and plural pronouns), they are actually based upon sounds (the PHONOLOGICAL makeup): the weak pronouns consist of vowels (**a-**, **u-**) or a weak nasal (**n-**), whereas the strong forms consist of stop

<sup>31</sup> There is no alternative possessive as occurs for weak nouns in Table 12.

## Chapter 1: Overview of Bantu Grammar

consonants (**b-**, **t-**), a strong nasal (**m-**), or consonant clusters (**mw-**, **tw-**). Note that the second person singular pronoun irregularly becomes strong in its object forms (acquiring a **k-** or **g-**).

This difference pervades the grammar and will come up again and again in later chapters. Table 15 contains one further illustration of this phenomenon.

**Table 15. Weak vs. Strong in Participial Verbs**

affirmative immediate		negative immediate	
{both}	{both}	{both}	{Rwanda} – {Rundi}
<b>ngéenda</b>	<b>nkóra</b>	<b>ntágeendá</b>	<b>ndákorá – ntákorá</b>
<b>ugéenda</b>	<b>ukóra</b>	<b>utágeendá</b>	<b>udákorá</b> {both} ? <b>utákorá</b> (NGC:193)
<b>agéenda</b>	<b>akóra</b>	<b>atágeendá</b>	<b>adákorá</b> {both} ? <b>atákorá</b> (NGC:193)
<b>túgeenda</b>	<b>dúkora</b>	<b>tútageendá</b>	<b>túdakorá</b> {both}
<b>múgeenda</b>	<b>múkora</b>	<b>mútageendá</b>	<b>múdakorá</b> {both} ? <b>mútakorá</b> (NGC:193)
<b>bágeenda</b>	<b>bákora</b>	<b>bátageendá</b>	<b>bádakorá</b> {both} ? <b>bátakorá</b> (NGC:193)

Sources: Juvenal Ndayiragije (pc), Cristini 2000:193 but the forms with **-ta-** before a voiceless consonant are in error; Overdulse 1975:156 for negative participial (his *conjonctif*).

### 1.4. Sound Changes

There are some very unusual sound changes in Rwanda-Rundi. It takes considerable sophistication to know that **/impuunzi/** {both} 'refugee; deserter' is a regularly derived noun from **/-huunga/** 'flee, run away,' or that **/inzúki/** {both} is the plural form of **/uruyúki/** 'bee.' These are treated in detail in the next chapter (§2.5), and also relate to the discussion in §1.10 about finding a word in a dictionary.

### 1.5. The Makeup of Words (Root, Stem, Number of Syllables)

One of the more important distinctions to be aware of is between roots and stems. A **ROOT** is the minimal part of a word that carries its basic meaning (some linguists use the term **RADICAL**); a **STEM** is a form to which affixes may be or have been added. There are also little word bits (affixes) of all kinds which are used to create words in different grammatical categories. Some affixes come before the root and are called **PREFIXES**, others come after the root and are called **SUFFIXES**. In some languages, an affix can come in the middle of a word, and these are called **INFIXES**. In English, *friend* is a root, but it can also be the stem to which *-ly* is added in *friendly*. However, in the word *unfriendliness*, *un-* is a prefix, while *friendliness* is now the stem and *friend* is still the root. In Rwanda-Rundi, **/-kór-/** is the root meaning 'do, work' in **/bakoré/** 'they should work,' which has the prefix **ba-** and the subjunctive suffix **-e**; **/-kóra/** is the primary stem to which affixes may be added, e.g., **/bakora/** 'they work', or **/barakóra/** 'they are working.' Such stems can grow. Thus in the following instances **/-kór-/** remains the root: **/-kóreesha/** 'cause to work, use,' **/-kórerá/** 'work for someone; do something for a reason,' **/-kórana/** 'work together,' **/-kórwa/** 'be done,' **/igikorwá/** 'task; product.' There is also a secondary (or perfective) root **/-kóz-/**, used in the perfect stem **/-kóze/** 'did, worked,' which also appears in the noun **/umukózi/** 'worker' and in the common expression **/urakóze/** 'thank you!'

In Rwanda-Rundi there are different kinds of roots. Being aware of these can help in remembering how to handle them correctly. For example, there are roots of just one syllable (**MONOSYLLABIC** roots), e.g., **/-nywá/** 'drink' and **/-ryá/** 'eat,' and there are those of two syllables (**DISYLLABIC** roots), e.g., **/-kúunda/** 'love' and **/-shaaka/** 'seek,' or more (**POLYSYLLABIC** roots), e.g., **/-gerageza/** 'try' and **/-sóbaanura/** 'explain.'

There is also a distinction between roots that begin with a consonant (**CONSONANT ROOTS**), e.g., **/-kúbuura/** 'sweep' or **/-guruka/** 'fly,' as opposed to those which begin with a vowel (**VOWEL ROOTS**), e.g., **/-aandika/** 'write' or **/-úubaka/** 'build.' The first sound of the root affects the shape



of its prefix, thus: /**dukubuura**/ 'we sweep' (every day), /**tuguruka**/ 'we take off' (every day at 5:00 P.M.), /**twaandika**/ 'we write' (every day), /**twuubaka**/ 'we build' (houses). In Rwanda, one needs to distinguish verbs beginning with **o-** from all other vowels because the infinitive is reduced to **k-**, e.g., /**kootsa**<sup>32</sup> {Rwanda} 'to roast.'

## 1.6. Learning Words Together

Apart from several INVARIABLES (adverbs, prepositions, and interjections), one rarely learns a single word alone in any Bantu language. Students face a kind of "double jeopardy"<sup>33</sup> in that they must learn nouns and verbs in pairs, adjectives and noun classifiers in sets, and the varying grammatical conditions that preverbs and conjunctions govern.

With nouns, one must learn the singular and plural form of its noun class, /**umuuntu**/ 'person' – /**abaantu**/ 'people' [n1] {both}, /**ikiintu**/ 'thing' – /**ibiintu**/ 'things' [n4] {both}. Ultimately one must know the entire system of noun class agreement (subject, object, adjective, numeral, relative, etc.).

With verb roots, both the infinitive and perfect forms of each should be committed to memory. The infinitive carries the basic tonality, and the perfect reflects any sound changes that may apply. Thus, /**kugera**, –**geze**/ {both} 'to arrive – arrived,' /**gutéera** –**téeye**/ 'to attack – attacked,' /**gukúrikira** –**kúrikiye**/ 'to follow – followed,' /**kuróota** –**róose**/ 'to dream – dreamt,' etc.

With adjectives, it is important to know the root (e.g., /**bí**/ 'bad') and all the appropriate agreement forms: /**mubí** – **babí** [n1], **mubí** – **mibí** [n2], **ribí** – **mabí** [n3], **kibí** – **bibí** [n4], **mbí** [n5], **rubí** [n6], **kabí** – **tubí** [n7], **bubí** – **mabí** [n8], **kubí** – **mabí** [n9], **habí** [n10]/.

With preverbs, auxiliary verbs, and conjunctions, one must learn whether the following verb (or clause) will be in the

INDICATIVE (with standard subject agreement),  
 SUBJUNCTIVE (also with standard subject agreement),  
 PARTICIPIAL (with weak vs. strong participial agreement),  
 RELATIVE (usually with object relative agreement),  
 CONDITIONAL, or  
 INFINITIVE.

## 1.7. Multiple Word Units

Often, several words are combined to form a single unit and must be learned as such. While the more curious student may wish to know what each of the forms mean, in such combinations this kind of information serves to obfuscate the meaning and function of the entire unit.

/**ivyó ari vyó**/ {Rundi} 'what it is all about' (R23)  
 /**bwáa buundí**/ {both} 'then, at the moment in question'  
 /**aríko reeró**/ {both} 'however'  
 «**hagati aho**» /**hagat' áho**/ {Rwanda} 'meanwhile'  
 /**ku mpaámvu z'úko**/ {both} 'because, due to the fact that'  
 /**usíbye**/ {Rwanda} 'except' [lit: you omitting]  
 /-**íiva inyuma**/ {Rundi} 'do something with all one's might'

<sup>32</sup> In Rundi, the infinitive remains regular, i.e., /**kwootsa**/.

<sup>33</sup> Referring to the TV game show wherein entire sets of questions become more and more difficult and valuable. In using the word here, we employ 'double' in a sense of 'two or more.'

### 1.8. Major Grammatical Categories

Coming to grips with certain linguistic concepts should help in mastering various subsystems of Rwanda-Rundi grammar. Such categories include person, gender, number, case, inflection, conjugation, and derivation. The following sections discuss and exemplify how and why this is so.

#### 1.8.1. Person

PERSON refers to the orientation of who is speaking, who is listening, and who or what is being talked about. The speaker is the FIRST PERSON, as in English *I, we*. The one who is listening, also called the ADDRESSEE, is the SECOND PERSON, as in English *you* (old English *thou, ye*). The person or thing being discussed is called the THIRD PERSON, and relates to English *he, she, it, they*. This is very important in coping with Rwanda-Rundi (and English) pronouns and demonstratives (deictics).

However, PERSON forms the basis of an entire system of KIN TERMS in these and other Bantu languages which specify one's relationship (i.e., *my father, your father* vs. *his father*). The entire system of kinship terms can be subdivided into three groups based on how possession is shown: PRIMARY (built in, with *no* possessive marking<sup>34</sup>), SECONDARY (with obligatory *plural* possessive marking), and GENERAL (with usual possessive marking). All but a handful of kin terms are in Groups 1 or 1a.<sup>35</sup>

In Table 16, note how the following words are compounded to modify the six PRIMARY KINSHIP TERMS (**data, so, se, mama, nyoko, and nyina**).

- Forms followed by /-**kúru**/ 'older' designate grandparents.
- Forms followed by /-**kúruza**/ designate great-grandparents. (Note that the distinction between first and second person is mostly lost.)
- The n1a-sg form /**mweéne**-/ 'child of' refers to a half-brother or half-sister, e.g., paternal vs. maternal sibling.
- The roots /-**séenge**/ 'paternal aunt' or /-**rúme**/ 'maternal uncle' designate relationships through one's parent; the inverse of these relationships ('paternal uncle' vs. 'maternal aunt') is designated by compounding plural POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS /-**wáacu**/, /-**wáanyu**/, and /-**wáabo**/, which lose any plural reference) to the appropriate primary kin terms.
- Forms compounded with /(**u**)**bukwé**/ 'marriage' designate parents-in-law.
- The n1a-sg form /**mukáa**-/ expresses 'wife of,' both generally and with regard to step-relations.
- Forms compounded with /(**u**)**buja**/ 'servitude' designate ownership within the traditions of serfdom in classic times (perhaps still practiced in rural areas), which are extended in urban centers to refer to one's employer.

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<sup>34</sup> The linguistic term for a situation where nothing appears when something is expected is ZERO, often utilizing the symbol  $\emptyset$ . Normally English verbs have *-ed* in the past; however, *set* in the past is *set- $\emptyset$* , not *\*setted*. Rwanda-Rundi /**daatá**/ is a single word meaning 'my father.' Since no part of it means 'my,' possession is ZERO-marked.

<sup>35</sup> A detailed survey of Rundi kin terms can be found in Rodegem 1970:613–26.

Table 16. Person-Oriented (Primary) Kin Terms

RELATIONSHIP {both} <sup>36</sup>	<i>my/our</i> first person	<i>your</i> second person	<i>his/her/their</i> third person
father	/daatá/	/só/	/se/
mother	/maamá/	/nyoko/	/nyina/
grandfather	/sogókuru/	/sookúru/	/seekúru/
grandmother	/nyogókuru/	/nyookúru/	/nyirákuru/ {Rwanda} /inákuru/ {Rundi}
great-grandfather	/sogókuruza/ /sookúruza/ {Rwanda} 'my ancestor'		/seekúruza/
great-grandmother	/nyogókuruza/		/nyirákuruza/
paternal sibling	/mweéne-dáatá/	/mweéne-só/	/mweéne-sé/
maternal sibling	/mweéne-máamá/	/mweéne-nyoko/	/mweéne-nyina/
paternal cousin	/mweéne-dáata-wáacu/	/mweéne-só-wáanyu/	/mweéne-sé-wáabo/
uncle (maternal)	/maarúme/	/nyokórome, nyokórume/	/nyirárume/ {Rwanda} /inárume/ {Rundi}
uncle (paternal)	/daatá wáacu/	/só wáanyu/	/sé wáabo/
aunt (maternal)	/maamá-wáacu/	/nyok(o)-wáanyu/	/nyina-wáabo/ {Rwanda} /nyinaábo/ {Rundi}
aunt (paternal)	/maaséenge/ /séenge/ {Rundi alt}	/nyogóseenge/	/nyiráseenge/ {Rwanda} /ináseenge/ {Rundi}
father-in-law	/daatábukwé/	/soobukwé/	/seebukwé/
mother-in-law	/maabukwé/	/nyokóbukwé/	/nyirábukwé/ {Rwanda} /inábukwé/ {Rundi}
stepmother	/mukáadaatá/	/mukáasó/	/mukáasé/
master (male)	/daatábuja/	/shóobuja/	/shéebuja/
master (female)	/maabuja/	/nyokobuja/	/nyirabuja/ {Rwanda} /inabuja/ {Rundi}

Forms are {both} unless otherwise stated. Sources: Overdulve 1975:200–1, 257–8; Rodegem 1970:616, 621.

On the other hand, there are SECONDARY KIN TERMS which (like some of the primary forms) receive PLURAL POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS, even though the referent may be singular. What happens in this case is that the pronoun loses its referential value: **umogore wacu** could literally mean 'our woman' (as a GENERAL term in the unlikely event that two men shared the same woman) or 'my sister-in-law' (when a man uses it as a SECONDARY kin term to refer to his brother's wife).

<sup>36</sup> Words cited in Table 16 belong to both dialects, except where R {Rwanda} or B {Rundi} follows, primarily compounds with **ina-**.

Table 17. Plural-Possessed (Secondary) Kin Terms

SECONDARY KIN TERMS {Rwanda} <sup>37</sup>	<i>my/our</i> first person	<i>your</i> second person	<i>his/her/their</i> third person
sister-in-law (brother's wife, said by a man) {Rundi} fused form	/umugoré-wáacu/ R /umugóraácu/	/umugoré-wáanyu/ R /umugóraányu/	/umugoré-wáabo/ R /umugóraábo/
brother-in-law (husband's brother)	/umugabo-wáacu/	/umugabo-wáanyu/	/umugabo-wáabo/
nephew, niece (wife's sister's child) {both}	/umwáana-wáacu/	/umwáana-wáanyu/	/umwáana-wáabo/
nephew (brother's son, said by a brother)	/umuhuúngu-wáacu/	/umuhuúngu-wáanyu/	/umuhuúngu-wáabo/
niece (brother's daughter, said by a brother)	/umukobwa-wáacu/	/umukobwa-wáanyu/	/umukobwa-wáabo/

Sources: Overdulve 1975:257–8; Rodegem 1970:625.

Finally, there are GENERAL KINSHIP TERMS with no reference to person, that are broad in nature and can receive appropriate SINGULAR POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

#### Ascending generation

/umubyéeyi/ {Rwanda}, /umuvyéeyi/ {Rundi} *nI-sg-kin* 'parent, progenitor, mother, father'

#### Descending generation

/umuhuúngu/ {both} *nI-sg* 'son, male offspring'

/umukoóbwa/ {both} *nI-sg* 'girl, daughter, female offspring'

/umwuúzukuru/ {both} *nI-sg-kin* 'grandchild'

/umwuúzukuruza/ {both} *nI-sg-kin* 'great-grandchild; descendant'

/museéngézána/ {Rundi}, /mwíseengenezá/ {Rwanda} *nIa-sg-kin* 'nephew or niece through paternal aunt (child of older brother, said by a sister)'

/umwíshwa/ {Rundi}, /umwíshywa/ {Rwanda} *nI-sg-kin* 'nephew, niece (child of sister, said by a brother)'

#### Same generation

/murúmuna/ {both} *nIa-sg-kin* 'younger sibling (brother or sister of the same sex)'

/mukúru/ {both} *nIa-sg-kin* 'elder sibling (brother or sister of the same sex)'

/musáaza/ {both} *nIa-sg-kin* 'brother (said by a sister)'

/mushiki/ {both} *nIa-sg-kin* 'sister (said by a brother)'

/umuváandimwé/ {both} *nI-sg-cmp-kin* 'kinsman, blood relative of the same generation (unspecified close relationship)' [lit: coming from one belly]

/muvyáara/ {Rundi}, /mubyáara/ {Rwanda} *nIa-sg-kin* 'cross cousin'<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Apart from the «umwana-» compounds, Rundi has a series of shortened or fused forms corresponding to the Rwandan kin terms in Table 17, which can be found in Rodegem 1970:619, 622, 625. Note how those terms given in the first row differ in tone as well as form.

<sup>38</sup> Parallel cousins are called 'brother' or 'sister.'

Affinal or Marriage Relationship

- /umugoré/ {both} *nI-sg* 'wife'
- /umugabo/ {both} *nI-sg* 'husband'
- /umukéebá/ {Rwanda} *nI-sg-kin*, /mukeebá/ {both} *nIa-sg-kin* 'co-wife (term used among wives of a polygamous husband)'
- /murámu/ {both} *nIa-sg-kin* 'brother-in-law (wife's brother), sister-in-law (wife's sister, said by a man); brother-in-law (sister's husband, said by a woman)'
- /murámukazi/ {both} *nIa-sg-kin* 'sister-in-law (husband's sister; brother's wife, said by a woman)'
- /umukwé/ {both} *nI-sg* 'son-in-law; groom, bridegroom'
- /umukazáana/ {both} *nI-sg-kin* 'daughter-in-law'

Table 18. Singular Possession with General (Non-Personal) Kin Terms

Rwanda	Rundi	English
/umugabo waanjye/	/umugabo waanje/	my husband
/umugabo waawe/ {both}		your husband
/umugabo wé/	/umugabo wíiwé/	her husband
/umugoré waanjye/	/umugoré waanje/	my wife
/umugoré waawe/ {both}		your wife
/umugoré wé/	/umugoré wíiwé/	his wife
/umuhuúngu waanjye/	/umuhuúngu waanje/	my son
/umuhuúngu waawe/ {both}		your son
/umuhuúngu wé/	/umuhuúngu wíiwé/	his/her son
/umukoóbwa waanjye/	/umukoóbwa waanje/	my daughter
/umukoóbwa waawe/ {both}		your daughter
/umukoóbwa wé/	/umukoóbwa wíiwé/	his daughter

Sources: Overdulve 1975:201, 258; Rodegem 1970:617.

1.8.2. Gender

Gender in grammar usually involves the distinction between male (MASCULINE) or female (FEMININE), and sometimes neither (NEUTER). Many European languages (German, Spanish, French, etc.) have sharp distinctions among nouns on this basis. Although this is mostly lost in English, we still have to decide whether to use the pronouns *he*, *she*, or *it*. Rwanda-Rundi (and other Bantu languages) do not make such distinctions anywhere in their grammar. Some scholars interpret the noun class system as a very expanded and highly idiomatic gender system. In this view they consider gender an arbitrary classification system within the grammar of quite a few worldwide language families. But this is not related to what is called NATURAL GENDER, the sex of the referent. Obviously Rwanda and Rundi have nouns that refer to males (*father*, *brother*, *uncle*, *ox*, *ram*) as opposed to females (*mother*, *sister*, *aunt*, *cow*, *ewe*). But these do not affect the grammar. The student will have to unlearn his or her need to find pronouns that agree (*father* => *he*, *him*; *mother* => *she*, *her*) and practice agreement with class (§1.8.3). Table 19 is a guide to how noun classes<sup>39</sup> in Rwanda-Rundi intersect with English *he*, *she*, and *it*.

<sup>39</sup> Noun classes are treated in the immediately following section (§1.8.3).

Table 19. English Gender Implied in Noun Classes

group	status	singular	plural
n1/n1a	only human	he, she	they
n2	never human	it	they
n3	never human	it	they
n4	any generic neuter	he, she, it it (neuter)	they; it (generic neuter)
n5	any	he, she, it	they
n6	sometimes human	it; he, she	they
n7	any	he, she, it	they
n8	never human	it	they
n9	never human	it	they
n10	location	it (the place, time, situation)	they (the places, times, situations)
n11	location or manner	it (the place or manner)	they (the places or manners)
n12	location	it (the place)	they (the places)
n13	location	it (the place)	they (the places)

Most nouns referring to humans or animals, when used alone, refer to either the generic or the male. If one must stress feminineness, the suffix **-kazi** is used, as in:

- /inkuúndwaakazi/ {both} *n5-sg* 'favorite woman'
- /inyuúngwaakazi/ {Rwanda} *n5-sg* 'abandoned wife'
- /umugabékazi/ {both} *n1-sg* 'queen mother (mother of the king)'
- /umuréerakazi/ {both} *n1-sg* 'Hutu clanswoman (descendant of Barera)'
- /imbwáakazi/ {both} *n5-sg* 'bitch, female dog'
- /umupfáakazi/ {both} *n1-sg* 'widow'

The use of Group 4 plural (**bi** Bantu class 8) to express the NEUTER and of Group 10 (**ha** Bantu class 16) to express the IMPERSONAL, both translated as *it* in English, are discussed in Chapter 3.

### 1.8.3. Class or Noun Groups

Having a complex noun class system is a hallmark of the Bantu language family as a whole. Historical linguists attempt to reconstruct something of the parent language, which they call PROTO BANTU.

Table 20 shows the Proto (prehistoric) Bantu noun class system as reconstructed or proposed by comparative linguists as well as a broad indication of what each class represented. The Rwanda-Rundi forms relating to these are presented (also see §3.1). Note that some prefixes have become prepositions [17, 18, 23] or emphatics [20, 20a] and no longer mark a specific noun class. Although none of the daughter languages retains all of the noun classes, Rwanda-Rundi have been quite conservative and retain twenty altogether, more than most other descendants. Two Southern Bantu languages (Xhosa and Sotho) are represented for comparative purposes only.

Table 20. Proto-Bantu and Rwanda-Rundi Noun Classes

class	Bantu	category	Rwanda & Rundi	Xhosa	Sotho
01	<b>m(u)-</b>	human - sg	<b>umu-</b>	<b>um-</b>	<b>mo-</b>
01a	<b>u-</b>	kin - sg	<b>Ø (zero)</b>	<b>u-</b>	<b>Ø (zero)</b>
02	<b>va-</b>	human - pl	<b>aba-</b>	<b>aba-</b>	<b>ba-</b>
02a	<b>vo-</b>	kin - pl	<b>baa-</b>	<b>oo- // bo-</b> [voc]	<b>bo-</b>
03	<b>mu-</b>	tree - sg	<b>umu-</b>	<b>um-</b>	<b>mo-</b>
04	<b>mi-</b>	tree - pl	<b>imi-</b>	<b>imi-</b>	<b>me-</b>
05	<b>li-</b>	tooth - sg	<b>i- // ri-</b> [subj]	<b>ili- / i-</b>	<b>le-</b>
06	<b>ma-</b>	liquids, bulk	<b>ama-</b>	<b>ama-</b>	<b>ma-</b>
07	<b>ki-</b>	collective-sg	<b>iki-</b>	<b>isi-</b>	<b>se-</b>
08	<b>vi-</b>	collective-pl	<b>ibi-</b>	<b>izi-</b>	<b>di-</b>
09	<b>ni-</b>	animal - sg	<b>iN- // i-</b> [subj]	<b>iN-</b>	<b>N-</b>
10	<b>li-ni-</b>	animal - pl	<b>iN- // zi-</b> [subj]	<b>iziN-</b>	<b>diN-</b>
11	<b>lu-</b>	wand - sg	<b>uru-</b>	<b>ulu-</b>	# (lost)
12	<b>ka-</b>	diminutive	<b>aka- / aga-</b>	# (lost)	# (lost)
13	<b>tu-</b>	pl -11, 12, 19	<b>utu- / udu-</b>	# (lost)	# (lost)
14	<b>vu-</b>	abstraction	<b>ubu-</b>	<b>ubu-</b>	<b>bo-</b>
15	<b>ku-</b>	verbal noun	<b>uku- / ku-</b> [vn]	<b>uku-</b>	<b>ho-</b>
16	<b>pa-</b>	locative - at	<b>aha- // pa-</b> [/N-]	<b>pha-</b>	<b>fa- / ha-</b>
17	<b>ku-</b>	locative - to	<b>ku-</b> [prep] / <b>-ko</b>	<b>uku-</b>	<b>ho-</b>
18	<b>mu-</b>	locative - in	<b>mu-</b> [prep] / <b>-mo</b>	# (lost)	<b>mo-</b>
19	<b>pi-</b>	diminutive	# (lost)	# (lost)	# (lost)
20	<b>yu-</b>	clumsy - sg	<b>ng-</b> [deic emph]	<b>ngu-</b> [cop]	# (lost)
20a	<b>ya-</b>	clumsy - pl	<b>ng-</b> [deic emph]	# (lost)	# (lost)
21	<b>yi-</b>	giant - sg	# (lost)	# (lost)	# (lost)
22	<b>ya-</b>	giant - pl	# (lost)	# (lost)	# (lost)
23	<b>ji-</b>	location	<b>i-</b> [prep]	<b>e-</b> [prep]	# (lost)

Table by R. David Zorc, most data drawn from Werner (1919:38–53) and interpreted with the help of Derek Gowlett (email 2/10/1999).

#### 1.8.4. Number

The grammatical category of number is traditionally split into: SINGULAR (referring to one and only one) and PLURAL (identifying more than one). With English, any noun standing by itself is singular (e.g., *king, river, color, wound, snake, pebble, type, arm*); the addition of *-s* signifies the plural (e.g., *kings, rivers, colors, wounds, snakes, pebbles, types, arms*). Rwanda and Rundi are quite different in this regard, since they have a full set of affixes that signify singular, with a corresponding set that marks the plural. Table 21 illustrates this with words common to both dialects.

Table 21. Number Marking in Rwanda-Rundi

<b>/umwaámi/</b> 'king' – <b>/abaámi/</b> 'kings' [n1]
<b>/umugezi/</b> 'river (minor)' – <b>/imigezi/</b> 'minor rivers' [n2]
<b>/ibára/</b> 'color' – <b>/amabára/</b> 'colors' [n3]
<b>/igisebe/</b> 'wound' – <b>/ibisebe/</b> 'wounds' [n4]
<b>/inzóka/</b> 'snake' – <b>/inzóka/</b> 'snakes' [n5]
<b>/urúuzi/</b> 'river (major)' – <b>/inzúuzi/</b> 'major rivers' [n6]
<b>/akabuye/</b> 'pebble' – <b>/utubuye/</b> 'pebbles' [n7]
<b>/ubwóoko/</b> 'type' – <b>/amóoko/</b> 'types' [n8]
<b>/ukubóko/</b> 'arm' – <b>/amabóko/</b> 'arms' [n9]

There are languages where the grammar is seriously affected if just two individuals or items are involved (called DUAL). Fortunately, the student of Rwanda or Rundi is spared such complications. Although there is a subcategory of DUAL pronouns (§4.10.2), they require standard plural agreement.

-mpi {Rundi}, -mbi {Rwanda} 'both, two of'

**1.8.5 Case**

Several years ago some linguists described nouns as satellites. If one thinks of our solar system, this can be a very helpful, student-friendly analogy. Every sentence (or clause) consists of a sun (the head verb) with one or more satellites or planets (the nouns) surrounding it. Just as planets need their own orbit to avoid collision, nouns must be marked for their relationship within the sentence to avoid confusion. Given the following words

*buy – man – candy – child – money – store*

there are many possible linguistic configurations or human scenarios, such as:

- The man bought some candy for the child with his money at the store.
- The child will buy the store for the man with money and candy.
- This is the store where the man bought candy for the child with the stolen money.

It is easy to see that each language has got to have some way to keep the satellites (nouns) in place!

This kind of demarcation is called CASE in traditional grammar, and such marking can be made by word order or by special affixes or endings. Thus, in English, WORD ORDER alone determines the case of the subject and the object. When we say *Peter hit Paul* we know that *Peter* is the SUBJECT (the doer or agent) and that *Paul* is the OBJECT (the receiver of the action). Anyone who has studied Latin, Greek, or other Indo-European languages will be familiar with up to six cases: nominative (the subject), genitive (possessive), dative (indirect object), accusative (direct object), ablative (place from or out of which), and vocative (used for addressing or calling someone). Rwanda and Rundi assign noun satellites in a way amazingly parallel to that of English.

While there is no direct marking for each case, the following cases can be identified in Rwanda or Rundi: SUBJECT (initial word order), OBJECT (either following the verb, as in English, or as a special infix before the verb root), POSSESSIVE (following special class agreement prefixes which might all be loosely translated as *of*), LOCATIVE (following the prepositions **ku, kwa, mu, i**), and VOCATIVE (with a special tone pattern signalling the address function). Additionally, with a series of COPULATIVE verbs, a noun (or an adjective) can become the center of its own solar system, so to speak. This sentence construction can be called PREDICATIVE and gets a special kind of marking. Table 22 presents several examples.

**Table 22. Realization of Case in Rwanda-Rundi**

Case	Realization	Example
SUBJECT	word order before verb <u>S</u> VO	« <b>Petero arakubita Paulo</b> » 'Peter hits Paul.'
OBJECT	word order after verb SV <u>Q</u>	« <b>Petero arakubita Paulo</b> » 'Peter hits Paul.'
	infix before verb root S-()- <u>OBJ</u> -Δ-a	« <b>Petero aramukubita</b> » 'Peter hits him.'
POSSESSIVE	singular possessive pronoun	« <b>Incuti yanj(y)e yansuye</b> » 'My friend (recently) visited me.'
	plural possessive pronoun	« <b>Incuti zanj(y)e zansuye</b> » 'My friends (recently) visited me.'



	singular possessor noun	«Umwana <u>w'incuti</u> yanj(y)e yansuye» 'The child <u>of</u> my <u>friend</u> (recently) visited me.'
LOCATIVE	<b>mu</b> (partitive) [not possessive]	«Bamwe <u>mu</u> <u>ncuti</u> zanj(y)e bansuye» 'Some <u>of</u> my <u>friends</u> visited me.'
	<b>mu</b> into (inside)	«Petero agiye <u>mu</u> nzu» 'Peter is going <u>into</u> the house.'
	<b>ku</b> to (outside)	«Petero agiye <u>ku</u> mugezi» 'Peter is going <u>to</u> the river.'
	<b>i</b> to (fixed location)	«Petero agiye <u>i</u> Kigali» 'Peter is going <u>to</u> Kigali.'
VOCATIVE	(tonal marking)	/peétero, <sup>40</sup> ngwiinó háno/ 'Peter! Come here!'
PREDICATIVE	affirmative copulative – noun	«Petero ni <u>incuti</u> yanj(y)e» 'Peter is my <u>friend</u> .'
	– adjective	«Petero ni <u>mwiza</u> » 'Peter is <u>good-looking</u> .'
	negative copulative – noun	«Petero si <u>incuti</u> yanj(y)e» 'Peter is not my <u>friend</u> .'
	– adjective	«Petero si <u>mwiza</u> » 'Peter is not <u>good-looking</u> .'

### 1.8.6 Inflection

The process of moving around within a single part of speech is called INFLECTION; for example, *friend, friends, friend's, of (my) friends*. This can involve going from singular to plural, from subject to object, from simple noun to either possessor or possessed noun, etc. See the possessive examples in Table 22.

There is a special term for moving around from one verb form to another (CONJUGATION). A verb can be inflected or conjugated in the PRESENT (*we study, she studies*), PAST (*studied*), or FUTURE (*will study*); it can be ACTIVE (*they study hard*) or PASSIVE (*the law is studied*). Examples of some verb conjugations can be reviewed in Tables 7, 10, and 15.

### 1.8.7 Derivation: The Makeup of Word Families

Conversely, the process of moving from one part of speech to another or even to a subclass of a given part of speech is termed DERIVATION; for example, *friend, friendship, friendliness, friendly, unfriendly*. In these last five English examples, *friend, friendship, and friendliness* are all nouns, but *friend* is a simple or count noun, *friendship* is a stative noun, and *friendliness* is an abstract noun; *friendly* and *unfriendly* are both adverbs, one positive, the other negative. A similar derivation process can be seen in both Rwanda and Rundi for the root /-cutí/ in Table 23.

**Table 23. Example of Derivation (a Word Family) in Rwanda-Rundi**

/incutí/ {both} n5-sg/pl 'relative, parent, kin; close friend'
/mucutí/ {both} n1a-sg 'inseparable friend'
/ubucutí/ {both} n8-sg-abs 'friendship'
/agacutí/ {both} n7-sg 'distant relative'
/gicutí/ {Rwanda} adv (n4-sg) 'in a friendly way or manner'

The full collection of all derived forms in a language may be called a WORD FAMILY. In Bantu languages, some word families can be quite extensive. The growth of the stem /-kór-/ into many other words was discussed in §1.5.

<sup>40</sup> Root tone differs between /peetéro/ {Rundi} and /peetero/ {Rwanda}. Both dialects share this vocative with high tone on the second mora, /peétero/ (i.e., the second of two identical vowels).

## 1.9. Irregularities

Every language has at least some irregularities, and these present the learner with special problems. English is replete with irregularities in all its systems: irregular plurals (*child – children*), irregular past forms (*sing – sang – sung, go – went – gone*), non-conforming adjectives (*good – better – best*), and so on. The majority of Rwanda-Rundi nouns and verbs behave in a predictable way, but there are some that follow different patterns. A few examples are provided in Table 24.

**Table 24. Some Irregular Nouns and Verbs**

/inzira/ n5-sg-ir road, path	/amayira/ n3-pl-ir 'roads, paths' Expected would be /inzira/ n5-pl
/iryinyo/ n3-sg-ir tooth Root /iinyo/ gets ir- prefix	/aményo/ n3-pl 'teeth'
/ijisho/ n3-sg-ir eye Root /V:so/ gets ij- prefix	/amáaso/ n3-pl-ir 'eyes'
/urura/ n6-sg-ir intestine Cf: /inda/ n5-sg/pl belly	/amara/ n3-pl 'intestines' Expected would be /inda/ n6-pl
/-:za/ v-intr-ir come, arrive	/-:je/ v-perf 'came, arrived' Expected would be /-:zye/
/-úumva/ v-tr-ir hear; feel	/-úumviise/ v-perf 'heard; felt' Expected /-úumvye, -úumbye/
/-:zi/ v-ir know	[defective – no perfect form]

A more detailed discussion will be found in §3.5.1–4 for nouns and §8.16 for verbs.

## 1.10. Using a Rwanda-Rundi Dictionary

Locating a word in any Rwanda or Rundi dictionary can be a difficult task. In all dictionaries or wordlists we have surveyed (Cox 1969, Jacob 1984–87, Overdulse 1975, Rodegem 1970, Stevick 1965), one must work the word down to its root, which requires that the learner know quite a bit about it in the first place (e.g., removing the singular or plural affixes of a noun, the multiple prefixes and suffixes of a verb, the agreement forms of an adjective, etc.). Thus «**umugabo**» 'man' {both} has to be looked up under **-gab-**, «**abavyeyi**» 'parents' {Rundi} under **-vyar-**, «**umwambi**» {Rwanda} 'arrow' under **-ambi**. Listing words alphabetically under their roots can even be a problem for a native speaker, who might be familiar with a derived form (e.g., a noun), but not the details about its root, e.g., that a word like «**icese**» {Rundi} 'clarity; openness' is found under «**-es-**».

The effects of sound changes can add to this difficulty (see §1.4 ABOVE). Finding any of the following words can be a daunting task: «**umukozi**» {both} 'worker' under **-kor-**, «**umwanzi**» {Rwanda} 'enemy' under **-ang-**, «**umutetsi**» {both} 'cook' under **-tek-**, «**umwambuzi**» {both} 'robber' under **-ambur-**, «**umudeshyi**» {Rwanda} 'idle person' under **-deh-**, «**impano**» {both} 'gift, donation' under **-h-** 'give', «**impumyi**» {both} 'blind person' under **-hum-** 'be blind.'

What is sorely needed for the study of this language is a beginner's dictionary. The **Glossary** at the back of the *Rwanda-Rundi Newspaper Reader* (Nibagwire & Zorc 2002) was a step in such a direction because words are listed alphabetically as they were encountered; they are also cross-referenced to their roots, affixes, and variant forms.

## 2. THE SOUND SYSTEM

Letters are one thing; the sounds that they represent are quite another. Any student looking at the literature (especially textbooks and grammars) of Rwanda or Rundi may rightfully feel bewildered at the lack of agreement as to how many sounds are significant. Although all authors propose the same number of vowels (five: **a, e, i, o, u**), with length and tonal distinctions (short vs. long, high vs. low), different authors accept anywhere from 19 to 26 consonants. Since no author disputes the analysis of another, there is technically no disagreement. In part, the discrepancies are based on theoretical issues that need not concern a language student.<sup>41</sup>

What is important for someone learning to speak the language is how to pronounce effectively the words, phrases, or sentences being studied. In linguistic terms, the PHONETICS of the language is of greater relevance to the student than is the PHONOLOGY. Phonetics describes how the sounds that actually occur in words are pronounced; phonology deals with those sounds that are critical to the language. For example, English has the PHONEME /p/,<sup>42</sup> which has different pronunciations depending on where it occurs in a word. At the beginning, it has a strong puff of air (called aspiration) accompanying it, as in «pin» [p<sup>h</sup>In];<sup>43</sup> after another consonant it is weak or lenis, as in «spin» [spIn]; at the end of a word, it is unreleased «nip» [nIp̚]. A student of English must learn to pronounce this (and the other voiceless stops /t/ and /d/) according to such "rules" if he or she wishes to sound like a native speaker; otherwise, one's speech will be marked by an "accent."

### 2.1. Consonants

Consonants are sounds which, in one way or another, obstruct the flow of air through either the mouth or nose. As the air first passes through the vocal chords, they are either at rest (so the sound is VOICELESS) or vibrating (so the sound is VOICED).<sup>44</sup> If the airflow gets fully obstructed, the resulting sound is called a STOP or OBSTRUENT, e.g., /b, p, d, t, g, k/. If the air flow gets partially obstructed, resulting in some form of friction within the mouth, the sound is called a FRICATIVE or SPIRANT, e.g., /v, f, z, s, h/. If the air flows through the nose rather than the mouth, the sound is called a NASAL, e.g., /m, n/. If the air is stopped by the tongue tapping against the ridge just behind the teeth, the resulting sound is called a TAP or FLAP, /r/. Finally, if the air flows freely (which is the characteristic of a VOWEL), but is affected by the shape of the mouth, the sound is called a GLIDE or SEMIVOWEL, /w, y/.

<sup>41</sup> For example, if one considers the three affricates «pf, ts, c» /pf, ts, tʃ/ as combination-sounds, i.e., /p + f/, /t + s/, /t + ʃ/, then the phonemic inventory can be reduced by three. Furthermore, many grammarians are not PHONOLOGISTS (sound specialists) and may consider a phonetic feature as if it were phonemic (i.e., a significant sound).

<sup>42</sup> A significant sound within a language is called a PHONEME by linguists and is written between slashes /a/. Such a rendition is called a PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION, e.g., /pin/, and indicates the significant sounds making up a word; when written as such, it is *not* a guide to pronunciation.

<sup>43</sup> A PHONETIC RENDITION is written within square brackets [a], usually using the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet), which serves as a guide for how a word is pronounced.

<sup>44</sup> The easiest way to become familiar with the feature of VOICING is to put a finger on the outside of your throat (Adam's apple area) and say "zzzzzzzzz." You should feel the vibration of your vocal chords. If you then say "sssssss" you will notice that they stop vibrating.

## Chapter 2: The Sound System

See Table 25 for an inventory of all consonants proposed (shaded cells indicate sounds that are probably not PHONEMIC, i.e., not differentiated from all other sounds). Table 26 for acceptance by various scholars of Kinyarwanda, and Table 27 for acceptance by various scholars of Kirundi.

**Table 25. Kinyarwanda-Kirundi Consonants**

		labial	alveolar	alveolo-palatal	palatal	velar	glottal
stop	+voice	<b>b</b> [β]	<b>d</b>		<b>g<sup>y</sup></b> «jy»	<b>g</b>	
	-voice	<b>p</b>	<b>t</b>		<b>k<sup>y</sup></b> «cy»	<b>k</b>	
fricative	+voice	<b>v</b>	<b>z</b>	<b>ʒ</b> «j»			
	-voice	<b>f</b>	<b>s</b>	<b>ʃ</b> «sh»	<b>ʃ<sup>y</sup></b> «shy»		<b>h</b> <b>h<sup>y</sup></b>
affricate		<b>pf</b>	<b>ts</b>	<b>tʃ</b> «c»			
nasal		<b>m</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>ɲ</b> «ny»		<b>ŋ</b>	
continuant	tap		<b>r</b>				
	glide	<b>(w)</b>			<b>y</b>	<b>w</b>	

Sources: {Kinyarwanda} Bizimana 1998:16–29, Coupez 1980:22–35, Kimenyi 1980:13–20 and 2001:385, Jacob 1987:iv–ix, Overdulse 1975:320f); {Kirundi} Bennett 2001, Cristini 2000, Meeussen 1959, Stevick 1965.

**Table 26. Acceptance of Kinyarwanda Consonants**

sound	Overdulse (1975)	Coupez (1980)	Jacob (1985)	Bizimana (1998)	Kimenyi (1980)	Kimenyi (2001)
b [β]	√	√	√	√	√	√
c [tʃ]	√	NO	NO	√	√	√
cy [k <sup>y</sup> ]	√	NO	NO	NO	√	√
d	√	√	√	√	√	√
f	√	√	√	√	√	√
g	√	√	√	√	√	√
h	√	√	√	√	√	√
j [ʒ]	√	√	√	√	√	√
jy [g <sup>y</sup> ]	√	NO	NO	NO	√	√
k	√	√	√	√	√	√
m	√	√	√	√	√	√
n	√	√	√	√	√	√
ny	√	√	√	NO	√	√
ng [ŋ]	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	√
p	√	√	√	√	√	√
pf	√	NO	NO	√	√	√
r	√	√	√	√	√	√
s	√	√	√	√	√	√
sh [ʃ]	√	√	√	√	√	√
shy [ʃ <sup>y</sup> ]	√	√	√	NO	√	√
t	√	√	√	√	√	√
ts [tʃ]	√	NO	NO	√	√	√
v	√	√	√	√	√	√
w	√	√	√	(ALT)	√	√
y	√	√	√	(ALT)	√	√
z	√	√	√	√	√	√

Key: √ accepted; NO not accepted; (ALT) alters sound with which it occurs (e.g., palatalization with <sup>y</sup>, velarization <sup>w</sup>)

Table 27. Acceptance of Kirundi Consonants

sound	Meeussen (1959)	Stevick (1965)	Cristini (2000)	Bennett (2001)
b [β]	√	√	√	√
c [tʃ]	√	√	√	√
cy [kʲ]	√	(DIAL)	NO	√
d	√	√	√	√
f	√	√	√	√
g	√	√	√	√
h	√	√	√	√
j [ʒ]	√	√	√	√
iy [gʲ]	√	(DIAL)	NO	√
k	√	√	√	√
m	√	√	√	√
n	√	√	√	√
ny	√	√	√	√
ng	NO	NO	NO	NO
p	√	√	√	√
pf	√	√	√	√
r	√	√	√	√
s	√	√	√	√
sh [ʃ]	√	√	(DIAL)	√
shy [ʃʲ]	√	(DIAL)	NO	√
t	√	√	√	√
ts	√	√	√	√
v	√	√	√	√
w	√	√	√	√
y	√	√	√	√
z	√	√	√	√

Key: √ accepted; NO not accepted; (DIAL) found in some dialects

For the purposes of this study, the significant (PHONEMIC) sounds of Kigali Kinyarwanda and Bujumbura Kirundi are those *without shading* in Table 25. The *five shaded ones* are either phonetic (non-phonemic) or dialect variants:

«w» is both a LABIAL and VELAR sound; because it is involved in the process of VELARIZATION [ʷ] it is best considered VELAR;

«jy» [gʲ] is a palatalized variant of /g/, it may be phonemic (significant) in some dialects;

«cy» [kʲ] is a palatalized variant of /k/, it may be phonemic (significant) in some dialects;

«ng» [ŋ] is the phonetic realization of /n/ before /g/;

«hy» [hʲ] is a palatalized variant of /h/.

2.2. Vowels

Rwanda and Rundi have an identical vowel inventory representing long and short versions of the CARDINAL VOWEL SYSTEM /a, e, i, o, u/. Most linguistic works on Rwanda<sup>45</sup> represent LONG VOWELS by doubling them /aa, ee, ii, oo, uu/, whereas studies in or on Rundi<sup>46</sup> use a series of symbols depending on whether there is a high tone or not (thereby melding the phonologically separate categories of VOWEL LENGTH and TONE):

- a MACRON designates a long low-toned vowel, /(ku)gīsha/ {Rundi}, /(ku)giisha/ {Rwanda} 'make s.o. go'
- a CIRCUMFLEX marks a long vowel the first of which is high-toned, /(gu)têka/{Rundi}, /(gu)téeka/{Rwanda} 'to cook'
- a HACEK (or upside-down circumflex) indicates a long vowel, the second of which is high-toned, /ububăsha/{Rundi}, /ububaáša/ {Rwanda} 'ability'
- and DAERISIS (or DOUBLE DOTS) designates a long vowel, both of which are high-toned, /mwëse/ {Rundi} 'all of you' = /mwéése/.<sup>47</sup>

In order to maintain a distinction between long and short vowels without regard to their tonality (which will be treated in the immediately following section), this book represents long vowels by doubling them,<sup>48</sup> as portrayed in Table 28.<sup>49</sup>

Table 28. Kinyarwanda-Kirundi Vowels

	FRONT		CENTRAL		BACK	
LENGTH	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG
HIGH	i	ii			u	uu
MID	e	ee			o	oo
LOW			a	aa		
ROUNDNESS	UNROUNDED				ROUNDED	

The terms FRONT – CENTRAL – BACK refer to the location in the mouth or oral cavity where the sounds are made. These terms apply as much to English as they do to Rwanda-Rundi. Listen and feel how you pronounce *bit* – *bat* – *boot*. Notice how the *i* of *bit* is pronounced further towards the front of the mouth while the *oo* of *boot* is much further back.

The terms HIGH – MID – LOW are equally universal and refer to the position of the tongue (TONGUE HEIGHT). While pronouncing *beet* – *bait* – *bat*, notice how your tongue (and jaw) drop. The same applies to *boot* – *boat* – *bat*.

Linguists use the term MORA to describe the length or duration of a vowel. A single vowel occupies one mora, a long vowel lasts two moras (or MORAE). Some tone rules will be discussed later on in this chapter and throughout this book that involve first vs. second mora.

<sup>45</sup> For example, Overdulse 1975, Overdulse & Jacob 1998, Bizimana 1998. Earlier works, e.g., Hurel 1911/1951, Hands 1952, and even a recent one, Gasarabwe 1992, ignore length and tone marking altogether.

<sup>46</sup> This four-way marking of length and tone can be found in Rodegem 1967, 1970, Ntahokaja 1994, and Cristini 2000. A much earlier study, Bagein 1951 illustrates an author's attempt to account for both vowel length and tone and how typesetting errors foil the best of intentions.

<sup>47</sup> There is no equivalent (phonemically significant) tone pattern with two successive high vowels in Rwanda. The phonemic Rwandan equivalent is /mwéése/, pronounced by tonal carryover as [mwéése]. Whether the Rundi pattern is phonemic or phonetic has neither been challenged nor investigated.

<sup>48</sup> This decision has the advantage of avoiding typographically difficult symbols, a practice which has led to numerous errors of omission in the Rundi literature, e.g., the lack of a macron on hundreds of entries in Rodegem's *Dictionnaire Rundi-Français* (1970).

<sup>49</sup> Meeussen 1959, Stevick 1965 and Bennett 2001 portray Rundi length and tone in the same way as we do in this book.

Understanding these terms is of some importance to the study of Rwanda and Rundi grammar. The choice of several verb augments, such as **-ir-** vs. **-er-**, depends on MID vs. NON-MID VOWELS, e.g., **-ir-** occurs if the previous syllable has **a**, **i**, or **u** (NON-MID), but **-er-** if **e** or **o** (MID). Thus, **/kór-er-a/** 'do s.t. for s.o.' as opposed to **/úumv-ir-a/** 'obey s.o.; taste s.t. for s.o.' See VOWEL HARMONY in §2.5.13.

There are also changes that involve UNROUNDED VOWELS (**i**, **e**, **a**), which are deleted or ELIDED in final position if the following word starts with a vowel: **/ba-aa-uuba(k)-tse inzu/** > **[buubats' inzu]** 'They (recently) built a house.'<sup>50</sup> See §2.5.10.2 for further discussion and exemplification.

Roots that begin with vowels cause a number of sound changes, such as when the noun prefix **umu-** becomes **umw-** or the infinitive prefix **ku-** becomes **kw-**. Long initial vowels get shortened under some circumstances, and tone will shift from the first to the second vowel of the pair in certain inflections or conjugations.

### 2.2.1. Short Vowels

Short vowels contrast with long vowels. Vowel length plays an important role in both dialects;<sup>51</sup> it is a PHONEMIC, contrastive, or distinctive feature (Table 29).

**Table 29. Importance of Short vs. Long Vowels**

<b>/basomá/</b> {both} <i>v-rel-imm</i> 'that they read (now)' – <b>/baasomá/</b> {Rundi} <i>v-rel-recent</i> 'that they read (recently)'
<b>/(gu)héreza/</b> {Rundi} <i>v-ben-caus</i> 'terminate at' – <b>/(gu)héreza/</b> <i>v-ditr</i> {both} 'hand s.t. to s.o.'
<b>/(ku)bíka/</b> {both} <i>v-intr</i> 'crow (as a rooster)' – <b>/(ku)bíika/</b> {both} <i>v-tr</i> 'put away'
<b>/urutoki/</b> {both} <i>n6-sg</i> 'finger' – <b>/urutooki/</b> {both} <i>n6-sg</i> 'banana plantation'
<b>/kuzira/</b> {both} 'to be hostile to' – <b>/kuuzira/</b> {both} 'to visit'

However, vowel length (i.e., whether a vowel should be long or short) is predictable in some environments.

#### 2.2.1.1. Initial Vowels Are Usually Short

An INITIAL VOWEL (i.e., one at the beginning of a word) is usually short.<sup>52</sup> This applies broadly to all noun class prefixes, the weak subject prefixes of verbs, deictics, etc.

<b>/akaryáamyéndá/</b> {both} <i>n7-sg</i> 'person up to his ears in debt'
<b>/aramúbaza/</b> {both} <i>v-ind-imm+n1-sg-obj</i> 'He asks her.'
<b>/evyiri/</b> {Rundi}, <b>/ebyiri/</b> {Rwanda} <i>num-n5-pl</i> 'two'
<b>/idúuká/</b> {both} <i>n3-sg</i> 'store, shop'
<b>/ikinyámakurú/</b> {both} <i>n4-sg</i> 'newspaper'
<b>/ofiisi/</b> {both} <i>n5b-sg</i> 'office' {French}
<b>/umubaaji/</b> {both} <i>n1-sg</i> 'carpenter; sculptor'
<b>/umugaanda/</b> {both} <i>n2-sg</i> 'scaffold, framework'

<sup>50</sup> Generalization and Rwandan example drawn from Kimenyi 1980:15. For Rundi, see Cristini 2000:10, e.g., **/du-t-é ama-buye/** > **[dut'ámabuye]** 'Let's throw out the eggs.' Contrast this process of ELISION with the lengthening that occurs in CONTRACTION, i.e., when two vowels come together (§2.2.2.1).

<sup>51</sup> This was discussed and illustrated in terms of homographs (see §1.2.1).

<sup>52</sup> Cf: Cristini 2000:10, Kimenyi 1980:16, and Overdulse 1975:318.

However, note that these initial vowels can become long in certain constructions (§2.2.2.3).

### 2.2.1.2. Final Vowels Are Usually Short

A FINAL VOWEL (i.e., one at the end of a word) is usually short.<sup>53</sup>

- /uburaanga/ {both} *n8-sg-abs* 'beauty'
- /uruvaáange/ {both} *n6-sg* 'conglomeration, mixture'
- /injíishij/ {both} *n5-sg* 'braid, tress'
- /ubwóoko/ {both} *n8-sg* 'type, sort, kind'
- /abaácu/ {both} *pro-1pl-nom-poss-nl-pl* 'ours'

### 2.2.1.3. Shortening of Long Vowels

Long vowels become short under some circumstances. In the imperative, vowel verbs which ordinarily start with a long vowel have a short vowel.<sup>54</sup>

- /akiira/ {both} *v-imp* 'Accept!' </(kw)aakiira/
- /emera/ {both} *v-imp* 'Agree!' </(kw)éemera/
- /iyuumvire/ {both} *v-imp* 'Just listen!' (R37.4) </(kw)iiyuumvira/

When the prefix of *n3-sg* /i-/, *n5-sg*, *n5-pl*, or *n6-pl* /in-/, the first person pronoun object infix /-ny-/,<sup>55</sup> and the reflexive verb affix /ii-/ come before a long vowel root, that root-initial vowel is shortened. Technically, the vowel of the prefix is lengthened (see §2.2.2.8), but the resulting sequences of /ii/ before another vowel are all reinterpreted as /iy/.<sup>56</sup>

- /iyandikwa/ {both} *n3-sg* 'enrollment' (R39.5) < /i-i-aandik-w-a/
- /iyígiisha/ {both} *n3-sg* 'instruction' < /i-íig-iish-a/
- /imáana/ {both} *n5-sg* 'God' < /i-N-máana/
- /inyandiko/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'writing' < /i-n-i-aandik-o/
- /inyíbano/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'stolen item' < /i-n-i-íib-an-o/
- /-íyoroosa/ {both} *v-refl* 'cover oneself up' < /ii-ooroos-a/
- /-íiyicarira/ {both} *v-refl-ben* 'be seated' < /ii-iicar-ir-a/
- /kuunyambika/ *v-inf+pro-obj* 'to clothe me' < /ku-n-aambik-a/
- /araányemera/ {both} *v-ind-imm-dis+obj* 'He believes me.'
- < /a-ra-n-éemer-a/
- /uraanyandika/ {both} *v-ind-imm-dis+obj* 'You will write me.'
- < /u-ra-n-aandik-a/

### 2.2.1.4. The Rwanda Suffix /-aga/

The initial vowel of the Rwanda suffix /-aga/ [recent past and preterit imperfect] is always short, even if preceded by a long consonant.<sup>57</sup>

- /nuúmvaga/ {Rwanda} 'I was thinking.' (R34.3)
- /baáhaabwaga/ {Rwanda} '...that they received.' (R40.5)

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<sup>53</sup> Cf: Cristini 2000:10, Kimenyi 1980:16, and Overdulve 1975:318.

<sup>54</sup> Cf: Cristini 2000:10.

<sup>55</sup> After a vowel the object infix *-n-* gets palatalized, becoming /-ny-/ [pro-1sg-obj].

<sup>56</sup> That is, the class affixes cited have the forms /iy-/ [n3-sg], /iny-/ [n5-sg/pl, n6-pl], /ii-/ [reflexive verb].

<sup>57</sup> Cf: Overdulve 1975:318.



## 2.2.2. Long Vowels

As illustrated in Table 29, long vowels contrast with short ones. However, vowel length is predictable in some environments.

### 2.2.2.1. Vowel Sequences Become Long

A vowel will be long if it represents a sequence (CONTRACTION) of two or more vowels *within* a word.<sup>58</sup> Be mindful that such vowel length is not shown in the orthography.

*/baákoze/* {both} *v-ind-pret-perf* 'They did.' < */ba-á-kó(r)-ze/*  
*/meénshi/* {both} *adj-n3-pl* 'lots of' < */ma-iínshi/*

### 2.2.2.2. The Presentative Demonstrative Prefix Has a Long Vowel

The initial vowel of a predicative or presentative demonstrative pronoun is always long.<sup>59</sup>

*/ngaahá/* {both} *deic-1-emph-n10-loc* 'Here it is!'  
*/ngaahó/* {both} *deic-2-emph-n10-loc* 'There it is!'  
*/ngaayá/* {both} *deic-1-emph-n3-pl* 'Here they are!'  
*/nguubwó/* {both} *deic-2-emph-n8-sg* 'There it is! (near you);' {Rundi} 'Same to you! [returning a greeting]'

### 2.2.2.3. Lengthening of a Short Vowel after Possessives or Connectives

In possessive or connective constructions, the short initial vowel becomes long if the word has high tone on the *first* vowel of its second syllable.<sup>60</sup>

*/n'úumwáana/* {both} 'even a child' (R38.1)  
*/ijaambo ry'íibáanzé/* {Rwanda} 'preface, foreword'  
*/mu makomiine y'íintáará/* {both} 'in communes of the province'  
*/ubwaátsi bw'íinká/* {both} 'grass for cows' (R40.4)

Note that in a construction like */inkóno y'ítaábi/* {both} 'tobacco pipe,' the high tone is on the *second* vowel (mora) of the second syllable, so the first syllable vowel is not lengthened.

### 2.2.2.4. Lengthening of a Short Vowel after Certain Markers

A short initial vowel becomes long if the word is preceded by the locatives */kurí/* and */murí/*, the copulatives */ni/* and */si/*, the locative */-rí/*, or the imperative */mpa/*. In all these cases, the final vowel of the function word is lost, so the extension of the following vowel is a case of COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING.

*/n'uurugorí/* {both} 'It is the crown.' < */ni uru-gorí/*  
*/mur'úuru/* {both} 'in this one' [n6-sg] < */murí uru/*  
*/ur'uumugaanga/* {both} 'You're the doctor.' < */u-ri umu-gaanga/*  
*/mp'aamafaraanga/* {both} 'Give me some money!' < */n-h-a ama-faraanga/*

<sup>58</sup> This contrasts with the loss (ELISION) of vowels *across a word boundary* (see §2.5.10.2), e.g., */inká imwé/* > *[ink'ímwé]* {both} 'one cow'.

<sup>59</sup> Jacob et al. suggest that the prefix is *nga-* (1987:392), whereas Overdulse et al. relate it to *ngo* (1975:248). Table 20 (in §1.8.3) shows possible Bantu class 20 derivations (*yu-* or *ya-*). What is clear is that the vowel of the prefix has been lost, but there is COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING of the initial vowel of the deictic (hence, our *ngV-*).

<sup>60</sup> Cf: Kimenyi 2002:95.

### 2.2.2.5. Long Vowels Next to Complex Consonants

It so happens that a long vowel is usually found preceded or followed by a long consonant. If a consonant plus a semivowel<sup>61</sup> (**w** or **y**, i.e., a VELARIZED or PALATALIZED consonant) comes before any vowel, that vowel will be long, as in the following examples common to BOTH dialects:

*/umwaavu/* *n2-sg* 'sweepings'  
*/umutwaáre/* *n1-sg* 'chief'  
*/umuryáango/* *n2-sg* 'doorway'  
*/ubwéenge/* *n8-sg-abs* 'intelligence'  
*/iryíinyo/* *n3-sg-ir* 'tooth'  
*/urwoobo/* *n6-sg* 'hole'  
*/ubwóoba/* *n8-sg-abs* 'fear'  
*/umwuuga/* *n2-sg* 'trade, profession'  
*/umwuuna/* *n2-sg* 'flow'

### 2.2.2.6. Long Vowels Followed by a Nasal and a Consonant

A long vowel also appears if it is followed by a nasal **/m, n/** and another consonant,<sup>62</sup> as in the following examples common to BOTH dialects:

*/intáambwé/* *n5-sg/pl* 'step'  
*/urugeendo/* *n6-sg* 'journey'  
*/ikireenge/* *n4-sg* 'foot'  
*/ubutiindi/* *n8-sg-abs* 'bad luck'  
*/umuziinga/* *n2-sg* 'beehive'  
*/umuroongo/* *n2-sg* 'line, row'  
*/umwuumbati/* *n2-sg* 'cassava'  
*/umuuntu/* *n1-sg* 'person'  
*/umuhuúngu/* *n1-sg* 'boy, son'

This rule also applies if a vowel is followed by **n** plus any other nasal **/n, m, ny/**. Note, however, that the first **n** of the resulting cluster is actually lost [linguistically speaking it becomes ZERO (Ø)] and is not represented as a nasal, but rather by length on the preceding vowel.<sup>63</sup>

*/kuumenya/* {both} 'to know me' < */ku-n (Ø)-meny-a/*  
*/kuumyooza/* {both} 'to try to eliminate me' < */ku-n (Ø)-myooz-a/* (R27.3)  
*/siimesá/* {Rwanda} 'I don't wash (clothes)' < */si-n (Ø)-mes-a/*

Such vowel lengthening even applies across a word boundary, as when function words, such as **/mu/**, **/ku/**, **/murí/**, **/kurí/** [prep], **/ni/**, **/si/**, or **/-rí/** [cop], relative pronouns,<sup>64</sup> etc. are followed by any form having a nasal complex.

*/kuu máana/* {both} 'to God' < */ku N(Ø)-máana/*  
*/muu náama/* {both} 'at the meeting' < */mu-n (Ø)-náama/*  
*/muu nzu/* {both} 'at home'  
*/nii ndé wabikúbwiiye/* {both} 'Who told you that?'  
*/urii ndé?/* {both} 'Who are you?'  
*/iyóo mbá wé sínooje/* {Rundi} 'If I were him, I would not come.'  
*/ukóo njé/* {Rwanda} 'each time that I come'

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<sup>61</sup> Cf: Overdulve 1975:42.

<sup>62</sup> Cf: Cristini 2000:10 and Overdulve 1975:42.

<sup>63</sup> Yet another case of COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING.

<sup>64</sup> These are called PRECESSIVE PRONOUNS (French *précessif*) by several linguists, e.g., Cristini 2000:130f, Overdulve 1975:185, Rodegem 1967:25.

### 2.2.2.7. Not All Digraphs Are Complex Consonants

The symbols «ny» {both} and «shy» {Rwanda}, «sh» {Rundi} each designate a single consonant, IPA /ɲ/ and /ʃ/ respectively, not a consonant plus a semivowel. They can therefore be preceded or followed by either a short or long vowel, e.g.,

/umúunyu/ {both} *n2-sg* 'salt'  
 /umunyorúru/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg* 'prisoner'  
 /gutíinyuuka/ {both} *v-rev-st-inf* 'to be fearless'  
 /amarushywá/ {Rwanda}, /amarushwá/ {Rundi} *n3-pl* 'difficulties'  
 /ishyaamba/ {Rwanda}, /ishaamba/ {Rundi} *n3-sg* 'jungle'

### 2.2.2.8. Palatalized Labials Can Be Followed by Long or Short Vowels

After **by** {Rwanda} – **vy** {Rundi} and **py** {Rwanda} – **fy** {Rundi}, **i** can be either long or short.<sup>65</sup>

/impyisi/ {Rwanda} – /imfyisi/ {Rundi} *n5-sg/pl* 'jackal, hyena'  
 /imbyino/ {Rwanda} *n5-sg/pl* – /uruvyíno/ {Rundi} *n6-sg* 'song'  
 /ebyiri/ {Rwanda} – /evyiri/ {Rundi} *num-n5-pl* 'two'  
 /ikibyíimba/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg* 'swelling; tumor, abscess'  
 /byíinshi/ {Rwanda} – /vyíinshi/ {Rundi} *adj-n4-pl* 'many'  
 /byiizá/ {Rwanda} – /vyiizá/ {Rundi} *adj-n4-pl* 'good (things)'

### 2.2.2.9. Lengthening of a Short Vowel before a First Person Object

Sometimes a short vowel becomes long. For example, when the first person object pronoun /-m-, -n-, -ny-/ 'me' is added to a verb, the vowel before it is lengthened and may receive high-tone from the root:

/baansabá/ {Rwanda} *v-rel-cond+obj* 'If they ask me.' (R32)  
 /uraanduta/ {both} *v-ind-imm+obj* 'You are better than me.' (R28.2)  
 /kuúnkorerá/ {both} *v-inf-imm+obj* 'to work for me' (R36.5)

### 2.2.2.10. Lengthening of a Vowel after Negator nt-

When the negator **nti-** is followed by a vowel its final **i** is dropped. In Rwanda, the vowel remaining becomes long if the following syllable has low tone; it is short if the following syllable has high tone.<sup>66</sup> In Rundi, with POLYSYLLABIC forms (three or more syllables), there is no length variation because the **i** is always lost, i.e., it coalesces with the following vowel. However, both dialects agree in having a long vowel when the root is MONOSYLLABIC (one syllable).

/ntaakorá/ {Rwanda} vs. /ntakorá/ {Rundi} 'He does not work.'  
 < /nt(i)-a-kór-á/  
 /ntaamesá/ {Rwanda} vs. /ntamesá/ {Rundi} 'He does not wash.'  
 < /nt(i)-a-mes-á/  
 /ntaaburá/ {Rwanda} vs. /ntaburá/ {Rundi} 'She does not have.'  
 < /nt(i)-a-búr-a/  
 /ntazáamesa/ {Rwanda}, /ntazóomesa/ {Rundi} 'He will not wash.'  
 < /nt(i)-a-FUT-mes-a/  
 /'ntaabá/ {both} *v-neg-ind* 'He, she is not.' < /nt(i)-a-bá/  
 /'ntaábe/ {both} *v-neg-sub* 'He, she should not be.' < /nt(i)-a-b(á)-e/

<sup>65</sup> Cf: Overdulse 1975:318.

<sup>66</sup> Cf: Overdulse 1975:319.

### 2.3. Allophones (Alternate Pronunciation of Sounds)

The introductory paragraph to this chapter gave examples of how the English sound /p/ has different pronunciations depending on where it occurs in a word: initially (at the beginning of a word), after a consonant, or finally (at the end of a word). Such alternate pronunciations of a given phoneme are called ALLOPHONES by linguists. The allophones of Rwanda and Rundi are covered in the majority of the textbooks available, the most thorough being Bizimana for Rwanda (1998:12–73) and Stevick for Rundi (1965:xl–lviii). Furthermore, actual pronunciation can be emulated by listening carefully to one's teacher, any mother-tongue speaker, or the recording which accompanies the *Rwanda and Rundi Newspaper Reader*. Since such a discussion at this point would be lengthy, tedious, and repetitious, the reader is referred to the studies cited above, or to any of the following.

For Kirundi: Meeussen 1959:10–11, Cristini 2000:2–16.

For Kinyarwanda: Kimenyi 1980:13, Overdulve 1975:320f, Jacob 1987:vii, Hands 1952:7–9, Dubnova 1984:19.

The student should pay particular attention to sound combinations found in either dialect.<sup>67</sup> Sometimes when sounds occur together, the pronunciation is quite different from the individual parts. Rwanda and Rundi each have a series of combinations that affect the pronunciation quite drastically. Combinations with /y/ result in PALATALIZED consonants while those with /w/ result in VELARIZED consonants.<sup>68</sup> These phonetic changes are AUTOMATIC SOUND CHANGES because each specific fusion will result in a special fixed pronunciation.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> The study of sound combinations is called PHONOTACTICS by linguists.

<sup>68</sup> Kimenyi (1980:15) summarizes these two processes as a form of consonant insertion "which takes on the articulatory features of the following glide and agrees in VOICING, NASALITY, and SPIRANTIZATION with the preceding consonant." Palatalization rules for Rwanda can be summarized in a kind of linguistic shorthand as follows: C + y > Cʒy if C is voiced, Cjy if C is voiceless, Cɲy if C is a nasal. Velarization rules can be written as: C + w > Cgw + voice, Ckw -voice, Cɳw + nasal.

<sup>69</sup> The illustrations in the following surveys are particularly helpful for Rwanda: Bizimana (1998:23–27), Kimenyi (1980:14 and 2002:147–49).

## 2.4. Tonality and Intonation

TONE is critical to the understanding of Rwanda and Rundi as it is in almost all Bantu languages.<sup>70</sup> Each root has a particular tone pattern which must be memorized. However, even this basic tonality can change under certain circumstances. Such changes may involve a particular syllable (SYLLABIC TONALITY) or a given mora (MORAIC TONALITY) of the word or root. Thus, when a verb is negated (/ntibaandíka/ {both} 'they do not write') or put into the subjunctive (/twaandíke/ {both} 'we should write') or the relative mood (/mwaandíka/ {both} 'that you are writing'), a SYLLABIC TONE CHANGE causes tone to appear on the second syllable of the root (see P rule, §2.4.4). On the other hand, participial verb forms (/mwáandika/ {both} 'you writing'), have a MORAIC TONE RULE: high tone appears on the first mora following the first consonant of the word (see 1 rule, §2.4.14). When many nouns are derived with the -e suffix (/umutwaáre/ {both} 'chief', /umugomé/ {both} 'rebel') tone appears on the second mora of the root. Note that some inflections can either override the root tone or introduce additional tone patterns to the derived form.

INTONATION, however, is important in all languages, including English, where tone marks a sentence type (e.g., question, exclamation, statement, etc.). Reflect on:

What are we having for dinner, mo↓ther↓?

Here we are asking our mother what she might be preparing. But contrast:

What are we having for dinner, mo↓ther↑?

where we are asking each other, with some shock, if we are resorting to eating our mother for dinner!

In this regard Rwanda and Rundi are no different. The intonation assigned to individual words is relative to how and where they occur in a sentence. As Overdulse points out:

The general intonation of each sentence has a falling quality; this descending intonation regularly affects the tones of the sentence; a high [tone] at the end of a sentence may therefore be pronounced lower than a low [tone] at the beginning of the same sentence. (1975:19, translation S. Harrell)

Although a large number of tone rules will be discussed below, it is of critical importance to understand that these apply to the formation of individual words. INTONATION RULES will affect how such words are pronounced.<sup>71</sup> Thus, while its derivation is phonemically /umwáarimú/ {both} 'teacher,' when it is the first word of a sentence it can be intoned [úmwáarimú].<sup>72</sup>

Overall, the tone rules described below affect words insofar as they PRESERVE or DROP TONALITY, move it LEFTWARD (towards or onto a PREFIX or to a given AFFIX) or RIGHTWARD (away from the beginning of the root to the next syllable or all the way to the SUFFIX). Some tone rules apply to SYLLABLES, while others to MORAE. There are FIXED or OBLIGATORY patterns, in which the tone is always found on a given syllable, as opposed to VARYING patterns, where tone shifts one or two morae.

<sup>70</sup> Except Swahili, which lost tonal contrasts.

<sup>71</sup> Kimenyi discusses the difference between morphological tone rules and intonational tone rules in his newest book (2002 passim).

<sup>72</sup> See Kimenyi 1980:41. Sentence-initial high tone occurs on the first syllable [úmwáarimú] while TONE ANTICIPATION brings the word-final high tone to the penult [umwáarímú]. Kimenyi's later book (2002 passim) discusses these phonetic tonal phenomena in far greater detail.

Table 30. Summary of Tone Patterns

Abr	G§	Mnemonic device (memory guide)
1	2.4.14	1st vowel after a consonant
2	2.4.15	2nd (second) mora of the word
A	2.4.16	after the prefix tone is on the first mora
A2	2.4.17	tone on the 2nd mora after the prefix
B	2.4.6	borrowed noun – penultimate vowel has a long vowel with high tone on the second mora
D	2.4.10	tone dissimilation or tonal flip-flop; a low tone root has a high tone prefix; a high tone root has a low tone prefix
E	2.4.22	end syllable – high tone falls on the last syllable
E2	2.4.23	high tone on 2nd syllable from the end of the word
E3	2.4.24	high tone on 3rd syllable from the end of the word
F	2.4.19	affix, e.g., future, gets high tone
H	2.4.18	high tone after the prefix on the next vowel if allowed
I	2.4.22	ii- – reflexives have their own tone pattern
J	2.4.8	jump to the right – tone moves one mora to the right
L	2.4.2	low tone throughout; high tones are lost
M	2.4.9	mobile morpheme – tone moves one mora to the left
N	2.4.13	negative or ni – high tone falls on the initial syllable of the word if this word does not follow a pause
O	2.4.11	object tonality – tone occurs on first object and skips every other syllable up to first root syllable of the root
O2	2.4.12	2 objects postradical tone rule – high tone on the second object and no further into the word
P	2.4.4	postroot tone; postradical syllabic tonality – high tone appears on the 2nd syllable of the root
P2	2.4.5	postradical moraic tonality – tone appears on the 2nd mora of the root
R	2.4.1	root tonality; radical tone – whatever tone pattern the root has is maintained
T	2.4.3	tone obligatorily appears on the first mora of the root – introduced high tonality
U	2.4.20	uú- – the subject relative of weak verbs has high tone on the second mora of the prefix yielding uú-, íí-, and aá-
Voc	2.4.7	vocative tonality – vocatives derived from low tone roots have high tone on the second mora
X	2.4.25	Two consecutive high tones do not co-occur; a high tone one mora after another is cancelled (Xed out)

### 2.4.1. Root Tonality [abr: R]

The most basic tone pattern is that assigned to a root, which must be memorized in specific citation forms. Roots either have all vowels with LOW TONE (unmarked, i.e., a vowel without any characters above it in most articles on both Kinyarwanda and Kirundi<sup>73</sup>) or they have one or more vowels with HIGH TONE (marked herein and in many textbooks and dictionaries with an ACUTE ACCENT<sup>74</sup>). Several inflections maintain root tonality, such as the infinitive, which has a tonal and grammatical pattern that can be designated as: R **ku-Δ-a**.<sup>75</sup>

#### HIGH TONE ROOTS

/gufásha/ {both} *v-inf* 'to help'

/gutéeka/ {both} *v-inf* 'to cook'

/guhúiga/ {both} *v-inf* 'to hunt'

/kubóna/ {both} *v-inf* 'to find'

/kuvúga/ {both} *v-inf* 'to speak'

<sup>73</sup> One occasionally encounters a GRAVE ACCENT in some linguistic articles to designate low tone, e.g., /àràvùgà/ 'he says' [low-low-high-low].

<sup>74</sup> Some recent authors (Bizimana 1998, Overdulse & Jacob 1998) are now marking high tone in Kinyarwanda with a circumflex rather than acute accent, e.g., /umutwê/ instead of /umutwé/.

<sup>75</sup> That is, ROOT TONALITY (R), INFINITIVE PREFIX /ku-, kw-, gu/, ROOT (Δ), plus IMPERFECTIVE SUFFIX /-a/.

## LOW TONE ROOTS

/gutaangaara/ {both} *v-inf* 'to marvel'  
 /guseka/ {both} *v-inf* 'to laugh'  
 /kuvoooma/ {both} *v-inf* 'to fetch water'  
 /gushiima/ {both} *v-inf* 'to praise'  
 /kugura/ {both} *v-inf* 'to buy'

Another verb conjugation which maintains root tonality is the indicative immediate disjoint, with the pattern: R S-ra-Δ-a.<sup>76</sup>

/aravúga/ {both} *v-ind-imm-dis* 'He says.' [HIGH TONE ROOT]  
 /uraseka/ {both} *v-ind-imm-dis* 'You'll laugh!' [LOW TONE ROOT]

Many full-form nouns either maintain root tonality (if they derive from a verb or adjective) or establish their own pattern as R cl-Δ.<sup>77</sup>

## HIGH TONE ROOTS

/umuryáango/ {both} *n2-sg* 'door'  
 /igihúgu/ {both} *n4-sg* 'country'  
 /injáangwé/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'wildcat'  
 /urugó/ {both} *n6-sg* 'enclosure (around house and yard); fence'

## LOW TONE ROOTS

/akazi/ {both} *n7-sg* 'job, employment'  
 /umutiindi/ {both} *n1-sg* 'unlucky person' {Rundi}, 'poor person' {Rwanda}  
 /ibuye/ {both} *n3-sg* 'rock'  
 /urutoki/ {both} *n6-sg* 'finger'

## 2.4.2. Low Tonality [abr: L]

Some inflections strip the resulting word of any high tones, leaving low tone throughout, i.e., any high tone associated with the root or a prefix is lost. Thus high-toned roots will lose the high tone, while low-toned roots maintain low tonality. In some other inflections, the root loses high tone in favor of the tonality of an affix. In such instances, two or more tone rules (one of which is this low-tone rule) operate on the word. There are several verb conjugations which require low tonality, among them are the INDICATIVE IMMEDIATE CONJOINT [L S-Ø-Δ-a<sup>78</sup>], the IMPERATIVE [L Ø-Δ-a<sup>79</sup>], the INDICATIVE FUTURE [L S-zoo-Δ-a {Rundi}, L S-zaa-Δ-a {Rwanda}], and the HORTATIVE [L S-ra-Δ-a {Rundi}, L S-ra-Δ-e {both}].

## HIGH TONE ROOTS

/yabikoze héhé?/ {both} *v-ind-imm-con* 'Where did he do it?'  
 < /-kóra, -kóze/ 'do, work'  
 /kora!/ {both} *v-imp* 'Work!'  
 /uzookora/ {Rundi}, /uzaakora/ {Rwanda} *v-ind-fut* 'You will work.'  
 /uraririimba/ {Rundi}, /uraririimbe/ {Rwanda} *v-hort* 'You should sing.' < /-ríriimba/ 'sing'

## LOW TONE ROOTS

/amatá agurwa itáábi/ {both} *v-ind-imm-con* 'Milk can be exchanged for tobacco.' < /-gura/ 'buy, barter, exchange'  
 /ameze até/ {both} *v-ind-imm-con* 'How is he doing?' < /-mera, -meze/  
 /soma!/ {both} *v-imp* 'Read!' < /-soma/  
 /nzoobahana/ {Rundi}, /nzaabahana/ {Rwanda} *v-ind-fut* 'I will punish them' < /-hana/

<sup>76</sup> That is, ROOT TONALITY (R), SUBJECT PREFIX (S), DISJOINT MARKER /-ra-/, ROOT (Δ), plus IMPERFECTIVE SUFFIX /-a/. DISJOINT refers to a verb that does not have any object or other complement following it.

<sup>77</sup> That is, ROOT TONALITY (R), CLASS AFFIX (cl), and ROOT (Δ).

<sup>78</sup> That is, LOW TONE RULE (L), SUBJECT PREFIX (S), **no** TENSE MARKER (-Ø-), ROOT (Δ), plus IMPERFECTIVE SUFFIX /-a/. CONJOINT refers to a verb that has an object or some other complement following it.

<sup>79</sup> That is, LOW TONE RULE (L), **no** SUBJECT PREFIX (Ø-), ROOT (Δ), plus IMPERATIVE SUFFIX /-a/.

### 2.4.3. Obligatory High Tonality [abr: T]

A few inflections require high tone on the first syllable of the root. A high-toned root keeps its tonality while a low-toned root acquires high tone. Note that this tone rule never occurs by itself, but that there is always at least one other tone rule operating with it. Thus, there is the INFINITIVE IMMEDIATE NEGATIVE + OBJECT [A<sup>80</sup>+T **ku-tá**-OBJ-Δ-a] or the INDICATIVE AFFIRMATIVE PRETERIT PERFECT DISJOINT [2<sup>81</sup>+T S-**aá**-Δ-ye].

HIGH TONE ROOTS

/kutábikóra/ {both} *v-inf-imm-neg+obj* 'not to do them'

mwaarakúnze {both} *v-ind-aff-pret-perf-dis* 'You loved.'

LOW TONE ROOTS

/kutábisába/ {both} *v-inf-imm-neg+obj* 'not to request them'

/baaraméshe/ {Rwanda} *v-ind-aff-pret-perf-dis* 'They washed.'

### 2.4.4. Postradical Syllabic Tonality (Second Syllable of the Root) [abr: P]

In several inflections, high tone obligatorily falls on the SECOND SYLLABLE starting from the beginning of the root. Thus, on roots with high tone on the first syllable, it seems to move to the second syllable. On low-toned roots, however, tone appears on the second syllable. A verb in the SUBJUNCTIVE IMMEDIATE has the pattern P S-Δ-e, whereas the RELATIVE AFFIRMATIVE IMMEDIATE has P S-Ø-Δ-a, and the RELATIVE NEGATIVE IMMEDIATE has P S-ta-Δ-a.

HIGH TONE ROOTS

/uvugé/ {both} *v-sub-imm* 'You should say.' < /-vúga/ 'say'

/bateeká/ {both} *v-rel-aff-imm* '...that they cook.' < /-téeka/ 'cook'

/iteeméra/ {both} *v-rel-neg-imm* '...that it does not consent.' (R38.5) < /-éemera/ 'agree, consent'

LOW TONE ROOTS

/dutaahé/ {both} *v-sub-imm* 'We should go home.' (R14) < /-taaha/ 'go home'

/ageendá/ {both} *v-rel-aff-imm* '...that he leaves.' < /-geenda/ 'go'

/ingáruká zikoméye/ {Rwanda} *v-rel-aff-imm-perf* 'serious consequences' [lit. results that are serious] (R20) < /-komera/ 'be hard, difficult, serious'

/zitagarágara/ {both} *v-rel-neg-imm* '...that they are not visible.' (R26) < /-garagara/ 'be visible'

When these verbs have objects, the tone will differ (see §2.4.12).

### 2.4.5. Postradical Moraic Tonality (Second Mora of the Root) [abr: P2]

Analogous to the preceding rule, there are some constructions where high tone obligatorily falls on the SECOND MORA of the root. With roots that have high tone on the first mora, it seems to move to the second; but on low-toned roots, high tone appears on the second mora. The operation of this rule is very clear on roots with long penult<sup>82</sup> vowels. However, with roots that have short penult vowels, the resulting pattern (movement to the next mora which is in the next syllable) is identical to that produced by the P rule discussed in §2.4.4. One can only extrapolate that it must be the same tone rule applying across the same derivational class. One such pattern is apparent in the formation of certain nouns: **P2 cl-Δ-e** or **P2 cl-Δ-i**.

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<sup>80</sup> The A (after prefix) tone rule is discussed below in §2.4.16.

<sup>81</sup> The 2 rule (high tone at the end of the second mora of the word, negative prefix and article excepted) is discussed below in §2.4.15.

<sup>82</sup> PENULT is another word for PENULTIMATE, the next to last syllable or the second syllable from the end of the word.



## HIGH TONE ROOTS

- /umutwaáre/ {both} *n1-sg* 'chief, ruler' < /-twáara/ 'rule, govern'  
 /imiriíre/ {Rwanda} *n2-pl-vn* 'manner of eating' < /-ryá/ 'eat'  
 /ubukoónje/ {both} *n8-sg-abs* 'coldness' < /-kóonja/ 'be cold'  
 /ubukiré/ {both} *n8-sg* 'well-being' < /-kíra/ 'be well (healthy) or well off (rich)'  
 /umuhiígi/ {both} *n1-sg* 'hunter' < /-hiíga/ 'hunt'

## LOW TONE ROOTS

- /umugomé/ {both} *n1-sg* 'rebel, revolutionary' < /-goma/ 'revolt'  
 /ubugomé/ {both} *n8-sg-abs* 'rebellion'  
 /imisabíre/ {Rwanda} *n2-pl* 'petitions' < /-saba/ 'ask'  
 /ubushaáke/ {Rwanda} *n8-sg-abs* 'will, desire' < /-shaaka/ 'want'  
 /ubukené/ {both} *n8-sg-abs* 'poverty' < /-kena/ 'be poor, needy'  
 /impigí/ {Rwanda} *n5-sg/pl* 'amulet' < /-higa/ 'show bravery'

With verbs, the presence of ONE OBJECT (§2.4.11) affects postradical tonality (§2.4.4). While high tone is normally introduced to the second syllable of the root in certain constructions (e.g., negative, subjunctive, or relative), it will not occur beyond the THIRD MORA starting with the first infix (including the negative infix *-ta-*). Tone must be moved leftward to comply, so it winds up on the second mora of the root.<sup>83</sup>

- /kukó ndazikuúnda/ {Rundi}, /kukó nzikuúnda/ {Rundi} *v-rel-aff-imm-impf+obj* '...because I love them.' [n5-pl] < /n-ra-zi(1)-ku(2)u(3)ndá/; rw: /-kúunda/  
 /bátagísoma/ {both} *v-part-neg-imm-impf+obj* 'they not reading it' < ba-ta(1)-gi(2)-so(3)má; rw: -soma (low tone root) 'read'  
 /kó bakibigeénza/ {both} *v-rel-aff-persist-impf+obj* '...that they still do it.' < /ba-ki-bi(1)-ge(2)e(3)nzá/; rw: /-geenza/ (low tone root)

## 2.4.6. Borrowed Noun Tonality [abr: B]

There is a tone pattern common to some (not all) borrowed noun roots whereby the penultimate syllable has a long vowel with high tone on the second mora. This pattern is **B cl-Δ**.

- /yohaáni/ {both} *n1a-sg-pn* 'John' {German *Johan*}  
 /umupiíra/ {both} *n2-sg* 'ball' {Swahili}  
 /igaáre/ {both} *n3-sg* 'bicycle' {Swahili}  
 /amazuútu/ {both} *n3-pl* 'fuel oil, kerosine' {French *mazout*}  
 /ikiniíni/ {both} *n4-sg* 'pill, medicine' {French *quinine*}  
 /inoóti/ {both} *n5a-sg/pl* 'note, banknote' {English, French *note*}  
 /ibaánki/ {both} *n5a-sg*, /baánki/ {both} *n5b-sg* 'bank' {French *banque*}  
 /moóshi/ {both} *n5b-sg* 'smoke, steam' {Swahili *moshi*}

## 2.4.7. Vocative Tonality for Low-Tone Roots [abr: Voc]

There are several VOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS used to call a person or address a thing. Which one of these applies depends on the tonality of the root. However, any vocative that derives from a LOW TONE ROOT has HIGH TONE ON THE SECOND MORA of the derivation, i.e., the whole word.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>83</sup> This has led some scholars to postulate a special "three morae tone rule," i.e., a **3rule** (for example, see Overdulve 1975:317). However, the resulting tonal pattern is actually this **P2rule**.

<sup>84</sup> Contrast this rule, which *adds* high tone to the second syllable of the derived word, to one which *moves* a preexisting high tone to the next mora (§2.4.8).

/mugábo/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Men!' < /umugabo/ 'man'  
/baántu/ {both} *n1-pl-voc* 'People!' < /abaantu/ 'people'  
/sheéngero/ {Rundi} *n3-sg-voc* 'Oh gathered people!' < **isheengero** 'gathering, assembly'  
/kibóondo/ {both} *n4-sg-voc* 'Baby!' < /ikiboondo/ 'infant'  
/rutóke/ {both} *n6-sg-voc* 'Oh finger!' < /urutoke/ 'finger'

### 2.4.8. Jump to the Right Tonality [abr: J]

The JUMP TONAL RULE moves a high tone *within the root* word<sup>85</sup> ONE MORA TO THE RIGHT.<sup>86</sup> Thus, if high tone occurs on the first mora of a long vowel, the tone moves to the second mora. Otherwise, in the case of short vowels, the tone moves to the next syllable. One of the VOCATIVE constructions behaves this way, **J-Δ**. This pattern also occurs with the INDICATIVE AFFIRMATIVE RECENT DISJOINT of vowel verbs, **J S-Ø-VΔ-a** or **J S-Ø-Δ-ye**.

/zuúba/ {both} *n3-sg-voc* 'Oh sun!' < /izúuba/ 'sun'  
/musoré/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh young man!' < /umusóre/ 'young man'  
/maána/ {both} *n5a-sg-voc* 'Oh God!' [in prayer] < /imáana/ 'God'  
/sogókú/ {both} *n1a-sg-voc* 'Oh grandpa!' < /sogókuru/ 'my, our grandfather'  
/twuúnyuguje/ {Rundi} *v-ind-recent-perf-dis* 'We (recently) rinsed thoroughly.' < /-úunyuguza/ 'sluice, rinse s.t. out'  
/bíize/ {both} *v-ind-recent-perf-dis* 'They were studying (recently).' < /-íiga/ 'study'  
/ígitsiúntsiiri/ {Rundi} *n4-sg* 'heel' [the reduplicated syllable shows tone shift]  
/íítariíca ntíruha/ {Rundi} *proverb* 'A hunting dog that has not yet killed does not get tired.' [cf: /-íica/ 'kill']  
/kugira ngo abaándi babuúbahe/ {Rwanda} *v-sub-aff-imm+obj* 'So that others respect you.' [cf: /-úbaha/ 'respect']

### 2.4.9. Mobile Tonality or Leftward Tone Shift [abr: M]

The MOBILE TONAL RULE or LEFTWARD TONE SHIFT moves a high tone ONE MORA TO THE LEFT.<sup>87</sup> This is one of the least productive (i.e., rarely encountered) tonal patterns. It occurs on a few VOCATIVE forms where the noun root has high tone on its final syllable (as M cl-Δ), full prefix derivations of **-:ndí** 'another of the same kind' {both}, full prefix derivations of **-hé** 'which?' {Rwanda}, and a few other forms.

/nyabúsa/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-voc* 'My dear!, Poor dear!' [cf: /ubusá/ 'nothing; futility']  
/daáta/ {both} *n1a-sg-voc* 'My father!' < /daatá/ 'my father'  
/ejó buúndi/ {both} *adv-time* 'the day after tomorrow (two days in the future); the day before yesterday (two days in the past)' < /-ndí/ 'other, another'  
/abaándi/ {both} *atr-n1-pl* 'other people (of the same group)'  
/ikiíndi gihé/ {both} *atr-n4-sg-time* 'at another time'  
/nyakúri/ {both} *atr-invar* 'true, real' [cf: /ukurí/ *n9-sg* 'truth']  
/ibiíhe/ {Rwanda} *qw-n4-pl* 'Which (ones)?' [cf: /ibiíhé/ 1+R {Rundi}]  
/igitaábitáabi/ {both} *n4-sg-redup* 'tobacco leaf rib (used when one runs out of tobacco)' [cf: itaábi]

### 2.4.10. Tone Dissimilation or Flip-flop [abr: D]

There is a special pattern where the tonality of the prefix and that of the root intertwine. If the root has a high tone, then the prefix will be low-toned; if the root has a low tone, then the prefix itself

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<sup>85</sup> There is another tone rule that moves a high tone one mora to the right *within an affix* (see §2.4.20). Although this rule seems similar to the P2 rule (§2.4.5), it differs in that it only applies to high-tone roots; it *moves* a high tone, it doesn't add it.

<sup>86</sup> This is the inverse of the pattern discussed in §2.4.9.

<sup>87</sup> This is the inverse of the pattern discussed in §2.4.8.

gets a high tone. Kimenyi calls this process TONE DISSIMILATION (2002:323–29). This seems to apply exclusively to prefixes ending in /aa/, i.e., to nouns derived with the prefixes /kaa-/, /rwaa-/, and /saa- (mostly in Rwanda), and to vocative constructions with /mwaa/ or /waa/ 'hey you!'

HIGH TONE PREFIX – LOW TONE ROOT

/rwáabugiri/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-pn* (male personal name; former king of Rwanda) < /rwaa-/ + /-bugiri/  
/káaburiimbo/ {both} *5b-sg* 'asphalt, tarmac;' *n1a-sg* (nickname for a person with very dark complexion) <  
/kaa-/ + /buriimbo/

/waá muga/ 'Hey mister!' [cf: /umugabo/ *n1-sg* 'man, adult male']

LOW TONE PREFIX – HIGH TONE ROOT

/rwaamikó/ {Rwanda} *pn-geog* (commune in the prefecture of Gikongoro in Rwanda) < /rwaa-/ + /-mikó/  
/kaavúutse/ {both} *n1a-sg-pn* (male personal name) [lit. a child is born] < /kaa-/ + /-vúuka/ 'be born'  
/waa mwá/ 'Hey, kid!' [cf: /umwána/ *n1-sg* 'child']

The following two tone rules revolve around the presence of an OBJECT INFIX in a verb.

#### 2.4.11. Object Verb ("Skipping") Tonality [abr: O]

An OBJECT PRONOUN INFIX, including the CONJUNCTIVE PREVERB -na-, attached to certain high-tone verb conjugations (e.g., indicative immediate disjoint, sequential immediate disjoint, infinitive with object) ATTRACTS HIGH TONE. Basically, this tone pattern puts high tone on the FIRST OBJECT and then SKIPS EVERY OTHER SYLLABLE, stopping at the first syllable of the verb root. If there is only ONE OBJECT, it alone receives the high tone. However, if TWO OBJECTS are present, then high tone appears on the first object and, skipping the second object, is found on the verb root. If there are THREE OBJECTS, high tone appears on the first and then third object, but not on the verb root. This pattern continues in this manner for as many objects as are logically or grammatically possible. Obviously, the tonality of low-toned verbs is not affected; all vowels remain low.

ONE OBJECT

/ndamúkuunda/ {both} 'I love her.' < /-kúunda/ 'love'  
/araánkuunda/<sup>88</sup> {both} 'She loves me.'  
/araányemera/<sup>89</sup> {both} 'He believes me.' < /-éemera/ 'believe'  
/kudúfata/ {both} 'to arrest us' < /-fáta/ 'catch, arrest'  
/aramúhaaye/ {both} 'He just gave him.' < /-há/ 'give s.t. to s.o.'  
/baranákora/ {both} *with conjunctive preverb* 'Even they do.' < /-kóra/ 'do'

TWO OBJECTS

/arabáguháaye/ {both} 'He entrusts them (the children) to you.' < /-há/ 'entrust'  
/baranábikóra/ {both} *with conjunctive preverb* 'Even they do it'

THREE OBJECTS

/barahábimúkórera/ {Rwanda} *v-ind-aff-imm-impf-dis+objx3* 'They are going to do it for him there.' <  
/-kórera/ 'do s.t. for s.o.'

/ndahábimúshirira/ {Rundi} 'I (will) put them there for him.' < /-shíra/ 'put, place'

FOUR OBJECTS

/baranábihámukórera/ {Rwanda} *v-ind-aff-imm-impf-dis+objx4* '...and they are going to do it for him there.'

#### 2.4.12. Two Object Postradical Tone Rule [abr: O2]

This rule is triggered when TWO OR MORE OBJECTS are found in both Rwanda and Rundi, but it operates on different conjugations for each. Rather than follow other tone patterns, such as postradical tone (§2.4.4) or the "skipping" object pattern (§2.4.11), high tone is placed on the second object and no further into the word. Root tonality is lost.

<sup>88</sup> Note the vowel lengthening before *pro-1sg-obj* (see §2.2.2.9).

<sup>89</sup> Note the root vowel shortening in this example (see §2.2.1.4).

- /yaráyimúhaaye/<sup>90</sup> {Rwanda} *v-ind-aff-pret-perf-dis+objx2* 'He gave it [n5-sg] to him.' < /-há/ 'give'  
/baárabimúsabiye/ {Rwanda} *v-ind-aff-pret-perf-dis+objx2* 'They have requested it [n4-pl] for him.' <  
/-saba/ 'request'<sup>91</sup>  
/abibábwiire/<sup>92</sup> {Rundi} *v-sub-aff-imm+objx2* 'Should he tell it to them?' < /-bwíira/ 'tell s.t. to s.o.'  
/tubimwáandikire/ {Rwanda} *v-sub-aff-imm+objx2* 'We should write it for you.' < /-aandikira/ 'write s.t.  
to s.o.'  
/ahó tukizimúbariirira/<sup>93</sup> {Rundi} *v-rel-aff-persist-impf+objx2* '...while we are still sewing them (the  
dresses) for her.' < /-bariirira/ 'sew'

### 2.4.13. Non-stable Initial Tone [abr: N]<sup>94</sup>

Several verb constructions will have high tone on the first syllable so long as the verb does not come first in the sentence or follow a pause. This includes negative verbs with **nti-**, copulatives with **ni**, **si** or **-rí**, and imperatives.

- /igití ntíkiri háriiya/ {both} 'The tree is not over there.'  
/nagiiye i waábo s<sub>1</sub>namubona/ {both} 'I went to his place (but) didn't find him.' [Otherwise:  
/sinamubona i waábo/]  
/ikiruúndi ntíkír<sub>1</sub>andikwa nk-úukó kivugwá/ {both} 'Kirundi is still not written the way it is  
spoken.' [or /ntíkír<sub>1</sub>andikwa/]  
/iwáacu ní<sub>1</sub> i kigali/ {Rwanda} 'Our home is in Kigali.'  
/ivyo sí vyiizá/ {Rundi}, /ibyo sí byiizá/ {Rwanda} 'Those (things) are not nice.'

### 2.4.14. First Vowel after a Consonant [abr: 1]

Participial verbs in both languages and subject relative forms in Rwanda require a HIGH TONE ON THE FIRST VOWEL AFTER THE FIRST CONSONANT. Weak forms which begin with a vowel therefore will have high tone on the first mora of the second syllable, whereas strong forms have high tone on the first mora of the first syllable. The structure of such verbs in the PARTICIPIAL IMMEDIATE TENSE is 1+L<sup>95</sup> S-Δ-a or 1+L S-Δ-ye.

- /bányerera/ {both} *v-part-imm-n1-pl* 'they slipping' (R23)  
/yúumva/<sup>96</sup> {both} *v-part-imm-n1-sg* 'he hearing' (R23)  
/kímeze/ {both} *v-part-imm-n4-sg* 'it being in such a state' (R40.3)  
/kwáakomeretse/ {both} *v-part-recent-n9-sg* 'it having been injured' (R34.5) [1+L S-áa-Δ-ye <  
/-kómereka/ 'be wounded; get injured'  
/indwáara ikómeye/ {Rwanda} *v-rel-subj-imm-perf* 'a serious illness'

### 2.4.15. Tone on Second Mora of Word [abr: 2]

Preterit forms in all moods and negative subjunctive verb forms require an OBLIGATORY HIGH TONE at the end of the SECOND MORA of the word. In most conjugations, when this rule applies, the root LOSES ANY HIGH TONE. The structure for such verbs is: INDICATIVE PRETERIT 2+L S-a-Δ-a or 2+L S-a-Δ-ye or NEGATIVE SUBJUNCTIVE 2+L nti-S-Δ-e.

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<sup>90</sup> Besides the O2 tone pattern, this form also has preterit tonality, i.e., 2+O2.

<sup>91</sup> This and the following Kinyarwanda examples are from Overdulse & Jacob 1998:326.

<sup>92</sup> This Kirundi example is from Cristini 2000:204f.

<sup>93</sup> This Kirundi example is from Cristini 2000:171.

<sup>94</sup> Our mnemonic is here based on **nti-** or **ni-** like constructions, hence our use of **NON-STABLE**. Other authors have called this pattern PROVISIONAL HIGH TONE (Stevick 1965:22) or INITIAL UNSTABLE TONE (Cristini 2000:186f, Rodegem 1967:102 *ton initial instable*).

<sup>95</sup> That is, only this tone pattern persists on the resulting word. Any root tonality is lost.

<sup>96</sup> Although the weak participial form of this verb (and all other verbs with high tone on the first vowel) seems to preserve the root tonality of /-úumva/, the high tone here follows the 1 RULE, *not* the R RULE.

/nanyéreye/ {both} *v-ind-pret-perf* 'I slipped.'  
 /baáranyereye/ {both} *v-ind-pret-perf* 'They slipped.'  
 /ntitúyibone/ {both} *v-neg-sub-imm* '...and yet we could not find it.'

#### 2.4.16. Tone on First Mora after Prefix [abr: A]

Some noun derivations and a few verb conjugations, especially the AUTONOME, put an obligatory high tone on the first mora after the prefix.<sup>97</sup>

/umwáana/ {both} *n1-sg* 'child' < /-aana/ 'cry like a baby'  
 /ikáraámu/ [A+B rules] {Rundi}, /ikáramú/ [A+E rules] {Rwanda} *n5a-sg-ir* 'pencil' {Swahili *kalamu* < Arb}  
 /abaáandi/ {both} *atr-n1-pl* 'others (of the same kind)' < /-ndí/ 'other'  
 /abakóra/ {both} *auto-n1-pl-imm* 'the ones who work' < /-kóra/ 'work'<sup>98</sup>  
 /abaándika/ {both} *auto-n1-pl-imm* 'the ones who write' < /-aandika/ 'write'  
 /ababíkoreesha/ {both} *auto-n1-pl-imm+obj* 'the ones who use them' < /-kóreesha/ 'employ; use, utilize'<sup>99</sup>  
 /kutázoogéenda/ [A+T rules] {Rundi} *v-inf-neg-fut* 'to not leave (later on)' < /-geenda/ 'leave'  
 /kutázaasaba/ [A+F+R] {Rwanda} *v-inf-neg-fut* 'to not ask (later)'

#### 2.4.17. Tone on Second Mora after Prefix [abr: A2]

This tone pattern affects long vowels that follow noun prefixes and requires an obligatory high tone on the second mora after the prefix. This applies broadly to many nouns derived from vowel roots and to autonome conjugations which have long vowels (e.g., the immediate of vowel verbs or consonant verbs in conditional, recent, and preterit). It also affects pronouns and demonstratives that follow conjunctive or possessive prefixes.

/icaámbu/ {Rundi}, /icyaámbu/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg* 'ford, passage' < /-aambuka/ {both} *v-tr* 'ford (a river), cross (a border)'  
 /ubwaátsi/ {both} *n8-sg* 'grass'  
 /ubwiíhaangaane/ {both} *n8-sg* 'patience, hiding one's pain or suffering' < /-íhaangaana/ 'hide one's pain, endure; resign oneself to s.t.; bear patiently'  
 /umwaámi/ {both} *n1-sg* 'king' < /-áama/ 'endure, go on and on'  
 /umwiígiisha/ {both} *n1-sg* 'teacher' < /-ígiisha/ 'teach'  
 /icoómpa/ {Rundi} – /icyaámpa/ {Rwanda} *v-auto-n4-sg-cond+obj* 'I wish that ...' [lit. 'It would give me...']  
 /uwoóbariira/ {Rundi} *v-auto-n1-sg-cond-impf* 'one who can sew'  
 /uwaámpa/ {Rwanda} *v-auto-n1-sg-cond+obj* 'one who would give me' (R32)  
 /abiícwa/ {both} *v-auto-n1-pl-imm* 'the ones who are killed'  
 /abaávuga/ {Rundi}, /abaávugaga/ {Rwanda} *v-auto-n1-pl-recent* 'the ones who spoke (recently)'  
 /uwakúumpaaye/ {Rundi} *v-auto-n1-sg-pret-perf+obj* 'he who gave you to me'  
 /abaáshaakanye/ {Rwanda} *v-auto-n1-pl-pret-perf* 'the ones who got married'  
 /abaányu/ {both} *pro-2pl-nom-poss-n1-pl* 'yours'  
 /naánje/ {Rundi}, /naánjye/ {Rwanda} *pro-1sg-conj* 'I also, me too'  
 /iwaábo/ {both} *pro-3pl-poss-n13-loc* 'at their place'  
 /naáha/ «n'aha» {both} *deic-1-n10-loc-conj* 'here also'  
 /wiíyo/ «w'iyoy» {both} *deic-2-n5-sg-poss* 'of that'

<sup>97</sup> Our mnemonic is here based on *after* a prefix or like an *autonome*.

<sup>98</sup> Although it appears in this example as if high tone is falling regularly on the root, this construction requires high tone immediately after the class prefix. This pattern is made quite clear by the following two examples.

<sup>99</sup> Note that here the object seems to usurp root tonality; however high tone is occurring on the first mora after the prefix.

#### 2.4.18. High Tone after Prefix, if Allowed [abr: H]

According to this very frequent tone pattern, high tone will appear immediately after the prefix so long as there is no high tone on the following mora. This rule applies with very high frequency to full form nouns that follow consonant-only possessive prefixes, the conjunctive or agentive **n-**, and the comparative **nk-**. This rule also derives n1a plural forms from high-toned roots with the structure: H **baa**-Δ.

- /baadáatá/ {both} *n1a-pl* 'our fathers' [sg: /daatá/]
- /n'ábatégetsi/ {both} *n1-pl-conj* 'and public figures' (R39.3)
- /nk'ábaandi/ {both} *atr-n1-pl-comp* 'like other people' (R34.2)
- /ubumwé bw'úburuúndi/ {both} *n8-sg + n8-sg-poss* 'the unity of Burundi' (R3)

#### 2.4.19. High Tone on Affix [abr: F]

Certain affixes are considered by many grammarians to have a high tone associated with them, such as the future (-**záa**- {Rwanda}, -**zóo**- {Rundi}) or the punctual (-**ráa**- {both}). If this interpretation is followed, then one must account for when such affixes *lose* their tonality. Our interpretation includes a rule or pattern when high tone does appear on these affixes and when it does not. When it does, it always occurs in conjunction with one or two other high tone rules. Thus, the NEGATIVE AFFIRMATIVE FUTURE has the pattern F+R **nti-S-záa-Δ-a** {Rwanda} and F+R **nti-S-zóo-Δ-a** {Rundi}.<sup>100</sup> Nouns derived with the **-nya-** prefix (§3.3) also employ this rule; if any of the following three syllables has high tone, the prefix itself will also have high tone.

- /sinzóobitáanga/ {Rundi} *v-ind-neg-fut+obj* 'I will not offer it.'
- /ntazáaryá/ {Rwanda} *v-ind-neg-fut* 'He will not eat.'
- /azóogarúke/ {Rundi} *v-sub-aff-fut* 'He would return.' [F+P]
- /umunyábweenge/ {both} *n1-sg* 'a wise man' < /ubwéenge/ 'mind'
- /umunyábuté/ {both} *n1-sg* 'lazybones, slothful person' < /ubuté/ 'indifference, laziness' [F+R]
- /ntibaráabyiitabiira/ {Rwanda} *v-ind-neg-punc+obj* 'They do not yet comply with it.' (R38.6) [N+F+R]
- /uráabwúirwa/ {both} *v-rel-imm-punc-pass* '...that you are (not) yet told.' (R36.5) [F+R]
- /ntaráavúga/ {both} *v-part-neg-punc* 'Before I spoke...' [lit. 'I not speaking yet'] (R27.4) [1+F+R]

#### 2.4.20. Subject Relative Tonality [abr: U]

This rule applies only to a series of double vowel autonome prefixes which carry a high tone on the second mora: /uú-, íí-, áá-/. Although this construction does occur in Rundi, it is far more common or frequent in Rwanda.<sup>101</sup>

- /uúvuga/ {both} *auto-n1-sg-imm* 'one who speaks' [U + L]
- /uúhagarikiwe n'ingwe/ {Rundi} *auto-n1-sg-imm* 'one who is protected by a leopard' [U + L]
- /uútaagukuunda/ {Rwanda} *auto-n1-sg-cond+obj* 'someone who should not love you' [U + L]
- /uútaávyaaye/ {Rundi} *auto-n1-sg-pret-perf* 'one who has not been a parent' [U+A2]
- /ííkamwa/ {both} *auto-n5-sg-imm* 'the one that is milked' [U+L]
- /amáazi áákoonje/ {Rwanda} *auto-n3-pl-imm-perf* 'cold water' [U+L]

#### 2.4.21. Reflexive /ii-/ Tone Pattern [abr: I]

The REFLEXIVE infix /ii-/ (see §8.13) carries its own obligatory high tonality and cancels out any high tones associated with the root. No matter what noun derivation or verb conjugation (tense or

<sup>100</sup> Note that its affirmative counterpart, the INDICATIVE AFFIRMATIVE FUTURE, has the pattern **L S-zaa-Δ-a** {Rwanda} or **L S-zoo-Δ-a** {Rundi} where both the future prefix and the root have low tone.

<sup>101</sup> The more usual Rundi prefixes, which follow the standard rules for autonomes, are **uwu-** *n1-sg*, **iyi-** *n2-pl*, **n5-sg**, **aya-** *n3-pl*.

mood) is involved, high tone can only occur in one of three positions: the first mora /**ii**-/ [I, 1 or R], the second mora /**ii**-/ [2, A2, or P2], or the third mora (the vowel immediately following this prefix) [P]. As with all other verbs, tone will be lost in conjugations where the L rule applies, as in the IMMEDIATE CONJOINT or SEQUENCE CONJOINT.

- /(**kw**)**iiyoroosa**/ {both} *v-refl* 'cover oneself up' < /-**ooroosa**/ 'cover'
- /**bariitweengera**/ {both} *v-refl-ben-ind-imm-dis* 'They just laugh.' [I]
- /**umuryaango w'abiibuumbye**/ {Rwanda} *n2-sg-cmp* 'United Nations' [A2+L]
- /**abiifite**/ {Rwanda} *auto-n1-pl-imm* 'wealthy people' < /**ab(a)-ii-fite**/
- /**atiivúuza**/ {Rundi} *v-refl-part-neg-imm* 'he not getting himself treated...' (R31.3) [1+P]
- /**bakiibonera**/ {both} *v-refl-ben-seq* 'Then they just get for themselves.' [L]

See Kimenyi 2002:247–51 for a much more detailed discussion of reflexive tonology.

#### 2.4.22. High Tone on Final or End Syllable [abr: E]

This rule mostly applies to the locative postpositions /-**hó**-, /-**kó**-, /-**yó**/ {both}, /-**mó**/ {Rwanda}, /-**mwó**/ {Rundi} and the derivation of some nouns.

- /**harihó**/ {both} *v-cop-loc-ind-imm-n10-cmp* 'there are' (R33.6, R37.3) [E]
- /**ingaruká**/ {Rwanda} *n5-sg/pl* 'result, consequence' (R20, R26) [A+E]
- /**imódoká**/ {both} *n5a-sg/pl* 'automobile' (R16) {English *motorcar*} [A+E]
- /**ugashyiramó**/ {Rwanda} *v-seq-imm-con+post* 'and you put in' [E]
- /**kwítaabwahó**/ {both} *v-inf-pass+post* 'to be cared for' (R38.11) [I+E]
- /**vyaáteerwamwó**/ {Rundi} *v-rel-pret-pass-impf+post* '(bombs) were dropped upon' (R37.4) [2+L+E]

#### 2.4.23. High Tone on Second Syllable from End [abr: E2]

This rule applies to a few long (POLYSYLLABIC) noun derivations.

- /**umukirisító**/ {both} *n1-sg* 'Christian' {intl} [E2]
- /**umuhwéenyegéri**/ {Rwanda} *n2-sg* 'old dried root (in a field)' [R+E2] < /-**hwéenyegera**/ 'grow old and dry up (of roots in a field)'

#### 2.4.24. High Tone on Third Syllable from End [abr: E3]

This rule applies to a few very long (POLYSYLLABIC) noun derivations, most of which are loans.

- /**burugumeesítiri**/ {both} *n1a-sg* 'mayor, burgomaster' {Flemish}
- /**isegiteeri**/ {Rwanda} *n5a-sg-ir* 'sector (administrative unit)' (R38.11) {French *secteur*}
- /**umuminiisítiri**/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg* 'minister (of government)' (R32) {French *ministre*} [A+E3]

#### 2.4.25. Elimination of Two High Tones in a Row [abr: X]

Two high tones do not normally occur on immediately-following morae; the second one will be dropped (this process is called TONAL HAPLOLOGY; it is also referred to as MEUSSEN'S RULE).

- /**umunyábwooba**/ {both} *n1-sg* 'coward' < /**umu-nyá-(u)bwóoba**/ [F+X]
- /**umunyábweenge**/ {both} *n1-sg* 'wise man, intelligent person' < /**umu-nyá-(u)bwéenge**/ [F+X]
- /**abatári**/ {both} *v-auto-neg-n1-pl-imm* 'the ones who are not' < /**aba-tá-rí**/ [A+X]
- /**nyabáki**/ {both} *qw-invar* 'of what sort?, what kind of?' < /**nya-ba-kí**/ [A+X]
- /**nyakámwe**/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg* 'person all alone in life (without any family), lone survivor' < /**nya-ka-mwé**/ [A+X]; cf: /**nyákamwe**/ {Rundi}

## Chapter 2: The Sound System

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There are a few exceptions to this rule. When the negative infix **-ta-** obtains a high tone, it can be followed by another high tone.<sup>102</sup>

/kutává/ {Rwanda} *v-inf-neg-imm* 'not to leave' [A+P]

/ibitári/ {Rwanda} *auto-n4-pl-cop-loc-neg-imm* 'things that are not' [A+P]

/abatári/ {both} *auto-n1-pl-cop-loc-neg-pret* 'the ones who were not (formerly)' [A+A2]

Subsequent high tones occur with REDUPLICATED ADJECTIVES<sup>103</sup> where the first ends with a high tone:

/bakurúbákuru/ {both} *adj-n1-pl-redup* 'very important, extremely powerful (people)' [P2+F]

/mugufímúgufi/ {Rwanda} *adj-n1-sg-redup* 'very short (person)' [R+F]

When a word ending with high tone is followed by a POSTPOSITION [Rule E], two high tones can appear in adjacent syllables.

/batuuyémó/ {Rwanda} *v-rel-imm-cmp* 'that they live in ' [P+E]

/yiitáhó/ {Rundi} *v-rel-recent-cmp* 'who cared for' [P+E]

Note the following form that has succeeding high tones on each of its three syllables:

/ntábáhó/ {both} *v-cop-cmp-part-neg-imm* 'Before I existed...' [lit. 'I not existing'] (R28.2) [1+P+E]

Some loanwords are allowed to have subsequent high tones.

/umukómiseeri/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg* 'commissioner (of police, of customs)' {French} [A+E3]

## 2.5. Sound Changes (Morphophonemics)

There are a number of ways in which sound changes affect the shape of a word when it is inflected or derived. For example, the plural in English is spelled «-s», but it is pronounced three different ways depending on the nature of the sound just before it: [-əz] if the preceding consonant is an affricate (*churches, judges*), otherwise [-s] if the preceding consonant is voiceless (*cats*), and [-z] if it is voiced (*dogs*). Linguists call these MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES. Sometimes the sounds that make up a word become more like or more different from affixes or other parts of the word. Such changes can be so drastic that the relationship between a word and its root form are barely discernable.<sup>104</sup> This section will outline the major types of consonant, vowel, and other changes that occur in Rwanda and Rundi.

### 2.5.1. Consonant Voice Dissimilation (Dahl's Law)

One of the most commonly-occurring changes is the "flip-flop" or swapping of VOICING (see §2.1 and Table 25) referred to as *Dahl's law*. If the first consonant of the root is VOICELESS /p, t, c, k, f, s, sh, shy, h, pf, ts/,<sup>105</sup> then the consonant of the prefix will be VOICED. If the first consonant of the root is VOICED /b, d, j, g, v, z, m, n, ny, r, w, y/ or it begins with a vowel, then the consonant of the prefix will be VOICELESS. This broadly affects singular nouns of group 4 (*iki-* vs. *igi-*), all nouns in group 7 (*aka-* vs. *aga-*, *utu-* vs. *udu-*), and the singular of group 9 (*uku-* vs. *ugu-*), pronoun prefixes and infixes (*tu-* vs. *du-*), infinitives (*ku-* or *kw-* vs. *gu-*), and dependent negatives (*-ta-* vs. *-da-*).

<sup>102</sup> See Overdulse et al. 1975:317 and Bizimana 1998:146.

<sup>103</sup> The process of reduplication is treated in more detail in §2.5.17.

<sup>104</sup> For example, the English word *illegal* is actually the combination of the negative prefix *in-* (as in *incomplete*) and the root *legal*, while *irreverent* is *in-* + *reverent*. In both of these cases the nasal [n] ASSIMILATES to the following consonant [l] or [r].

<sup>105</sup> Overdulse offers a handy mnemonic "T-KOFSCHIP" (1975:62,81).



## VOICED CONSONANT IN A PREFIX BEFORE A VOICELESS CONSONANT IN THE ROOT

- [c] /**gucéceka**/ {both} *v-inf* 'to keep silent'  
 [f] /**agafaraanga**/ {both} *n7-sg-dim* 'a small coin'  
 [h] /**agahéra**/ {both} *n7-sg* 'little finger'  
 [k] /**agakóokó**/ {both} *n7-sg* 'insect, bug'  
 /**gukóra**/ {both} *v-inf* 'to work'  
 [p] /**agapapuro**/ {both} *n7-sg* 'a small sheet of paper'  
 [pf] /**igipfuúnsi**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'fist'  
 [s] /**agasózi**/ {both} *n7-sg* 'mound, small hill'  
 /**gusoma**/ {both} *v-inf* 'to read'  
 /**uragisomye**/ {both} *v-ind-imm-perf* 'You just read it (the book).'  
 [sh] /**gushiima**/ {both} *v-inf* 'to praise, to approve of'  
 /**dushobora**/ {both} *v-ind-imm-impf-con* 'We can.'  
 [t] /**igitóondo**/ {both} *n4-sg-time* 'morning'  
 /**idateeyé**/ {both} *v-rel-neg-imm-perf* 'that does not cause...'  
 [tw] /**ugutwí**/ {both} *n9-sg* 'ear'

## VOICELESS CONSONANT IN A PREFIX BEFORE A VOICED CONSONANT IN THE ROOT

- [a] /**kwáanika**/ {both} *v-inf* 'to dry in the sun'  
 [b] /**ikibázo**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'question'  
 /**ukubóko**/ {both} *n9-sg* 'arm'  
 /**urakiboonye**/ {both} *v-aff-imm-perf* 'You just saw it (the thing) [*n4-sg-obj*].'  
 [d] /**ikidaági**/ {both}, /**ikidaáge**/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg* German (language and culture)  
 [e] /**ukwéezi**/ {both} *n9-sg* 'moon; month'  
 [g] /**ikigaanza**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'hand'  
 /**ukuguru**/ {both} *n9-sg* 'leg'  
 /**kugeenda**/ {both} *v-inf* 'to leave, to depart'  
 [i] /**kwíigiisha**/ {both} *v-inf* 'to teach'  
 [j] /**ikijúujú**/ {Rundi} *n4-sg* 'fool, idiot'  
 /**ikijuumba**/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg* 'sweet potato'  
 [m] /**ikimasá**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'bull, male calf (about 4 years old)'  
 /**ikiméra**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'plant, vegetation'  
 [n] /**ikiintu**/ {both} } *n4-sg* 'thing'  
 /**ukuuntu**/ {both} *n11-sg* 'method, way, manner'  
 [ny] /**ikinyomá**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'lie, falsehood'  
 /**ikinyámakurú**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'newspaper, journal'  
 [o] /**kwóoza**/ {Rundi}, /**kóoza**/ {Rwanda} *v-inf* 'to wash'  
 [r] /**ikireenge**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'foot'  
 /**kuryá**/ {both} *v-inf* 'to eat'  
 /**turuhúuke**/ {both} *v-sub-imm* 'We should rest.'  
 [v] /**ikivúra**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'deluge, heavy rain'  
 /**ikivaánge**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'mixture; mulatto'  
 [u] /**kwúubaka**/ {Rundi}, /**kúubaka**/ {Rwanda} 'to build'  
 [w] /**kuwugura**/ {both} *v-inf-imm+obj-n2-sg* 'to buy it'  
 [y] /**ikiyága**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'lake'  
 /**ikiyíiko**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'spoon'  
 /**kuyobora**/ {both} *v-inf* 'to direct'  
 [z] /**akazu**/ {both} *n7-sg* 'cottage, hut, small house'  
 /**ikizuúngu**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'the White Man's way'  
 /**ikizúuba**/ {both} *n4-sg* 'blazing sun, hot sunlight'

### 2.5.2. Nasal Assimilation

In another common sound change a nasal (**m** or **n**) becomes more like the following sound. Thus, in English, the negative prefix *in-* changes in words like *imperfect* [im-] and *incomplete* [in-]. In Rwanda and Rundi, the *n5-sg* prefix **in-** becomes **im-** before a labial sound [**b**, **f**, **p**, **pf**, **v**]. The same happens when the first person pronoun object **-n-** becomes **-m-**. Similarly, before [**k**] or [**g**], an [**n**] sounds more like an **ng** [**ŋ**]. In the case of alveolar sounds [**d**, **t**, **r**, **s**, **z**] the **n** remains unchanged.

- [b] /imbúto/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'fruit; seed'  
    **mboha** {both} *v-ind-imm* 'I bind.'  
[f] /umfureba/ {Rwanda} *v-ind-imm+obj* 'You wrap me up.'  
    /mfise/ {Rundi}, /mfite/ {Rwanda} *v-ind-imm* 'I have.'  
[pf] /impfiizi/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'stud, adult male animal'  
    /mpfukama/ {both} *v-ind-imm* 'I kneel.'  
[p]<sup>106</sup> /impapuro/ [imhapuro] {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'paper, sheet of paper'  
    /mpaanga/ {both} *v-ind-imm* 'I rent.'  
[v] /imvúra/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'rain'  
    /mvuga/ {both} *v-ind-imm* 'I say.'  
[g] /ingeso/ [ingeso] {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'habit, trait'  
    /ingó/ [ingó] {both} *n6-pl* 'fences'  
[k] /inká/ [inaha] {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'cow'

### 2.5.3. Murmuring of Voiceless Stops after Nasals

The voiceless stops /**p**, **t**, **k**/ almost sound like an [**h**] when they follow a nasal.<sup>107</sup> Note that the nasal has the place of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, or velar. However, when a nasal actually precedes an [**h**] it behaves just like /**m+p**/.

- [p] /mpiima/ {Rundi} [mhiima], /mpima/ {Rwanda} [mhima] *v-imm* 'I weigh.'  
    /mpa/ [mha] {both} *v-imp+obj* 'Give me!'  
[h] /ku-n-hiisha/ [kuúmhisha] {both} *v-inf+obj* 'to hide me'  
[t] /ntaa/ [nhaa] {both} *neg-pred-ind* 'There is not.'  
    /intaama/ [inhaama] {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'sheep'  
[k] /nkina/ [ŋhina] {both} 'I (habitually) play'  
    /inkoni/ [inthoni] {both} 'stick, piece of wood'

### 2.5.4. Consonant Strengthening after a Nasal

After a nasal, the liquid /**r**/ becomes the stop [**d**] and the fricative [**β**] spelled «**b**» becomes the stop [**b**].

- [r > d] /indwáara/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'illness, disease' < /-rwáara/ *v-st* 'be sick'  
    /ndi/ {both} *v-cop-loc-ind-imm* 'I am.' < **n-** *pro-1sg-subj* 'I' + /-rí/ *v-cop-loc* 'be at'  
[β > b] /imbabázi/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'forgiveness, pardon' < /-bábara/ *v-st* 'suffer, be hurt'

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<sup>106</sup> The sequence spelled «**imp-**» is pronounced [**imh**] and actually derives from a sound change involving roots beginning with **h-** which change (orthographically) to «**p**». This will be taken up in the next section.

<sup>107</sup> Kimenyi (2002:151f) refers to this process as ASPIRATION, a term usually associated with the process of pronouncing a consonant with a puff of air such as word initial voiceless stops in English (*pit, tank, kick*). Peter Ladefoged worked on this phenomenon in 1968 and says: "My memory is that it is something like a breathy voiced (murmured) nasal" (p.c., email dated 22 Jan 2004).

### 2.5.5. Deaffrication after a Nasal

The affricates /**pf**, **ts**, **c**/ become fricatives /**f**, **s**, **sh**/ after a nasal, which will take the same place of articulation (i.e., become homorganic).

- N+pf > mf /**imfúra**/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'firstborn; [ext] noble' < /iN-**pfúra**/  
 /**imfiizi**/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'stud, adult male animal' < /iN-**pfizi**/  
 /**mfá kuryáama**/ {both} *vp-aux-imm* 'I just lie down.' (even though the bed is unmade) < /N-**pfá**/
- N+ts > ns /**nsiinda**/ {both} *v-imm-con* 'I (usually) win.' < /N-**tsiinda**/  
 /**agatsiinsiino**/ {Rwanda} *n7-sg* 'heel' < /**aga-tsiin-tsiin-o**/  
 /**ntibaanseembere**/ {both} *v-neg-sub+obj* 'May they not wipe my family out!' < /**nti-ba-N-tseemb-er-e**/
- N+c<sup>108</sup> > nsh<sup>109</sup> /**inshúro**/ {Rwanda} *n5-sg/pl* 'measure; time, turn' < iN-**cúr-o** [Alt: /**incúro**/ {both}]  
 /**inshutí**/ {Rwanda} *n5-sg/pl* 'relative, kinsman' < iN-cut-i [Alt: /**incutí**/ {both}]  
 /**insháabití**/ {Rwanda} *n5-sg-cmp* 'axe, hatchet' < /iN-**cá-ibi-tí**/

### 2.5.6. Nasal Harmony (Ganda Law, Meinhof's Law)

Sometimes, instead of a nasal becoming more like a consonant (**in-** > **im-** discussed in §2.5.2), the consonant /**b**/ becomes the nasal /**m**/ if the following syllable begins with a nasal. This irregular sound change is sometimes referred to as Meinhof's law or Ganda law.

- /**imaánza**/ {both} *n6-pl* 'disputes, litigations, legal proceedings, lawsuits' < /iN-**baánz-a**/ cf: /**uru-baánza**/  
*n6-sg*  
 /**imaambo**/ {both} *n6-pl* 'stakes, nails' < /iN-**baamb-o**/ cf: /-**baamba**/ 'nail down, impale'

### 2.5.7. Palatal Consonant Change or Mutation

Besides the standard automatic changes in pronunciation when a /y/ follows many consonants (alluded to in §2.3), suffixes that begin with [y] (perfective **-ye** and nominal **-yi**) induce a wide variety of consonant changes involving palatalization, as illustrated by the following examples.

- b > v {Rundi only} /-**íitaba**/ > /-**íitavye**/ *v-tr* 'answer, respond'  
 /**baámwiivye**/ {Rundi} *v-ind-pret-perf+obj* 'They stole from him.' < /**b-aá-mu-íib-ye**/
- c > sh /-**íica**/ > /-**íishe**/ {both} *v-tr* 'kill; damage'
- d > z /-**kúunda**/ > /-**kúunze**/ {both} *v-tr* 'love'
- g > z /-**siiga**/ > /-**siize**/ {both} *v-tr* 'smear s.t. on'  
 /-**vúga**/ > /-**vúze**/ {both} *v-tr* 'say s.t., speak'
- h > sh(y) /-**guumbaha**/ > /-**guumbashe**/ {Rundi}, /-**guumbashye**/ {Rwanda} *v-st* 'be sterile, infertile'  
 /**ubudeshi**/ {Rundi}, /**ubudeshyi**/ {Rwanda} *n8-sg-abs* 'idleness, laziness' [ < **ubu-deh-yi**]
- k > s /-**óonka**/ > /-**óonse**/ {both} *v-intr* 'suckle'  
 /**umwáansi**/ {Rundi} *n1-sg* 'enemy, adversary' < /-**áanka**/ 'hate'
- k > ts /-**shaaka**/ > /-**shaatse**/ {both} *v-tr* 'search, look for s.t.'  
 /-**manika**/ > /-**manitse**/ {both} *v-tr* 'hang (up), suspend'  
 /**umutéetsi**/ {both} *n1-sg* 'cook' < /**umu-téek-yi**/
- r > z /-**kóra**/ > /-**kóze**/ {both} *v-tr* 'do s.t., work at or on, perform'  
 /**umukózi**/ {both} *n1-sg* 'worker' < /**umu-kór-yi**/  
 /-**éera**/ > /-**éeze**/ {both} *v-st-attr* 'whiten, become white, get clean'
- s > sh /-**mesa**/ > /-**meshe**/ {both} *v-tr* 'wash, launder'  
 /-**rása**/ > /-**ráshe**/ {both} *v-tr* 'aim at, shoot'
- t > s /-**heta**/ > /-**hese**/ {both} *v-tr* 'curve, bend s.t. back'  
 /-**fáta**/ > /-**fáshe**/ {both} *v-tr* 'catch, seize'  
 /-**kúbita**/ > /-**kúbise**/ {both} *v-tr* 'hit'

<sup>108</sup> Linguists variously transcribe «c» as [tsh] (Bizimana), [tʃ] (Kimenyi), or [tʃ].

<sup>109</sup> The change of c > sh is also discussed in the section on consonant mutation (§2.5.7).

/-óota/ > /-óose/ {both} *v-intr* 'warm oneself'  
/umuhísi/ {both} *n1-sg* 'deceased, dead person; [atr] the late' < /umu-hít-yi/  
z > j /-tyáaza/ > /-tyáaje/ {both} *v-tr* 'sharpen, whet'  
/-tahiriza/ > /-taahirije/ {both} *v-ben-caus* 'greet s.o. for s.o.'  
/ingaanji/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'power, supreme authority' < /iN-gaanz-yi/

This kind of change affects the lower numerals inflected with the prefix /e-/ in the plural of groups 5 and 6:

t > sh /eshatu/ {both} *num-n5/n6-pl* 'three' < /-tatu/  
/eshaanu/ {both} *num-n5/n6-pl* 'five' < /-taanu/

The nasal [n] changes to [ny] before a vowel or semivowel (y or w).<sup>110</sup>

n > ny /inyandiko/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'writing' < in- + /-aandik-/ 'write'  
/inyíbano/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'stolen item' < in- + /-íiba/ 'steal'  
/inyungú/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'increase; income' < in- + /-uunguka/ 'increase'  
/-zanywe/ {both} *v-pass-perf* 'was brought' < /-zana/ + -w- [passive] + -ye [perf]<sup>111</sup>  
/nywukuundira/ {Rwanda} *v-ind-imm-con+obj* 'I like it because...' < n- 'I' -wu- [n2-sg-obj] /-kúundira/  
/araányemera/ {both} *v-ind-imm+obj* 'He believes me.' < a- + -ra- + -n- 'me' + /-éemera/

### 2.5.8. Palatalization of Fricatives Across a Syllable Boundary

Besides the palatalizations just discussed in §2.5.7, this feature can spread from one syllable to another. The fricatives [s] and [z] are palatalized to [sh] and [j] respectively when the preceding or following syllable contains either the vowel [i] or a palatal fricative consonant.<sup>112</sup>

s > sh /amasaká/ *n3-pl*, but /ishaká/ *n3-sg* {both} 'sorghum, *Sorghum caudatum*'  
/amáaso/ *n3-pl*, but /ijiísho/ *n3-sg* {both} 'eye'  
/-soonza/ *v-st* > /-shoonje/ *v-perf* {both} 'be hungry'  
/-sáaza/ *v-inch* > /-sháaje/ *v-perf* {both} 'age, grow old'  
/-sasa/ *v-tr* 'make a bed' > /-shashiisha/ *v-caus* {Rwanda} 'have s.o. make a bed'  
/-súbiza/ *v-tr* > /-shúbije/ *v-perf* {both} 'answer, reply'<sup>113</sup>  
z > j /-guza/ *v-tr* > /-gújije/ *v-perf* {Rwanda} 'borrow money'  
/-baanza/ *v-tr* > /-baanjije/ *v-perf* {both} 'begin, commence'<sup>114</sup>  
/-baaza/ *v-tr* > /-baajije/ *v-perf* {both} 'carve, polish or smooth wood'

### 2.5.9. Consonant Loss or Deletion (Change to Zero)

Under certain conditions, a consonant can be lost completely. For example, after a long vowel, stem-final /r/ is lost (or changes to ZERO, symbolized as Ø). Similarly, all perfective forms of the benefactive verb (-er-, -ir-) lose the /r/.<sup>115</sup>

/-kúura/ > /-kúuye/ {both} *v-tr* 'remove, take s.t. out' [ < -kúur-ye; r + y > Øy]  
/-téera/ > /-téeye/ {both} *v-tr* 'sow (seeds)'  
/-taangaara/ > /-taangaaye/ {both} *v-tr* 'marvel at'  
/-úubakira/ > /-úubakiye/ {both} *v-ben* 'build s.t. for s.o.'  
/-úumvira/ > /-úumviye/ {both} *v-ben* 'listen to s.o.; obey'

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<sup>110</sup> See Bizimana 1998:131.

<sup>111</sup> Note the METATHESIS of [n] + [y], i.e., \*zan-w-ye > /zanywe/ (see §2.5.16).

<sup>112</sup> See Kimenyi 1980:18.

<sup>113</sup> The change of /z/ to /j/ is induced by the palatal ending -ye and does not illustrate a syllabic jump.

<sup>114</sup> Besides this sound change, note the addition of an extra syllable (see §2.5.14).

<sup>115</sup> See Kimenyi 1980:14,18f; Bizimana 1998:127.

When two semivowels follow each other, one of them is lost.

- /-gaya/ > /-gaye/ {both} *v-perf* 'despise, scorn, have contempt for' [perf < -gay-ye; y + y > Øy]  
 /-gaya/ > /-gawa/ {both} *v-pass* 'be despised' [pass < -gay-w-a; y + w > Øw]

When two nasals follow each other, one of them is lost.

- /ikinéezereje/ {both} *auto-n4-sg-imm-perf+obj* '...that which pleases me.' (R1) [ < iki-n-néezerez-ye; n + n > Øn]  
 /maríra/ {both} *v-rel-imm-pro-1sg* '...that I serve.' (R34) [ < n-marira; n + m > Øm]  
 /inumá/ {both} *n5a-sg/pl* 'turtledove' [ < in-numá; n + n > Øn]

### 2.5.10. Vowel Loss or Deletion

Changes affecting vowel length or shortness were treated in §2.2.1 (SHORT vowels) and §2.2.2 (LONG vowels). However, other kinds of changes affect the vowels of Rwanda and Rundi. For example, they can be lost or deleted under various circumstances.

#### 2.5.10.1. Loss of the Pre-prefix

With nouns, the article or pre-prefix is deleted if a noun is in the vocative, if it is preceded by a demonstrative or a locative preposition, if the noun is the second part of a compound, or if it is used adverbially.

- /maána/ {both} *n5a-sg-voc* 'Oh God!' < /imáana/  
 /mwaána/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh child!, Hey kid!' < /umwáana/  
 /abo banyaambo/ {both} 'these Nyambo people' (R38) < /abo (a)banyaambo/  
 /abahiinzi-bóorozi/ {Rwanda} 'farmers and cattle grazers' (R32) < /abahíinzi (a)bóorozi/  
 /akaraangamuuntu/ {Rundi} *n7-sg-cmp*, /indaangamuuntu/ {Rwanda} *n5-sg-cmp* 'identification' [cf:  
 -raanga + umuuntu]  
 /ku manywá/ {both} 'during the day'  
 /mu bwoónko/ {both} 'in the brain'  
 /kizuúngu/ {both} 'like a white person'

#### 2.5.10.2. Loss of Final Non-round Vowels

Non-round vowels **i**, **e**, **a** are deleted in final position if the following word starts with a vowel.<sup>116</sup> Note that if the lost vowel has high tone it is passed on to the surviving vowel.

- [ink'ímwé] < /inká imwé/ {both} 'one cow'<sup>117</sup> [a > Ø but high tone survives]  
 [kuny'úmutí] < /kunywá umutí/ {both} 'to take medicine' [a > Ø but high tone survives]  
 [buubats'inzu] < /b-aa-úuba(k)-tse inzu/ {both} 'They (recently) built a house.' [e > Ø]  
 [dusom'ígítabo] < /du-som-é igi-tabo/ {both} 'We should read a book.' [e > Ø but high tone survives]  
 [umwaám' atwara néézá] < /umwaámí atwara néézá/ {both} 'The king rules well.' [i > Ø]

#### 2.5.10.3. Loss of /a/, /i/ or /u/ before Another Vowel

The vowel /a/, even if it is long, is deleted if it precedes a morpheme that starts with another vowel.<sup>118</sup>

- /akúunyu/ {both} *n7-sg* 'pinch of salt' < /ak(a)-úunyu/  
 /aziica/ {Rwanda} *v-ind-fut* 'He will kill.' < /a-z(aa)-íic-a/  
 /twuúbatse/ {both} *v-ind-aff-recent-perf-dis* 'We built recently.' < /tw-(aa)-úuba(k)-tse/

<sup>116</sup> See Kimenyi 1980:15.

<sup>117</sup> Note the sequence of high tones (see §2.4.25), which is allowed across a word boundary.

<sup>118</sup> See Kimenyi 1980:15 and Bizimana 1998:121f.

Bizimana shows how this same rule affects the vowels /i/ and /u/ when they are part of prefixes, object infixes, or monosyllabic roots.<sup>119</sup> However, the most common change for both /i/ and /u/ is to become the semivowels /y/ and /w/ (see §2.5.12 BELOW).

[**turazúubaka**] {both} 'We are building them (the fences).' < **tu-ra-z(i)-úubaka**  
 [abo baantu bapfaana ikí?] {Rwanda} 'How are those people related?' < **ba-pf(ú)-aan-a**

#### 2.5.10.4. Three or More Morae Are Shortened to Two

Long vowels are limited to two morae; if three vowels would occur together, one of them is lost.<sup>120</sup>

/-híisha/ {both} *v-caus* 'make s.o. burn s.t.; let s.t. be cooked or become ripe' < -hí- + -iish-a < -sh(y)á  
 'get burned, be cooked'  
 /-ríika/ {both} *v-atr* 'be edible' < -rí- + -iik-a < -ryá 'eat'  
 /ntaráaza/ {both} *v-ind-neg-punc* 'He has not arrived yet.' < nt(i)-a-ráa:-z-a<sup>121</sup>  
 /kúumva/ {both} *v-inf* 'to listen' < ku-úumva  
 /kooshya/ {Rwanda} *v-inf* 'to lead astray' < k(u)- + -ooshya 'tempt, lead s.o. astray'

#### 2.5.11. Vowel Coalescence

If the vowel /a/ occurs before a morpheme beginning with the vowel /i/, vowel coalescence occurs, producing a long /ee/.<sup>122</sup> This applies broadly to all prefixes ending in /a/, e.g., **ama-**, **ba-**, **ha-**, **nya-**, etc. joined to roots or other affixes beginning with /i/.<sup>123</sup>

/améenyó/ {both} *n3-pl* 'teeth' [ < **ama-** + **iinyo** – three morae to two; cf: **iryiinyo** *n3-sg* 'tooth']  
 /beezá/ {both} *adj-nl-pl* 'good (people)' [ < **ba-iizá** – three morae to two]  
 /kéénshi/ {both} *adv-time* 'often, many times' [ < **ka-iínshi** – three morae to two]  
 /-héesha/ {both} *v-caus* 'have s.o. give s.t. to s.o.' [ < -há + -iish-a – three morae to two]  
 /heejuru/ {both} *adv-loc-nl0a* 'above, on top' [ < **ha-ijuru** – coalescence of two vowels]  
 /umunyéeshuúri/ {Rwanda} *nl-sg* 'student, pupil' [ < **umu-nyá-i-shuúri** – coalescence of two vowels]  
 /ikinyéekoóngo/ {both} *n4-sg* 'Congolese' (language and culture) [ < **iki-nyá-i-koóngo** – coalescence of two vowels]

#### 2.5.12. Vowel Gliding (Vowels Change to Semivowels)

When coming before another vowel, a front vowel /i, e<sup>124</sup>/ changes to the semivowel /y/ or becomes a palatalized consonant, whereas a back vowel /u, o/ changes to the semivowel /w/ or becomes a velarized consonant.<sup>125</sup> These are HIGH FREQUENCY CHANGES because they affect the derivation of hundreds of nouns across several groups, e.g., **umu-** > **umw-** {both} *n1-sg, n2-sg*, **imi-** > **imy-**

<sup>119</sup> See Bizimana 1998:123f.

<sup>120</sup> Bizimana speaks of "loss of the second vowel among two vowels following each other in a word or in a sentence" (1998:124f, translation ours), but the examples he cites all illustrate how three or more vowels are limited to two and favor that of the suffix.

<sup>121</sup> The verb root /-:za/ requires a long vowel to precede it, however /-ráa-/ already has a long vowel.

<sup>122</sup> See Bizimana 1998:132–3, Kimenyi 1980:16, Overdulse 1975:45, Ntahokaja 1994:33.

<sup>123</sup> Bizimana 1998:133 discusses the coalescence of **a + u** to /oo/, which is a historical or frozen change in /-tóora/ {both} *v-rev-tr* 'pick out, select; find' < /-tá/ 'throw away' + /-uur-a/ (reversive). This change does not happen in the current dialects, where the **a** gets lost (§2.5.10.3), e.g., **ba-** + **-úubaka** > /buubaka/ 'they build,' not <sup>x</sup>boobaka.

<sup>124</sup> Although Kimenyi 1980:15 specifies this change of **e** to **y**, he does not exemplify it and we have been unable to find any instance of it among our data.

<sup>125</sup> See Bizimana 1998:125,127–9, Kimenyi 1980:14–5. In linguistic shorthand this can be written as a GLIDING RULE: V [i, e] /FRONT > y; / V [o, u] /BACK > w.

{both} *n2-pl*, **iki-** > **icy-** {Rwanda}, **ic-** {Rundi} *n4-sg*, **ibi-** > **iby-** {Rwanda}, **ivy-** {Rundi} *n4-pl*, **uru-** > **urw-** *n6-sg*, **utu-** > **utw-** {both} *n7-pl*, **ubu-** > **ubw-** *n8-sg*, **uku-** > **ukw-** *n9-sg* {both}.

i > y /**iryoo**ya/ {both} *n3-sg* 'feather' < /**iri-o**oya/

/**icya**ambu/ {Rwanda}, /**ica**ambu/<sup>126</sup> {Rundi} *n4-sg* 'ford, passage' < /**iki-a**mbu(ka)

o > w /**kw'adashob**ora **guk**ora/ {both} *conj + v-rel* '...that he cannot work.' < /**kó a-da-shob**ór-a/

/**hari mw'áam**áazi/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-loc post+n3-pl* 'There is milk in it.' < /**ha-ri-m**(ó) **áam**áa-zi/

u > w /**umwa**ami/ {both} *n1-sg* 'king' < /**umu-áam-i**/ [with P2 tone]

/**umwa**ambaro/ {both} *n2-sg* 'garment, attire' < /**umu-a**ambar-o/

/**urwa**andiko/ {both} *n6-sg* 'writing' < /**uru-a**andik-o/

/**kwa**awe/ {both} *pro-2sg-poss-n9-sg* 'your' < /**ku-aa-we**/

### 2.5.13. Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony involves a change in vowel quality to match a previous vowel.<sup>127</sup> In Rwanda and Rundi, this affects a few high-frequency verb suffixes (augments): the BENEFACTIVE **-ir-**, the INSTRUMENTAL **-iish-**, the ATTRIBUTIVE **-ik-**, and the REVERSIVES **-uuk-** and **-uur-**. If the verb stem has a MID VOWEL (**e**, **o**), the augment will also have a mid vowel to match it; thus: **-er-**, **-eesh-**, **-ek-**, **-ook-**, and **-oor-** respectively. If the verb stem has a non-mid vowel (**a**, **i**, **u**), the augments remain NON-MID as well, matching the same series of suffixes found in many other Bantu languages.

MID VOWELS (**e**, **o**)

**-er-** /-**kenera**/ {both} *v-ben* 'require, be in need of' < /-**kena**/ 'be poor, needy'

/-**yobera**/ {both} *v-ben* 'lead s.o. into error; perplex, dumbfound' < /-**yoba**/ 'lose one's way'

**-ek-** /-**méneka**/ {both} *v-atr* 'get broken, be shattered' < /-**ména**/ 'break, shatter'

/-**bóneka**/ {both} *v-at* 'be visible, appear' < /-**bóna**/ 'find, acquire, obtain'

**-eesh-** /-**menyeesha**/ {both} *v-caus* 'notify, inform, let s.o. know s.t.' < /-**menya**/ 'know; recognize'

/-**hómeesha**/ {both} *v-caus* 'cause to plaster; use s.t. to caulk [instr]' < /-**hóma**/ 'plaster, apply a coating'

**-ook-** /-**bóhooka**/ {both} *v-rev-st* 'come untied, get undone (as a knot)' < /-**bóha**/ 'tie, bind'

**-oor-** /-**róotoora**/ {both} *v-rev-tr* 'relate or tell a dream; explain a dream' < /-**róota**/ 'dream'

NON-MID VOWELS (**a**, **i**, **u**)

**-ir-** /-**raangira**/ {both} 'show s.o. s.t., indicate, demonstrate' < /-**raanga**/ 'indicate (with one's eyes), show'

/-**shii**mira/ {both} 'thank s.o.' [lit: approve of s.o.] < /-**shii**ma/ 'praise; prefer; appreciate'

/-**úum**vira/ {both} 'listen to s.o., obey' < /-**úum**va/ 'hear, listen'

**-ik-** /-**rúika**/ {both} *v-atr* 'be edible; get eaten' < /-**ryá**/ *v-tr* 'eat'

/-**guri**ka/ {both} *v-atr* 'sell well' < /-**gura**/ *v-tr* 'buy, purchase'

/-**vúni**ka/ {both} *v-atr* 'get broken' < /-**vúna**/ *v-tr* 'break, cut (up), split'

**-iish-** /-**iigi**isha/ {both} *v-caus* 'teach, instruct' < /-**iiga**/ *v-tr* 'learn, study'

/-**fáshi**isha/ {both} *v-caus* 'make s.o. help' < /-**fásha**/ *v-tr* 'help, aid, assist'

/-**ruhi**isha/ {both} *v-caus* 'fatigue, tire s.o. out' < /-**ruha**/ *v-inch* 'get tired, be fatigued or exhausted'

**-uuk-** /-**áaguka**/ {both} *v-rev-st* 'become enlarged; be vast, spacious' < /-**áaga**/ *v-st* 'be narrow'

/-**kiingu**uka/ {both} *v-rev-st* 'get opened, be unlocked' < /-**kiinga**/ *v-tr* 'close, shut, lock (door)'

/-**búumb**uuka/ {both} *v-rev-st* 'be open; open up' < /-**búumba**/ *v-tr* 'close, shut (mouth, eye, book)'

**-uur-** /-**áagura**/ {both} *v-rev-tr* 'stretch, widen, enlarge' < /-**áaga**/ *v-st* 'be narrow'

/-**kiingu**ura/ {both} *v-rev-tr* 'open s.t.; unlock (a door)' < /-**kiinga**/ *v-tr* 'close, shut, lock (door)'

/-**pfúku**ura/ {both} *v-rev-tr* 'uncover, disclose, reveal' < /-**pfúka**/ *v-tr* 'cover'

<sup>126</sup> Although Rundi does not spell the extra «y» in the derivation of *n4-sg* (see §1.1.1), the sound (originally a velar [k]) is still a palatal consonant. Rwandans pronounce /cy/ using the BLADE OF THE TONGUE whereas Rundi pronounce the /c/ using the TIP OF THE TONGUE. Rwandans also have this [c] sound, but in different shared words, such as /**icúmu**/ *n3-sg* 'spear.'

<sup>127</sup> Vowel harmony is very common in Turkish and other Turkic languages (Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Kazakh, Uyghur).

## Chapter 2: The Sound System

In a few cases involving words having four or more syllables, vowel harmony can work backwards to such an extent that it changes a root vowel; this results in a process which linguists call REGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION.

*/-gomorora/* {both} *v-rev-tr* 'take down a dam or blockade, remove an obstacle' < */-gomera/ v-tr* 'build a dam, obstacle, blockade' [the /e/ of the root changes to /o/ to match the suffix]

### 2.5.14. Syllable Addition

A few irregular two-syllable roots ending with **-sha** or **-za** and many polysyllabic derived verbs (e.g., causatives, reciprocals) form their perfect with the addition of a syllable.<sup>128</sup> Note that the added vowel is the product of VOWEL HARMONY (mid vs. non-mid, §2.5.13) and that with many derived forms the final consonant of the root reverts from any changed form (see §2.5.7).

#### IRREGULAR DISYLLABIC **-sha** or **-za** VERBS<sup>129</sup>

- sha > -shije */-báasha/* > */-báashije/* {both} *v-aux* 'can, be able to'
- /-fásha/* > */-fáshije/* {both} *v-tr* 'help, aid, assist'
- /-húsha/* > */-húshije/* {both} *v-tr* 'miss, fail to achieve'
- /-rusha/* > */-rushije/* {both} *v-tr* 'surpass, excel, be better than'
- sha > -sheje */-héesha/* > */-héesheje/* {both} *v-tr* 'forge, work on metal'
- /-kéesha/* > */-kéesheje/* {both} *v-ditr* 'have s.t. thanks to s.o.; obtain s.t. from s.o.'
- /-neesha/* > */-neesheje/* {both} *v-tr* 'conquer, triumph'
- za > -jije */-báza/* > */-bájije/* {both} *v-tr* 'ask, question'
- /-baanza/* > */-baanjije/* {both} *v-tr* 'begin (a series of actions), commence, do s.t. first'
- ra VERBS WITH A LONG PENULT VOWEL<sup>130</sup> and MONOSYLLABIC BENEFACTIVE VERBS<sup>131</sup>
- ra > -reye */-eegeera/* > */-eegereye/* {both} *v-tr* 'approach, get near s.o., go up to s.t.'
- /-húira/* > */-húiriye/ v-ben* 'be cooked or ripened for s.o.'
- /-remeera/* > */-remereye/* {both} *v-st* 'be heavy, strong, powerful'
- ra > -riye */-aakiira/* > */-aakiriye/* {both} 'accept; catch; take (from another)'
- /-pfiira/* > */-pfiiriye/* {both} *v-ben* 'die for'
- /-siinziira/* > */-siinziriye/* {both} *v-st* 'sleep, be asleep'

#### RECIPROCAL VERBS WITH **-nya**

- nya > -nije */-kóranya/* > */-kóranije/* {both} 'put together, pile up'
- /-fáshanya/* > */-fáshaniye/* {both} *v- recip* 'help one another'

#### CAUSATIVE OR TRANSITIVIZED VERBS

- /-rusha/* {Rundi}, */-rushya/* {Rwanda} > */-ruhije/* {both} *v-caus* 'exhaust, tire out, make s.o. tired' [cf: */-ruha/* 'get tired']
- eesha > -eesheje */-kóreesha/* > */-kóreesheje/* {both} *v-caus* 'employ, cause to work; use, utilize'
- /-menyeesha/* > */-menyeesheje/* {both} *v-caus* 'notify, inform, let s.o. know s.t.'
- iisha > -iishije */-rimiisha/* > */-rimiishije/* {both} *v-caus* 'cultivate land with (a tool)'
- /-úgiisha/* > */-úgiishije/* {both} *v-caus* 'teach'
- tsa > -keje */-ootsa/* > */-ookeje/* {both} *v-tr* 'roast (in coals), bake'
- /-kómeretsa/* > */-kómerekeje/* {both} *v-tr* 'wound, injure' [cf: */-kómereka/* 'be wounded']
- tsa > -kije */-íibutsa/* > */-iibukije/* {both} *v-tr* 'remind'
- /-ramutsa/* > */-ramukije/* {both} *v-tr* 'greet, salute'
- za > -geje */-óoza/* > */-óogeje/* {both} *v-tr* 'wash, rinse' [cf: */-óoga/* 'immerse, put into water']
- za > -gije */-vúzwa/* > */-vúgijwe/ v-pass* 'be played (of musical instrument)'
- za > -jeje */-éeza/* > */-éeejeje/* {both} *v-caus* 'ripen, let s.t. ripen'
- /-kóza/* > */-kójeje/* {both} *v-caus* 'soak, dip s.t. in (sauce); eat s.t. with spices'

<sup>128</sup> See Hands 1952:291–3.

<sup>129</sup> There are other verbs ending with **-sha** that take a simple perfect ending **-e**, e.g., */-béesha/* > */-béeshe/* {Rundi} 'lie, fib,' */-hisha/* > */-híshe/* {both} *v-tr* 'hide, conceal' or */-óogosha/* > */-óogoshe/* {both} *v-tr* 'shave, shear, clip.' Because /sh/ is already a palatal sound, the full suffix **-ye** does not appear.

<sup>130</sup> Note that the long penult vowel is shortened in the perfect tense when the extra syllable is added.

<sup>131</sup> These verbs always have a long vowel.



-za > -jije /-guza/ > /-gujije/ {Rwanda} *v-caus* 'borrow money; lend, give s.t. on credit'

### 2.5.15. Syllable Deletion or Truncation

The opposite phenomenon of the above also happens whereby a syllable is lost. For example, the final syllable of some vocative forms is lost completely.

/bagó/ {both} *n1-pl-voc* 'Oh women!' < /abagoré/ = (a) bago(re)  
/hiitimá/ {both} *n1-a-pn-voc* 'Oh Hitimana!' < /hiitimáana/ = hiitimá(ana)

Some nouns seem to be formed from verbs by a process of truncation.<sup>132</sup>

/umuhemú/ {both} *n1-sg* 'ingrate, cheat; traitor' and /ubuhemú/ {both} *n8-sg* 'treachery, betrayal' [Cf: /-hemuka/ *v-tr* 'betray (a secret); break (a promise)'  
/ishavú/ {both} *n3-sg* 'sorrow, sadness; affliction' [Cf: /-shávura/ *v-st* 'be saddened or cantankerous; grieve'  
/icaámbu/ {Rundi}, /icyaámbu/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg* 'ford, passage, river crossing' [Cf: /-aambuka/ *v-tr* 'ford (river), traverse; cross (border), leave the country'  
/indagú/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'prophecy, divination' [Cf: /-ragura/ *v-tr* 'predict, prophesize, divine']

### 2.5.16. Sound Switching or Metathesis

Sometimes the sounds in a word switch around or swap places.<sup>133</sup> Linguists call this process METATHESIS. Some English examples include dialectal pronunciations of the words *sentence* [sɛʔns<sup>134</sup>], *didn't* [díʔnt<sup>135</sup>], or *hundred* [hunert<sup>136</sup>]. In Rwanda and Rundi a /z/ in a root swaps places with an /r/ when the benefactive suffix **-ir-** or **-er-** is added (§8.14.1). The palatal perfective **y** also swaps places with the passive suffix **-w-**, yielding **-Y-w-e**.

/-kíriza/ {both} *v-ben-caus* 'cure or heal s.o. for s.o.; save s.o. (for a reason)' < /-kíz-ir-a/  
/-komereza/ {both} *v-ben* 'continue or carry on for s.o.' < /-komez-er-a/  
/-sóoreza/ {Rwanda} *v-ben* 'complete s.t. for s.o.' < -sóoz-er-a [note: Rundi: /-sóozeera/]  
/ubúitswe/ {both} *v-part-imm-perf-pass* 'it being stored' (R35.1) < /u-búik-w-ye/  
/-kúunzwe/ {both} *v-pass-perf* 'was loved' < /-kúund-w-ye/

### 2.5.17. Reduplication

REDUPLICATION is the process of repeating part or all of a word. An English word like *helter-skelter* shows such repetition with the initial consonant changing whereas *flip-flop* illustrates repetition with vowel change. However, such words are fixed and not actively coined by speakers. Generally, English reduplicates by using a conjunction, such as in *it rained and rained*. In Rwanda and Rundi the process of reduplication is very common. However, one of the most linguistically fascinating properties of these two languages is the fact that the tonal pattern of reduplications depends on the PART OF SPEECH.

The implication of reduplication on verbs is usually an INTENSIVE OR REPETITIVE ACTION. This process is limited in two ways: FORMALLY (only two-syllable stems can be repeated<sup>137</sup>) and

<sup>132</sup> An alternate explanation would be that the verb is formed from the noun root by adding some verb forming suffix, such as **-uk-** or **-ur-**.

<sup>133</sup> See: Hands 1952:284.

<sup>134</sup> Here the /n/ and the /t/ swap places, except that the /t/ is pronounced as a glottal stop, like a Cockney would pronounce the word *butter* [bʌʔr].

<sup>135</sup> Here the /d/ and the /n/ swap place, but the /d/ is pronounced as a glottal stop (see preceding footnote).

<sup>136</sup> Here the consonant cluster beginning the final syllable /dred/ simplifies or reduces to /r/ switches places to follow the vowel /e/ becoming /ert/.

<sup>137</sup> Some authors treat verbs that show first-syllable reduplication, such as /-tutuumba/ 'swell up little by little' related to /-tuumba/ 'swell.' However, from the student's point of view, these are FROZEN, that is they are not

## Chapter 2: The Sound System

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SEMANTICALLY (only verbs that logically denote a repeatable action or process). Monosyllabic and polysyllabic stems do not reduplicate.<sup>138</sup> Any reduplicated high-toned verb root will have only ONE HIGH TONE, and this will fall on the first part. Low-toned verbs maintain their low tone. The first part of a reduplicated verb always has the simple root with the **-a** suffix, never the palatalized form of the perfect; the second part is a toneless but inflected ECHO.

- /-shaakashaaka/ {both} *v-redup* 'research, look all around for s.t.'
- /-búungabuunga/ {both} *v-intens* 'care for, protect, watch over, safeguard'
- /-váangavaanga/ {both} *v-tr* 'stir, beat, mix vigorously'
- /-kórákora/ {both} *v-tr* 'touch, feel'
- /-shukaashutse/ {Rwanda} *v-perf* 'enticed, tempted'

Nouns show the greatest variation when it comes to reduplication. With many, but not all, nouns, there are usually TWO HIGH TONES. Where they occur depends on whether the root begins with a consonant or a vowel. High-toned consonant roots maintain a parallel high tone on the first and second part [Rrule + Rrule]; monosyllabic roots additionally have vowel lengthening. In Rwanda<sup>139</sup> high-toned vowel roots have high tone on the first vowel of the first part and on the final vowel of the second part [Rrule + Erule].

- /ikigóorigóori/ {both} *n4-sg-redup* 'corn cob' [rw: /ikigóori/ *n4-sg* 'corn']
- /ikinyúgunyúgu/ {both} *n4-sg-redup* 'butterfly'
- /amakóbekóbe/ {Rundi} *n3-pl-mass-redup* 'goat's milk'
- /amabéerebéere/ {Rundi} *n3-pl-mass-redup* 'breast milk (human only)' [rw: /ibéere/ *n3-sg* 'breast']
- /amabwáabwá/ {both} *n3-pl-mass-redup* 'udders of a mammal' [cf: /imbwá/ 'dog' MONOSYLLABIC]
- /ubusáabusá/ {both} *n8-sg-redup* 'very little (in quantity)' [cf: /ubusá/ *n8-sg-abs* 'nothing, zero' MONOSYLLABIC]
- /icyézezezi/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg-redup* 'light' [rw: -éze *v-caus* 'whiten, brighten']
- /icyúunyuyú/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg-redup* 'saltiness' [cf: /umúnyu/ *n2-sg* 'salt']
- /icyáangaangá/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg-redup* 'loathing, disgust' [rw: -áanga *v-tr* 'dislike, hate']

However, in most dialects, if the high tone appears on the second or final syllable of the stem, the reduplicate will only have one high tone.

- /umutobótobo/ {both} *n2-sg-redup* 'tree or bush sp., *Solanum aculeastrum*'
- /amahenéhene/ {Rwanda} *n3-pl-mass* 'goat's milk' [cf: /ihené/ *n5a-sg* 'jenny, she-goat']
- /ítóoto/ {Rwanda} *n3-sg-redup* 'youthfulness' [cf: /-tó/ *adj-root* 'small, little' MONOSYLLABIC]

The tendency to regularize tone on the reduplicate can even work backwards, yielding an alternate form where the tonality of both parts conform.

- /igitaábitáabi/ {both} *n4-sg-redup* 'tobacco leaf rib (used when one runs out of tobacco)' [Alt: /igitábitáabi/; Cf: /itaábi/ *n3-sg* 'tobacco'] tone moves from second mora to first
- /umutobótobó/ {Rwanda alt} *n2-sg-redup* 'tree sp' [See /umutobótobo/ ABOVE] final tone is copied onto reduplicate

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created on a daily basis by speakers. A verb such as /-réreemba/ {both} *v-intr* 'float' may historically be derived by a process of first-syllable reduplication, but is not obviously related to any known root, e.g., /-reemba/ {both} 'feel sick all over, have had enough of s.t.' does not have high tone. See Kimenyi 2002:254–257 for a detailed discussion.

<sup>138</sup> A repeated or intensive action can be marked by an augment **-agur-** in both Rwanda and Rundi which occurs on stems of two or more syllables (**-kúbitagura** {both} 'thrash soundly'), while **-agagur-** occurs on monosyllables (**-ryáagagura** 'eat voraciously' {Rwanda}, 'insult' {Rundi}). Some verbs that would appear to be reduplicable take this suffix instead, e.g., /-témagura/ {both} 'cut to pieces' – one does not find \*tématema.

<sup>139</sup> We can find no parallel examples of vowel-root noun reduplications in Rundi.

Low-toned noun roots generally maintain the low tone throughout. But in some cases they acquire a high tone [Arule] which will also be reduplicated on consonant roots; whereas low tone vowel roots acquire high tone on the second mora but keep low tone on the second part.

- /amataamataama/ {both} *n3-sg-redup* 'sheep's milk' [cf: /intaama/ *n5-sg/pl* 'sheep']
- /uruunturuuntu/ {both} *n6-sg-redup* 'human scent' [cf: /umuuntu/ 'person, human being']
- /ikiményaménya/ {Rundi} *n4-sg-redup* 'sign, symbol; symptom' [cf: /-menya/ 'know' Arule+Trule]
- /icyaáyaaya/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg-redup* 'wasteful woman' [rw: -aaya *v-tr* 'waste, squander']
- /icaáyaaye/ {Rundi} *n4-sg-redup* 'negligent, wasteful (person)

With adjectives, the entire inflectional form is usually repeated, the first part will carry the normal tonality while the second part, if the first syllable of the root has high tone, will have tone on the prefix. Monosyllabic roots that are high-toned will have two tones as well as vowel lengthening. Note that subsequent high tones are allowed, i.e., the Xrule does not apply. Such forms usually imply *very much so*. Although the last two examples serve as nouns, it is clear in terms of their grammatical behavior (reduplication of class prefix) and their meaning (*very*) that they derive from adjectives.

- /bakurúbákuru/ {both} *adj-n1-pl-redup* 'very important, extremely powerful (people)'
- /bagufíbágufi/ {Rwanda} *adj-n1-pl-redup* 'very short (people)'
- /bikurúbíkuru/ {both} *adj-n4-pl-redup* 'very important, principal'
- /matóomató/ {Rundi} *adj-n3-pl-redup* 'small, inferior, basic'
- /dutóodutó/ {both} *n7-pl-redup* 'very small pieces'
- /ubusáabusá/ {both} *n8-sg* 'very little (in quantity)'

With numeral reduplications, a high-toned root will have two high tones in accordance with the root tonality. However, high tone obligatorily appears on the prefix of the second part when the root is low-toned. These forms usually serve as adverbs and imply *at a time* or *by*.

- /rimwéerimwé/ {both} *adv-time* 'once in a while, from time to time' rw: /-mwé/
- /kamwéekamwé/ {both} *num-n7-sg-redup* 'one at a time'
- /babiribábiri/ {both} *num-n1-pl-redup* 'two by two' rw: /-biri/
- /batatubátatu/ {both} *num-n1-pl-redup* 'three by three' rw: /-tatu/

It should be noted that there is only one part of speech where TRIPLICATION can occur, and that is on IDEOPHONES, which will be discussed much later (§15).

### 3. NOUNS

In Rwanda and Rundi, the NOUN is the focal point of grammar in that any other sentence element (e.g., adjective, verb, or possessive noun) must agree with its class and number. That is, nouns determine grammatical concord throughout the system. Nouns are composed of sets of prefixes indicating their class or group membership, and of a series of suffixes that happen to represent the entire vowel system (-a, -e, -i, -o, -u). They serve several sentence functions (what have traditionally been described as "cases" in the grammar of other languages) such as subject, object, possessive, locative, and vocative, see §1.8.5 and below.

#### 3.1. Noun Groups or Classes

Nouns are distributed over 13 groups (representing 19 Bantu classes), membership in which is highly idiomatic and culture-specific. Some of the broadest generalizations that can be made are: human and kin [n1, n1a], collective or mass [n3-pl], language names [n4], abstract nouns [n8], verbal nouns [n9a], and locatives [n10-13]. However, this should not lead to a false sense of security. There are so many exceptions that one must simply memorize the singular and plural form of each noun (along with major agreement forms), see §1.6. For example, while all nouns in group 1 (or 1a) are human, not all human nouns are in group 1 – they are also distributed among groups 4, 5, and 7.

Similarly, while all nouns in group 9a [ku-] are VERBAL NOUNS (which also double as infinitives), nouns derived from verbs are found in most groups, usually with specialized meanings: DOERS [n1, **umu-Δ-i**], RESULTS [n2, **umu-Δ-o**], CHARACTERISTICS [n3, **i-Δ-a**], PRODUCTS [n4, **iki-Δ-o**], high level of COMPETENCE [n5, **iN-Δ-i**], EFFECTS [n5, **iN-Δ-o**], STATIVES [n6, **uru-Δ-o**], etc. See examples in the respective group presentations below.

Another area to watch out for is that of loanwords. Most words adopted from French, Swahili, Arabic, or English are either in group 3 or 5a, but can be found in most groups (n1–n8). For more details on the characteristics pertaining to each class consult each of the following sections.

##### 3.1.1. Problems with Semantic Classes

As long ago as 1919, the following observation was made:

"Much ingenuity has been expended – and, I cannot but think, wasted – in drawing up definitions of the classes: the attempt seems to be hopeless at the present day, because prefixes originally distinct may have become identical in form, through elision or contraction, and so two or more classes have been merged into one." [Werner 1919:43f]

Nevertheless, there are areas where noun classification seems to make sense:

[n1] /**umuuntu**/ 'person, human' – /**abaantu**/ 'people' {both}  
[n4] /**ikiintu**/ 'thing' – /**ibiintu**/ 'things' {both}  
[n6] /**uruunturuuntu**/ 'human scent' {both}  
[n7] /**akaantu**/ 'trifle, small thing, little item' {both}  
[n8] /**ubuuntu**/ 'humanitarianism, humaneness, generosity' {both}  
[n10] /**ahaantu**/ 'place, location' {both}  
[n11] /**ukuuntu**/ 'method, way, means; how' {both}

Some two decades ago, Kimenyi stated:

"These classes have no semantic function whatsoever, since nouns which belong to the same semantic category as well as nouns which belong to the same semantic class are found in different classes. It is important to note, however, that classes 1 and 2 refer exclusively to human beings. Classes 7, 8, and 11-14 also serve as secondary or derived classes, since any noun in this language can shift into any of these classes:

/**umugabo**/ 'man' – /**abagabo**/ 'men' [c1/2 = n1] {both}  
/**ikigabo**/ 'big man' – /**ibigabo**/ 'big men' [c7/8 = n4] {both}  
/**urugabo**/ 'big man' [c11 = n6] {both}

*/akagabo/* 'small man' – */utugabo/* 'small men' [c12/13 = n7] {both}

*/ubugabo/* 'manhood' [c14 = n8] {both}

Classes 7, 8, and 11 have a pejorative and augmentative meaning, classes 12 and 13, a diminutive meaning, and class 14 is for abstract nouns." [Kimenyi 1980:4; noun group numbers by RDZ]

As an example of the frustration to be encountered in over-analyzing Bantu noun classification, it is instructive to look at BODY PARTS (Table 31), because they are distributed among all noun groups except group 1 (the human class).

**Table 31. Body Parts among the Noun Classes**

Group 2 <i>/imitsi/</i> sinews, nerves {both} <i>/umutwé/</i> head {both} <i>/umusatsi/</i> hair (of the head){Rwanda}, <i>/umushatsi/</i> {Rundi} <i>/umubiri/</i> body {both} <i>/umunwa/</i> mouth; beak {both} <i>/umutíma/</i> heart {both} <i>/umuhogó/</i> throat {both} <i>/umuruúndi/</i> shin {both} <i>/umugóongo/</i> back {both} <i>/umwújímá/</i> liver {Rwanda} <sup>140</sup> <i>/umuriizo/</i> tail {both}	Group 3 <i>/ibabá/</i> wing {both} <i>/ibéere/</i> breast, teat {both} <i>/igúfa/</i> bone {both}, <i>/igúfwa/</i> {Rwanda} <i>/ihahá/</i> {Rundi} lung <sup>141</sup> <i>/ijiísho/</i> eye {both} <i>/ino/</i> toe {both} <i>/iryíinyo/</i> tooth {both} <i>/iví/</i> knee {both} <i>/izúuru/</i> nose; nostril {both} <i>/amaráso/</i> blood {both} <i>/amarirá/</i> tears {both}
Group 4 <i>/igitsiúntsiiri/</i> heel {Rundi} <sup>142</sup> <i>/icyuúya/</i> sweat {Rwanda}, <i>/icúúya/</i> {Rundi} <i>/igifú/</i> stomach {Rwanda} <sup>143</sup> <i>/igihahá/</i> lung {Rwanda} <sup>144</sup> <i>/igipfuúnsi/</i> fist {both} <i>/igituúza/</i> chest {both} <i>/ikigaanza/</i> hand; wrist {both} <i>/ikireenge/</i> foot {both}	Group 6 <i>/urubavu/</i> rib {both} <i>/urugóhe/</i> eyelash; eyelid {both} <i>/urura/</i> intestine {both} <i>/ururími/</i> tongue {both} <i>/urushí/</i> palm (of hand) {Rundi} <i>/urushyi/</i> {Rwanda} <i>/urutoki/</i> finger {both} <i>/uruhú/</i> skin {both} <i>/urwáara— inzáara/</i> nail (of finger or toe) {both}
Group 5 <i>/inda/</i> belly, abdomen {both} <i>/indurwe/</i> bile {both} <i>/ingiingo/</i> joint, knuckle {both} <i>/inkókorá/</i> elbow {both} <i>/intóboro/</i> pore {both}	Group 7 <i>/agahéra/</i> little finger {both} <i>/agatsiinsiino/</i> heel {Rwanda} <i>/akáanaanwá/</i> chin {Rwanda} <i>/akanwa/</i> mouth {both} <i>/akanigo/</i> neck, throat {Rundi}
Group 8 <i>/ubwoónko/</i> brain {both} <i>/ubwoóya/</i> body hair, fur {both} <i>/ubwaánwa/</i> beard {both}	Group 9 <i>/ugutwí/</i> ear {both} <i>/ukubóko/</i> arm {both} <i>/ukuguru/</i> leg, foot {both} <i>/ukwáaha/</i> armpit {both}

Another good example is that of TIME WORDS (Table 32), again distributed across most of the noun class system:

<sup>140</sup> Rundi has a different word in a different class */igitigú/* [n4].

<sup>141</sup> Rwanda uses the same root, but in a different class */igihahá/* [n4].

<sup>142</sup> Rwanda has a different derivation in a different class */agatsiinsiino/* [n7].

<sup>143</sup> Rundi has a different word in a different class */umushúshiito/* [n2].

<sup>144</sup> Rundi uses the same root, but in a different class */ihahá/* [n3].

Table 32. Time Words among the Noun Classes

Group 2 /umwáaka/ year {both} /umuúnsi/ day {both}, /umuúsi/ {Rundi alt} /umuhiindo/ spring {Rwanda}	Group 4 /igihe/ time; moment {both} /igitóondo/ morning {both} /icyúumwéeru/ week {Rwanda} <sup>145</sup> /ikinjana/ century {Rundi}, /ikinyeejana/ {Rwanda}
Group 3 – singular /ijoro/ night {both} /icyí/ dry season {Rwanda}, /icí/ dry season {Rundi} /itúumbá/ rainy season {both} /ipfá/ time of one's death {both}	Group 3 - plural /amakúuka/ mid-afternoon (from about 2 to 3 p.m.) {both} /amanywá/ daytime {both} /amatárama/ social evening {Rwanda}
Group 5 /isahá/ hour {Rundi} /saa/ o'clock {both} /itárikí/ date, day (of the month) {both < Arb} /impeéshi/ {Rundi} dry season, /impeéshyi/ {Rwanda}	Group 6 /urugáryi/ short dry season (from the summer solstice to autumnal equinox) {Rwanda}
Group 9 /ugushyíingo/ November (third month) {Rwanda}	/ukwézi/ moon; month {both} /ukwaakira/ October {Rwanda} /ukuboza/ December {Rwanda}

Although approximately half of the plant kingdom can be found in group 2 (see §3.2.2 and Rodegem 1970:636-642), word families (§1.8.7) are derived indicating such things as: its fruit – a flower, outgrowth, or seed of it – a byproduct – a grove, garden or thicket of that species, etc. Again, there is no clearly defined system, as illustrated by examples in Table 33.

Table 33. Word Families among Flora

<p>/umugano/ {both} <i>n2-sg</i> bamboo, <i>Arundinaria alpina</i>          /urugano/ {Rwanda} <i>n6-sg</i> bamboo forest          /ikiganogano/ {Rundi} <i>n4-sg</i> bamboo slat or strip          /umukiindo/ {Rwanda} <i>n2-sg</i> palm (tree)          /urukiindo/ {both} <i>n6-sg</i> palm rod; switch made of palm ribs          /umunyinyá/ {both} <i>n2-sg</i> acacia tree          /urunyinyá/ {both} <i>n6-sg</i> acacia fruit          /umunazi/ {both} <i>n2-sg</i> small tree or bush sp.          /inazi/ {Rundi} <i>n3-sg</i> fruit of <b>umunazi</b>          /inazi/ {Rwanda} <i>n5-sg/pl</i> oil of <b>umunazi</b> (used as a perfume)          /igitooke/ — /igitooki/ {both} <i>n4-sg</i> banana stalk, bunch of bananas          /urutooke/ — /urutooki/ {both} <i>n6-sg</i> banana plantation          /ivyaátsi/ {Rundi}, /ibyaátsi/ {Rwanda} <i>n4-pl</i> grass (collective)          /ubwaátsi/ {both} <i>n8-sg</i> pasture, prairie</p>
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Agreement is straightforward for the first nine groups, but tends to fall apart for the locative nouns (groups 10-13). The primary noun affixes are presented in Table 34; alternate forms are discussed under each respective noun group.

<sup>145</sup> Rundi has a different word in a different class /indwi/ [n5].

Table 34. Rwanda-Rundi Noun Groups

Group	Singular	Plural
n1	/umu-/	/aba-/
n1a	Ø (zero)	/baa-/
n2	/umu-/	/imi-/
n3	/i-/	/ama-/
n4	/iki-/	/ibi-/
n5	/iN-/	/iN-/
n5a-sg	/i-/	/i-/
n5b-sg	Ø (zero)	/zaa-/
n6	/uru-/	/iN-/
n7	/aka-/	/utu-/
n8	/ubu-/	/ama-/
n9	/uku-/	/ama-/
n9a	/ku-/	n/a
n10	/aha-/	/aha- <sup>146</sup>
n11 {Rundi} {Rwanda}	/uku-/ /ku / -ko/ /ku / -ho/	n/a [prep / post]
n12 {Rundi} {Rwanda}	/mu / -mwo/ /mu / -mo/	n/a [prep / post]
n13 [prep]	i / -yó	[prep / post]

Basically, there are three different ways of organizing (and learning) Bantu nouns. While this book has chosen the group system, a student should use whichever system works best for him or her:

The CLASS system looks at each type independently, relating them across the Bantu family: **umu-** [cl 3], **imi-** [cl 4]

The GROUP system looks at singular and plural nouns together (i.e., as a single unit): **umu-** / **imi-** [n2]

The MNEMONIC system typifies nouns on the basis of their singular and plural affixes without regard to numbering: **umu-** / **imi-**.

Agreement forms are quite similar to the prefix, creating an alliterative system. Be mindful that WEAK sounds drop, i.e., the nasals [m, n] and all initial vowels, so that **umu-** > **u-**, **imi-** > **i-**, **ama-** > **a-**, **in-** > **i-**; whereas STRONG sounds persist, i.e., **iki-** > **ki-**, **ibi-** > **bi-**, **uru-** > **ru-**, etc. Review the discussion of strong vs. weak noun classes in §1.3.

### 3.1.2. The Tonality of Nouns

When encountering a new noun in its spelled form, one can generally predict whether the vowels will be long or short based on patterns discussed in §2.2.1 and §2.2.2. However, it is difficult to assign or "extrapolate" tonality, even if one knows the tone pattern of the root. For almost any noun, there are eight tonal possibilities, plus combinations of several of these. There is no tonal correlation with either the noun class or the noun suffix used (-a, -e, -i, -o, -u). In other words, the student will have to memorize the tone pattern of nouns encountered.

Generally, a noun in one class that has a corresponding form in another will follow the same tone pattern:

/umukúunzi/ {both} n1-sg 'close friend' </-kúunda/ [long penult vowel high tone on first mora]

/igikúundiro/ {both} n4-sg 'charm, loveliness; favor; affection'

/urukúundo/ {both} n6-sg 'love'

<sup>146</sup> There is clearly a semantic plural involved in an expression like /ahaantu heénshi/ {both} 'many places.' Some scholars consider n10-pl as n/a.

## Chapter 3: Nouns

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- /ubukúunzi/ {Rundi} *n8-sg-abs* 'intimacy, affection, charity'  
/igicumá/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg* 'squash, gourd' [high tone on final vowel]  
/agacumá/ {Rwanda} *n7-sg* 'small squash'

However, there may be tonal differences between Rwanda and Rundi and other local dialects.

- /agacúma/ {Rundi} *n7-sg* 'small squash' [borrowed from Rwanda but with different tone]  
/umukóno/ {Rundi}, /umukonó/ {Rwanda} *n2-sg* 'hand; handshake'  
/umufaraánsa/ {Rundi} [Brule], /umufaraansá/ {Rwanda} [Erule] 'French (person)'  
/iraadiyo/ {Rundi} [Lrule], /iráadiyó/ {Rwanda} [Arule+Erule] 'radio'

### 3.1.2.1. Maintaining the Tonality of the Root [Rrule]

About one-third of all nouns are derived from verb stems and maintain the root tonality (see: Kimenyi 2002:181).

- /umusáaza/ {both} *n1-sg* 'old man, elderly person' < /-sáaza/ 'age, grow old'  
/umusoonga/ {both} *n2-sg* 'point; sharp pain' < /-soonga/ 'be pointed, come to a point'  
/umutúunzi/ {both} *n1-sg* 'rich person' < /-túunga/ 'have a lot of cows, possess animals or goods'  
/impuunzi/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'runaway, refugee, deserter' < /-huunga/ 'flee (from); run away'  
/uburozi/ {both} *n8-sg* 'poison; witchcraft' < /-roga/ 'cast a spell (upon); give the evil eye (to)'  
/ubucúruuzi/ {both} *n8-sg* 'trade, commerce' < /-cúruuza/ 'engage in any commercial activity'  
/umutwáaro/ {both} *n2-sg* 'load, burden' < /-twáara/ 'carry (on the head); transport'  
/ikiruhuuko/ {both} *n4-sg* 'day off, holiday' < /-ruhuuka/ 'rest, relax'  
/umwéeru/ {Rwanda} *n2-sg* 'white (color)' < /-éera/ 'be or become white'  
/urupfú/ {both} *n-sg* 'death, mortality' < /-pfá/ 'die'

### 3.1.2.2. High Tone on the Second Mora of the Root [P2rule]

The second highest percentage of nouns are derived from verb roots where the tone either moves to or appears on the second mora of the root. This means that if the penult vowel is long, the tone will be on the second of the two vowels; if the penult vowel is short, tone will move to the next syllable.

HIGH TONE ROOTS WHERE TONE MOVES ONE MORA

- /umwaámi/ {both} *n1-sg* 'king' < /-áama/ 'endure, go on and on'  
/umutwaáre/ {both} *n1-sg* 'chief, ruler' < /-twáara/ 'carry (on the head); transport'  
/umupfumú/ {both} *n1-sg* 'witch doctor, healer' < /-pfúma/ {Rundi} 'prefer, like s.t. better'  
/umwíigiishwa/ {both} *n1-sg* 'student' < /-íigiisha/ 'teach'  
/imihíingire/ {Rwanda} *n2-pl-vn* 'manner of cultivating; style of plowing' < /-híinga/ 'plow, cultivate'  
/ibikorwá/ {both} *n4-pl* 'deeds, actions' < /-kóra/ 'work'  
/imvaánge/ {both} *n5-sg* 'mixture' < /-váanga/ 'mix'

LOW TONE ROOTS WHERE TONE IS ADDED, APPEARING ON THE SECOND VOWEL OF THE ROOT

- /umugomé/ {both} *n1-sg* 'rebel' < /-goma/ 'rebel, revolt'  
/umurimá/ {both} *n2-sg* 'field, garden' < /-rima/ 'dig, hoe, farm'  
/amarirá/ {both} *n3-pl-mass* 'tears' < /-rira/ 'cry, weep'  
/uruhuúnge/ {both} *n6-sg* 'outsiders, immigrants, refugees' < /-huunga/ 'flee (from); run away'  
/ubukené/ {both} *n8-sg-abs* 'poverty' < /-kena/ 'need, be in need of'

### 3.1.2.3. High Tone Introduced Immediately Following the Noun Prefix [Arule]

There are instances when a low-tone root will have a high tone nominal counterpart where the tone appears on the first vowel following the class prefix.

- /umwáana/ {both} *n1-sg* 'child' < /-aana/ 'cry, weep'  
/umwóotsi/ {both} *n2-sg* 'smoke' < /-ootsa/ 'roast, bake'  
/agatáanu/ {Rwanda} *n7-sg* 'the fifth time' < /-taanu/ 'five'



/ubutátu/ {both} n8-sg 'threeness; [ext] the Holy Trinity' < /-tatu/ 'three'

Several nouns are formed with both this Arule and the Rrule.

/amaséékúru/ {Rwanda} 'genealogy, ancestral lineage' (Jacob #3 1986:52) < /seekúru/ {both} n1a-sg-kin 'his, her, their grandfather'  
 /icíizá/ {Rundi} (Rodegem 1970:567), /icyiizá/ {Rwanda} (Jacob #2 1986:104) n4-sg-adj 'a good thing, a good deed' < ic(y)- n4-sg-prf + /-iizá/ {both} adj-root 'good'  
 /intáraabóna/ {both} n5-sg-neg-punc 'inexperienced person' (Rodegem 1970:40, Jacob #3 1986:281) < /in- n5-sg-prf + /-ta-/ 'not' + /-ráa-/ 'not yet' [punctual preverb] + /-bóna/ v-tr 'find, see, realize'

### 3.1.2.4. High Tone on the Second Syllable of the Root [Prule]

In just a few noun derivations, high tone appears on or is moved to the second syllable of the root (on the first mora if there is a long vowel). This tone pattern is most frequently found on verbs conjugated in the negative and relative.

/kavuukíre/ {both} n7-sg-ir 'aborigine, indigenous person' < /-vúukira/ {both} 'be a native of'  
 /paadíri/ {both} n1a-sg 'priest' < Italian *padre*  
 /hotéeri/ {Rwanda} n5b-sg 'hotel' < French *hôtel*

Several nouns are formed from negative verbs with both this Prule and the Arule.

/mudásuumbwá/ {both} n1a-sg 'person who is not surpassed; [atr] unsurpassable' < /-ta- + -suumbwa/ {both} 'be surpassed'  
 /intákirá/ {Rundi} n5-sg/pl 'incurability; [atr] incurable, fatal, mortal' < /-ta- + -kíra/ {both} 'heal, be cured'  
 /igitáragánya/ {Rwanda} n4-sg 'haste; [adv] quickly, speedily, in haste' < /-ta- + -ragana/ {both} 'confer, come to an agreement' [lit. 'not coming to an agreement']

### 3.1.2.5. Borrowed Tonality [Brule]

This rule, which primarily affects loanwords, assigns length to the penult vowel and puts high tone on its second mora.

/umuboóyi/ {Rundi} n1-sg 'houseboy' < English boy – Note: Rwanda /umubooyi/ (low tone)  
 /jeneraáli/ {both} n1a-sg 'general' < French *général*  
 /ikiniíni/ {both} n4-sg 'pill, medicine tablet' < French *quinine*  
 /itaábi/ {both} n3-sg 'tobacco' < intl; French *tabac*  
 /indeége/ {both} n5-sg 'airplane' < Swahili  
 /risaánsi/ {both} n5b-sg 'distilled fuel' (gasoline, diesel, petrol) < French *l'essence*

This Brule is often found in combination with the Arule.

/uburéengeéti/ {both} n8-sg 'blanket' < Eng *blanket*  
 /akamáshiíni/ {both} n7-sg 'machine' < French *machine*  
 /imódokaári/ {both} n5a-sg 'automobile' < English *motorcar*  
 /súkaári/ {both} n5b-sg-mass 'sugar' < Arb *sukkaar*

### 3.1.2.6. High Tone on the Final Syllable [Erule]

A few loanwords seem to have high tone assigned to the last syllable.

/isafuriyá/ {both} n5a-sg 'cooking pot, casserole' < Swahili  
 /raadiyó/ {Rwanda} n5b-sg 'radio' < French, English *radio*  
 /tarikí/ {both} n5b-sg 'date' < Arb [Cf: /itárikí/ below]  
 /umufaraansá/ {Rwanda} n1-sg 'French person' – Note: /umufaraansa/ {Rundi} [Brule]

Generally, though, this rule occurs along with other tone rules, resulting in two high tones. For example, high tone is introduced immediately after the prefix and on the final syllable [Arule + Erule].

- /umupáapá/ {both} *n1-sg* 'pope' < French *pape*
- /itúumbá/ {both} *n3-sg-time* 'rainy season, autumn' < /-tuumba/ 'swell up'
- /ikirééré/ {both} *n4-sg* 'sky, atmosphere'
- /ítárikí/ {both} *n5a-sg* 'date, day (of the month)' < Arb [Cf: /tarikí/ above]
- /urushíingé/ {both} *n6-sg* 'needle (for sewing); [ext] injection' < /-shiinga/ 'fix, plant, drive a stake into'

This tone pattern is also found on some nouns derived from verbs in conjunction with root tonality (high tone is on the first vowel of the root) but another high tone is added to the last vowel of the derivation [Rrule + Erule].<sup>147</sup>

- /umubyáará/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg-kin* 'first cousin, cross cousin' < /-byáara/ {Rwanda} 'give birth to'
- /umwéerá/ {both} *n2-sg* 'dry skin' < /-éera/ {both} 'become white'
- /impéruuká/ {both} *n5-sg* 'end, termination' < /-héruuka/ {both} v-aux 'last VERBed'
- /amahíirwé/ {Rwanda} *n3-pl-col* 'happiness; good luck' < /-híirwa/ {both} 'be happy, have good luck'

### 3.1.2.7. High Tone on the Second Last Syllable [E2rule]

A few words, mostly loans, seem to have high tone assigned to the second last syllable.

- /umukirisító/ {both} *n1-sg* 'Christian' < intl
- /meetéro/<sup>148</sup> {Rwanda} *n5b-sg* 'meter' < French *mètre*
- /sipóoro/ {Rwanda} *n5b-sg* 'team (in sports)' < English *sports*

Some words have two high tones: immediately after the prefix and on the second last syllable [Arule+E2rule].<sup>149</sup>

- /umumárayíka/ {both} *n1-sg* 'angel, God's messenger' < Swahili
- /umupáadiri/ {both} *n1-sg* 'priest' < Italian *padre*

### 3.1.2.8. High Tone on the Third Last Syllable [E3rule]

Just a few loanwords have been noted with high tone assigned to the third last syllable.

- /burugumeesítiri/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg* 'mayor, burgomaster' < Flemish
- /miniisítiri/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg* 'minister (of government)' < French *ministre*
- /komíseeri/ {both} *n1a-sg* 'commissioner' < French *commissaire*
- /isegíteeri/ {both} *n5a-sg* 'sector (administrative unit)' < French *secteur*

Again, this rule occurs in combination with the Arule [Arule+E3rule].

- /umukómiseeri/ {both} *n1-sg* 'commissioner' < French *commissaire*
- /umuminiisítiri/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg* 'minister (of government)' < French *ministre*

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<sup>147</sup> This rule results in nouns that are indistinguishable from those formed from the Arule+Erule, except that the roots that are involved in these derivations already have high tone. From the point of view of a student learning this language, it is easier to remember that root tonality is maintained here while it is added in forms treated in the immediately preceding paragraph.

<sup>148</sup> The dictionary (Jacob et al. 1987:350) gives this as an alternate pronunciation to low toned /meetéro/.

<sup>149</sup> Rwanda /icyúumwéeru/ *n4-sg* 'week; Sunday' would seem to fit this pattern (A+E2), but is actually a nominalized possessive 'that of the white' < /icyaa/ + /umwéeru/ *n2-sg* 'white' < /-éera/ 'be white' (Overdulve 1975:181).

### 3.2. Characteristics of the Noun Classes

Each of the noun groups will be examined in terms of their FORM (affixes), CONTENT (meaning or derivation), and GRAMMATICAL CHARACTERISTICS. In some cases, a subgroup (e.g., n1a, n5a, n5b, n9a) is established. This is done when the nominal affix itself differs from the predominant pattern, but the agreement forms are all the same. Thus the majority of group 1 nouns are marked in the singular by /umu-/ and in the plural by /aba-;/ however, some nouns that behave grammatically just like these do not have any prefix in the singular (i.e., zero or Ø-) and have /baa-/ (with a long vowel) in the plural. Nevertheless, all other parts of speech (verbs, adjectives, pronouns, etc.) agree with either of these in a straightforward and regular way.

#### 3.2.1. Group 1 – Bantu Classes 1 and 2

Singular:     **umu-** {both} [weak] Bantu class 1 – before consonant stems  
                   **umw-** {both} – before vowel stems  
 Plural:       **aba-** {both} [strong] Bantu class 2 – before consonant stems  
                   **ab-** {both} – before vowel stems

##### 3.2.1.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 1

- Human class (*homo sapiens*)<sup>150</sup> including nouns ascribing age or gender
  - /umuuntu – abaantu/ {both} 'person, human being; [pl] people'
  - /umugabo – abagabo/ {both} 'man, adult male; husband; gentleman; warrior; virile personality; [ext] arbiter, intermediary'
  - /umugoré – abagoré/ {both} 'woman, female; wife'
  - /umusóre – abasóre/ {both} 'young man, pubescent youth'
  - /umusáaza – abasáaza/ {both} 'old man'
  - /umukeécuru – abakeécuru/ {both} 'old woman'
- Nouns indicating nationality, ethnic affiliation, or race<sup>151</sup>
  - /abéezi/ {Rundi} members of the royal family descended from King Mwezi Gisabo
  - /umudaági– abadaági/ {Rundi}, /umudaáge, abadaáge/ {Rwanda} German (person or people)
  - /umugáandá – abagáandá/ {both} Ugandan (person or people)
  - /umunyéekoóngo – abanyéekoóngo/ {both} Congolese (person or people)
  - /umuruúndi – abaruúndi/ {both} Rundi (person or people)
  - /umuzuúngu – abazuúngu/ {both} white person or people, European(s); foreigner, stranger
  - /umwáarabú – abáarabú/ {both} Arab(s), Arabian person or people
- Nouns identifying one's status in the community, position in life, or occupation
  - /umugabékazi/ {both} queen mother (mother of the king); (ruling) queen
  - /umugaanga – abagaanga/ {both} doctor (of medicine)
  - /umugarágu – abagarágu/ {both} servant, boy, male slave
  - /umuja – abaja/ {both} servant girl
  - /umupfumú – abapfumú/ {both} sorcerer, witch doctor, healer
  - /umunyámahaánga/ {both} stranger, foreigner
  - /umuyovu – abayovu/ {both} potter
  - /umukáraáni – abakáraáni/ {both} secretary
  - /umukuúngu – abakuúngu/ {both} rich person
  - /umwóoro – abóoro/ {both} poor person, pauper
  - /umwuúngere – abuúngere/ {Rundi}, /umwuúngeri – abuúngeri/ {Rwanda} shepherd

<sup>150</sup> This class does not include *living beings* (Hands 1952:10) or *animateness* (Dubnova 1984:31), only humans; cf: /umwuúka/ 'air, vapor; spirit' n2 or the many animal names in n5, e.g., /inzovu/ 'elephant.'

<sup>151</sup> Many of these roots can be found in Group 4 designating the language or culture, and in Group 8 designating the country or area associated with the ethnic group, thus /umuyápaáni/ 'Japanese person,' /ikiyápaáni/ 'Japanese language,' /ubuyápaáni/ 'Japan.'

- Nouns indicating kinship (blood and affinal relationships)<sup>152</sup>

/umwáana – abáana/ {both} child; [pl] children  
 /umugeni – abageni/ {both} bride  
 /umuhuúngu – abahuúngu/ {both} boy, son, male offspring  
 /umukwé – abakwé/ {both} groom, bridegroom; son-in-law  
 /umwuúzikuru/ {both} grandchild  
 /umuváandimwé – abaváandimwé/ {both} blood relative

- Nouns indicating personality traits

/umudeshi/ {Rundi}, /umudeshyi/ {Rwanda} 'idle person'  
 /umunebwe – abanebwe/ {both} 'sloth, lazy person'  
 /umunyábweenge/ {both} 'wise or intelligent person'  
 /umunyábwooba/ {both} 'coward'  
 /umupfú/ {Rwanda} 'fool, idiot'<sup>153</sup>

### 3.2.1.2. Derivations in Group 1

Group 1 nouns that come from other parts of speech are primarily derived from verb stems with the addition of any of the five vowels as suffixes. A few are also formed from adjective roots. In many instances the tone pattern of the root is preserved; it mostly changes when the suffix is -e. See the discussion of tone patterns in §3.1.2.

/umukizá/ {both} 'savior, redeemer' < /-kíza/ 'cure; save' [P2rule]  
 /umuvyéeyi, abavyéeyi/ 'parent' < /-vyáara/ 'give birth to' {Rundi}, /umubyéeyi, ababyéeyi < /-byáara/ {Rwanda} [Rule, note VOWEL HARMONY]  
 /umurerano/ {both} 'adopted child, foster child' < /-rerana/ 'raise (children) together' [Rule]  
 /umupfú/ {both} 'dead person, corpse' < /-pfá/ 'die, lose one's life' [Rule]  
 /umugomé/ {both} 'rebel, insurgent' < /-goma/ 'rebel, revolt' [P2rule]  
 /umukiré/ {both} 'rich person' < /-kíra/ 'enrich oneself' [P2rule]

- Nouns derived from the PALATALIZED (perfect) stems of verbs (**umu-Δ-yi**) show a person associated with the action. Root tonality is maintained.

/umucúzi – abacúzi/ {both} 'blacksmith' < /-cúra/ 'forge (metal)' [Rule]  
 /umuhanuuzi – abahanuuzi/ {both} 'prophet' < /-hanuura/ 'prophecy' [Rule]  
 /umukámyi – abakámyi/ {both} 'milker (of cows)' < /-káma/ 'milk' [Rule]  
 /umukózi – abakózi/ {both} 'worker' < /-kóra/ 'work, do, perform' [Rule]  
 /umukúunzi – abakúunzi/ {both} 'close friend' < /-kúunda/ 'love' [Rule]  
 /umurozi – abarozzi/ {both} 'magician, sorcerer, witch doctor' < -roga/ 'cast a spell (upon); give the evil eye (to); poison s.o.' [Rule]  
 /umurwáayi – abarwáayi/ {both} 'sick person' < /-rwáara/ 'be sick' [Rule]  
 /umusazi – abasazi/ {both} 'lunatic, madman' < /-sara/ 'be mad' [Rule]  
 /umutéetsi – abatéetsi/ {both} 'cook' < /-téeka/ 'cook' [Rule]  
 /umutúunzi – abatúunzi/ {both} 'wealthy man' < /-túunga/ 'be wealthy' [Rule]  
 /umwíivyi – abíivyi/ {Rundi}, /umwíibyi – abíibyi/ {Rwanda} 'thief' < /-íiba/ {both} 'steal s.t. from s.o.' [Rule]  
 /umwáansi/ {Rundi} 'enemy' < /-áanka/ 'reject, refuse; dislike, hate' [Rule]  
 /umwáanzi/ {Rwanda} 'enemy' < /-áanga/ 'dislike, hate; reject, refuse' [Rule]

- Nouns derived from simple verb roots usually show the DOER of an action; they can have the form **umu-Δ-i**. Tonality is variable.

/umutiindi – abatiindi/ {both} 'unlucky or unfortunate person' < /-tiindahara/ 'become very poor, get impoverished' [Rule]  
 /umutóni – abatóni/ {both} 'favorite (person)' < /-tóna/ 'be someone's favorite; be in the good graces (of s.o. in authority)' [Rule]  
 /umuhiigi – abahiigi/ {both} 'hunter' < /-hiiga/ 'hunt' [P2rule]

<sup>152</sup> The majority of kinship terms are in Group 1a (see §1.8.1 and §3.2.1a).

<sup>153</sup> Contrast /umupfú/ {both} 'dead person, corpse' BELOW.

/umwaámi – abaámi/ 'king, lord' < /-áama/ 'endure, go on and on' [P2rule]

- Such nouns can have the form **umu-Δ-e**.<sup>154</sup> Note that high tone always appears in these derivations on the second mora of the root [P2rule].  
/umukéné – abakéné/ {both} 'pauper, poor person' < /-kena/ 'be poor'  
/umutwaáre – abatwaáre/ {both} 'chief, ruler' < /-twáara/ 'rule, govern'
- Group 1 nouns may also have the form **umu-Δ-a**.<sup>155</sup> With consonant stems the root tonality is maintained [Rrule], whereas with vowel stems, high tone moves to the second mora [Jrule].  
/umucáamaánza/ {both} 'judge, magistrate' < /-cá urubaánza 'arbitrate, undertake a legal proceeding'  
/umushuumba – abashuumba/ {Rundi} 'servant, domestic' < /-shuumba/ 'give oneself to the service of another'  
/umujuura/ {Rwanda} 'thief' < /-juura/ {Rwanda} 'steal s.t.'  
/umweéra/ {both} 'white man; innocent person' < /-éera/ 'be white or clean'  
/umwiígiisha – abiígiisha/ {both} 'teacher, instructor' < /-ígiisha/ 'teach' [v-caus]
- Rarely, they have the form **umu-Δ-u**.  
/umupfú – abapfú/ 'dead person, cadaver' < /-pfá/ 'die'
- Nouns are also derived from passive verbs with the form **umu-Δ-w-a**. These derivations have high tone on the second mora of the root [P2rule].  
/umwiígiishwa – abiígiishwa/ {both} 'student, pupil, apprentice' < /-íig-ish-wa/ 'be taught'  
/umukoóbwa – abakoóbwa/ {both} 'girl, daughter' < /-kóob-w-a/ be paid (of a dowry) < /-kwá/ 'pay a dowry'  
/umugorórwá/ {Rwanda} 'prisoner' < /-gorora/ 'straighten up, make straight (s.t. that is bent or crooked)'  
/umutumírwa/ {both} 'guest, one who is invited' < /-tumira/ 'summon, call; invite'

### 3.2.1.3. Loans in Group 1

/Umukirisíto – Abakirisíto/ {both} 'Christian' < Intl  
/Umukáraáni – Abakáraáni/ {both} 'secretary, clerk' < Arb  
/Umuyápaáni – Abayápaáni/ {both} 'Japanese' < French *Japonais*

### 3.2.1.4. The Grammar of Group 1 Nouns

The following tables will illustrate the overall grammatical behavior of nouns, group by group. The first of each table will exemplify roots that have consonant stems and the second those with vowel stems. Altogether, fifteen grammatical or syntactic categories will be treated:

prefix – the full prefix associated with the singular and plural of each noun group,  
red – the reduced form of the prefix (such as occurs after demonstratives or prepositions),  
class – the simple class prefix (such as is used on demonstrative pronouns),  
poss – possessive forms used when a noun follows,  
poss vn / poss loc – possessive forms used when a locative or verbal noun follows,  
loc – the various locative constructions allowed with this noun class (**mu, ku, i, kwaa**),  
obj – the object form which appears infixes within verbs,  
adj – the form an agreeing adjective will take,  
num – the form an agreeing numeral will take,  
subj – the prefix used when agreeing with the subject of an indicative verb,  
part – the prefix used when agreeing with a participial verb,  
rel subj – the relative form when the verb refers to the subject of an action,  
rel obj – the relative form when the verb refers to the object of an action,  
auto – the form of an autonome (relative verb used as a noun), and  
pass agent / conj – the form used with a passive agent (done by ...) or a conjunctive nominal (and ...).

<sup>154</sup> See also /umugomé/ {both} 'rebel, insurgent' and /umukiré/ {both} 'rich person' ABOVE.

<sup>155</sup> Besides /umukizá/ {both} [P2rule] 'savior, redeemer' ABOVE, there is /umukíza/ {Rwanda alt} [Rrule].

In order to fit the patterns or paradigms being discussed, some of the examples presented are admittedly contrived or even strained. We present them with the aim of completeness of coverage .

**Table 35a. Group 1 Nouns with Consonant Stems**

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>umu-</b>	<b>umusóre</b> young man	<b>aba-</b>	<b>abasóre</b> young men
red	<b>mu-</b>	<b>uyu mugaanga</b> this doctor	<b>ba-</b>	<b>aba bagaanga</b> these doctors
class	<b>u-</b>	<b>uryá</b> this	<b>ba-</b>	<b>bárya</b> these
poss	<b>wa</b>  <b>waa</b>	<b>umuhuúngu wa Peetero</b> Peter's son <b>umwáana waa mbere</b> first child	<b>baa</b>	<b>abahuúngu baa Peetero</b> Peter's sons
poss vn poss loc	<b>wó</b>	<b>umugabo wó mu baantu</b> a witness among humans	<b>bó</b>	<b>abaantu bó ku karwa</b> people of the small island
loc	<b>kwa</b>  <b>ku</b>  <b>mu</b>	<b>kwa mugaanga</b> at a doctor's office <b>ku mugaanga waanjye</b> to my doctor <b>ikiri mu muuntu</b> what is inside a person	<b>kwa</b>  <b>ku</b>  <b>mu</b>	<b>kwa baamaarúme</b> at my uncles' places <b>ku baantu bakoméye</b> to important people <b>mu Baruúndi</b> among the Rundi people
obj	<b>-mu-</b>	<b>aramúbwiira</b> he tells him	<b>-ba-</b>	<b>arabátsiinda</b> he defeats them
adj	<b>mu-</b>	<b>munini</b> huge (person)	<b>ba-</b>	<b>banini</b> huge (people)
num	<b>u-</b>	<b>umugoré umwé</b> one wife	<b>ba-</b>	<b>abagoré babiri</b> two wives
subj	<b>a-</b>	<b>aramutsa</b> he greets	<b>ba-</b>	<b>baramutsa</b> they greet
part	<b>a-C'V</b>	<b>akúrikije</b> he following up	<b>bá-</b>	<b>báhabwa</b> they being given
rel subj	<b>u-</b> Rwanda only	<b>umwáana uvúutse</b> a child who is born	<b>ba-</b> [same as rel obj]	<b>abáana bavuutse</b> children who are born
rel obj	<b>a-</b>	<b>umwáana akubíta</b> the child whom he hits	<b>ba-</b>	<b>umwáana bakubíta</b> the child whom they hit
auto Rwanda Rundi	<b>uú-</b> <b>u-</b> <b>uwu-</b>	<b>uúkora</b> one who works <b>ukóra</b> {Rwanda} <b>uwukóra</b> {Rundi}	<b>aba-C'V</b>	<b>abakóra</b> the ones who work
pass agent conj	<b>n'úmu-</b>	<b>zaandikwa n'úmuuntu</b> written by a person	<b>n'ába-</b>	<b>zaandikwa n'ábaantu</b> written by people

Table 35b. Group 1 Nouns with Vowel Stems

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>umw-</b>	<b>umwáarimú</b> teacher	<b>ab-</b>	<b>abáarimú</b> teachers
red	<b>mw-</b>	<b>uyu mwáarimú</b> this teacher	<b>b-</b>	<b>aba báarimú</b> these teachers
class	<b>w-</b>	<b>wáa</b> that (person there)	<b>b-</b>	<b>báa</b> those (people there)
poss	<b>w'V</b>	<b>umwáana w'úmurerano</b> adopted child	<b>b'V</b>	<b>abáana b'ábarerano</b> adopted children
poss vn poss loc	Does not differ from the consonant forms because the vn ( <b>ku-</b> , <b>gu-</b> ) and loc ( <b>mu-</b> and <b>ku-</b> ) prefixes always begin with a consonant, thus <b>wó mu</b> , <b>bó ku</b> , etc.			
loc	<b>kwaa</b>  <b>ku</b>  <b>mu</b>	<b>kwaa mwáarimú</b> in the teacher's office <b>ku mwáana waanjye</b> to my child <b>ikirí mu mwáana</b> what is inside a child	<b>kwaa</b>  <b>ku</b>  <b>mu</b>	<b>kwaa baamwáarimú</b> in the teachers' offices <b>ku báana baanjye</b> to my children <b>mu báana baanjye</b> among my children
obj	<b>-mw-</b>	<b>baámwii vye</b> they stole from him	<b>-b-</b>	<b>barabaakiira</b> they welcome them
adj	<b>mw-</b>	<b>mwizá</b> good person	<b>b-</b>	<b>beezá</b> good people
num	Does not differ from consonant forms because all numeral roots start with a consonant			
subj	<b>y-</b>	<b>yaámbaye</b> he wore	<b>b-</b>	<b>baámbaye</b> they wore
part	<b>y-'V</b>	<b>yúumva</b> he hearing	<b>b-'V</b>	<b>bíitaba</b> they answering
rel subj	<b>w-</b> Rwanda	<b>umuuntu wíiga</b> a person who studies {Rwanda only}	<b>b-</b>	<b>abaantu biigá</b> people who study [same as rel obj] {both}
rel obj	<b>y-</b>	<b>umwáana yiigíisha</b> a child whom he teaches	<b>b-</b>	<b>umwáana biigíisha</b> a child whom they teach
auto	<b>uw-</b>	<b>uwaándika</b> one who writes	<b>ab-</b>	<b>abaándika</b> those who write
pass agent	<b>n'úm-</b>	<b>zaandikwa n'úumwáana</b> written by a child	<b>n'áb-</b>	<b>zaandikwa n'ábáarimú</b> written by teachers
conj		<b>n'úumwáana</b> even a child		<b>n'aabáana</b> even children

### 3.2.1a. Group 1a – Personal Names & Kin Terms

Singular: Ø (ZERO) {both} [no prefix on singular] (Bantu class 1a) [weak]

Plural: **baa-** {both} [group 1a plural (Bantu class 2a) noun prefix] [strong]

This is a special subclass of the first group which usually has no prefix (ZERO marking) in the singular and **/baa/** in the plural. Note that all agreement affixes for Group 1a are the same as those for Group 1 and will be identical to those taken up in tables 35a and 35b.

The plural prefix **/baa/** on personal names usually has the effect of indicating a person and any people associated with him or her (family members, associates, companions, etc.). It can, of course, refer to more than one person with the same name, as in English 'There are three *Davids* in our office.'

#### 3.2.1a.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 1a

- All personal names (proper names), including the personal interrogative  
/ndé – baandé/ {both} *qw-nla-sg* 'who?', which (person)?  
/kaanaaká – baakaanaaká/ {both} *nla-sg-masc* 'so-and-so, whoever, such a one, someone like that' [used to hide the identity of the person]  
/peetéro/ {Rundi}, /peetero/ {Rwanda} *nla-sg-pn* 'Peter' < intl  
/yohaáni/ {both} *nla-sg-pn* 'John' < intl

## Chapter 3: Nouns

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The vast majority of personal names are derived from other noun classes (see §3.2.1a.2 BELOW).

- Most kinship terms, some of which relate to first, second, or third person  
/daatá – baadáatá/ {both} *nla-sg-kin* 'my father'  
/só – baasó/ {both} *nla-sg-kin* 'your father'  
/sé – baasé/ {both} *nla-sg-kin* 'his father'  
/maamá – bamaamá/ {both} *nla-sg-kin* 'my mother'  
/nyoko – baanyoko/ {both} *nla-sg-kin* 'your mother'  
/nyina – baanyina/ {both} *nla-sg-kin* 'his, her mother'  
/murúmuna – barúmuna/ {both} *nla-sg-kin* 'younger sibling' (brother or sister of the same sex)  
/musáaza – basáaza/ {both} *nla-sg-kin* 'brother' (said by a sister)  
/mushiki – bashiki/ {both} *nla-sg-kin* 'sister' (said by a brother)

For more details see the discussion in §1.8.1 and Tables 16 and 17.

- Titles of professionals, political offices, religious figures, etc.  
/buramataari/ {Rundi} *nla-sg* 'governor; government official'  
/burugumeesítiri/ {Rwanda} *nla-sg* 'mayor, burgomaster' < Flemish  
/jeneraáli/ {both} *nla-sg* 'general' < French *général*  
/paapá/ {both} *nla-sg* 'pope' < French *pape*  
/perezida/ {both} *nla-sg* 'president' < French *président*  
/veterineéri/ {Rundi} (JN), /veterineéri/ {Rwanda} *nla-sg* 'veterinarian' < French *vétérinaire*
- Terms for certain social relationships or character types in society  
/gicá/ {Rwanda} *nla-sg* 'mischief-maker'  
/kiriimbuzi/ {Rwanda} *nla-sg* 'destroyer; murderer'  
/mugeenzi – bageenzi/ {Rwanda} *nla-sg* 'companion, mate, comrade, friend'  
/mukáa – baamúkaa/ {both} *nla-sg-kin-prf* 'wife (of),' e.g., /mukáa-gahutú/ 'the wife of Gahutu'  
/shéebuja/ {both} *nla-sg-cmp* 'his, her master or boss' [Note third person reference]  
/shóobuja/ {both} *nla-sg-cmp* 'your master' [Note third person reference]

### 3.2.1a.2. Derivations in Group 1a

- Shortened Forms from other noun classes

Group 1a nouns come from shortened or reduced forms in other noun classes, however they lose the inflection of or agreement with that noun class and often lose any number distinction.

/barabéeshya/ {Rwanda} 'Barabeshya' (masculine proper name) [lit. 'They do not tell the truth.'] Note: although the verb form is plural, this proper name is singular.  
/mukúru – bakúru/ {both} *nla-sg-kin* 'elder sibling' (brother or sister of the same sex) [cf: **umu-** n1]  
/gikeri/ {Rwanda} *nla-sg-pn* 'Gikeri' (male personal name) [cf: **igikeri** n4-sg 'frog']  
/kabeba/ {both} *nla-sg-pn* 'Kabeba' (male personal name) [cf: **aka-** n7, **imbeba** n5-sg/pl mouse']  
/kabuúmba/ {Rwanda} *nla-sg-pn* 'Kabumba' (female personal name) [lit. 'small piece of clay']

- Derivations with **iná-** {Rundi}, **nyirá-** {Rwanda} [Frule, the prefix carries high tone if the following root has a high tone; the word to which it is joined keeps its high tone, except if it would occur in the immediately following syllable, Xrule]  
/inábukwé/ {Rundi}, /nyirábukwé/ {Rwanda} *nla-sg-kin* 'his, her mother-in-law' [cf: /ubukwé/ n8-sg 'wedding, marriage']  
/inárumé/ {Rundi}, /nyirárumé/ {Rwanda} *nla-sg-kin* 'his, her maternal uncle' (mother's brother) [Xrule, cf: /-rúme/ {both} 'uncle']  
/ináseenge/ {Rundi}, /nyiráseenge/ {Rwanda} *nla-sg-kin* 'his, her paternal aunt' (father's sister) [Xrule, cf: /-séenge/ {both} 'aunt']  
/nyiramajoro/ {Rwanda} *nla-sg-pn* 'Nyiramajoro' (female personal name) [lit. 'Mother of the Nights;' cf: /ijoro/ n3-sg 'night']



/nyiranda/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-pn* 'Nyiranda' (female personal name) [lit. 'Mother of the Stomach;' cf: /inda/ *n5-sg/pl* 'stomach']

- Name derivations of **kaa-** and **rwaa-** with TONE REVERSAL (if the root has high tone the prefix is low-toned, if the root has low tone, the prefix is high-toned).

/kaavúutse/ {both} *n1a-sg-pn* 'Kavutse' (male personal name) [lit. 'a child is born;' cf: /-vúuka/ 'be born']

/káamagaaju/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-pn* 'Kamagaju' (female personal name) [cf: /igaaju/ *n3-sg* 'light brown']

/rwáabugiri/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-pn* 'Rwabugiri' (male personal name; former king of Rwanda)

/rwaamakúba/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-pn* 'Rwamakuba' (male personal name) [cf: /amakúba/ *n3-pl* 'troubles']

- Derivations with the prefix **nya-** indicating a type or sort of what the following root implies, often with some extreme attribute associated, come word-initial before the root. If the following root has low tone, there is low tone on the derived word; if any of the following three syllables has high tone, high tone appears on the first mora following this prefix; if the root has a high tone on its second syllable, that tone will be lost. See also **-nya-** association with in §3.3.

/nyakwuubahwa/ {Rundi}, /nyakuubahwa/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg* 'excellency; reverend' [cf: /-úubahwa/ 'be respected']

/nyamwéeru/ {both} *n1a-sg* 'albino' [cf: /-éera/ 'be white']

/nyagasaní/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg* 'lord (title of a king); Lord (alternate term for God)'

/nyamugabo/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg* 'the man in question' [cf: Rundi /nyaa mugabo/ *deic + n1-sg*]

- Masculine derivations with **sée-** usually keep this affix's high tone<sup>156</sup> and also preserve the tonality of the root.

/séebaruúndi/ {Rundi} *n1a-sg* 'sovereign, father of the people'

/séenjángwé/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-pn* (male personal name) [lit. 'Father of the Wild Cat;' cf: /injángwé/]

/séegabá/ {Rundi} *n1a-sg* 'God, the All Powerful, the Omnipotent'

/séehené/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-pn* (male personal name) [lit. 'Father of a She-Goat;' cf: /ihené/ *n5a-sg* 'jenny , she-goat']

/séenda/ {both} *n1a-sg-pn* (male personal name) [lit. 'Father of the Stomach;' cf: /inda/ *n5-sg/pl* 'stomach']

There are some unexplained tonal exceptions:<sup>157</sup>

/seebukwé/ {both} *n1a-sg-kin* 'his, her father-in-law'

/seekúru/<sup>158</sup> {both} *n1a-sg-kin* 'his, her, their grandfather'

/seekúruza/ {both} *n1a-sg-kin* 'his, her great-grandfather, great-great-uncle (paternal)'

- Masculine kin derivations with **soo-**<sup>159</sup> usually preserve the tonality of the root but the prefix does not have high tone as does /sée-/ in the previous section.

/soobukwé/ {both} *n1a-sg-kin* 'your father-in-law'

/sookúru/ {both} *n1a-sg-kin* 'your grandfather'

/sookúruza/ {both} *n1a-sg-kin* 'my ancestor'

<sup>156</sup> Probably derived from the third person kinship term /sé/ {both} *n1a-sg-kin* 'his, her, their father' with vowel lengthening.

<sup>157</sup> Bizimana (1998:165) disassociates these exceptions from the /sée-/ prefix and its /sé/ root. However, in terms of both form and meaning they appear to be exceptions, not different derivations. Thus, the plural form of /seekúru/ is /baaséekúru/, where the expected high tone reappears. Also see the next footnote.

<sup>158</sup> When this word is derived, the expected tone pattern reappears: /igiséekúru/ 'ancestor; lineage' and /amaséekúru/ 'genealogy.'

<sup>159</sup> Probably derived from the second person kinship term /só/ {both} *n1a-sg-kin* 'your father' with vowel lengthening, but loss of the high tone.

3.2.1a.3. Loans in Group 1a

Numerous personal names and title of positions have been borrowed from other languages.

- /beyatrísi/ {both} 'Beatrice' < French *Béatrice*
- /yohaáni/ {both} 'John' < German *Johan*
- /burugumeesítiri/ {Rwanda} < Flemish
- /bwaána/ {both} 'mister, sir' < Swahili
- /perezida/ {both} 'president' < French *président*

3.2.2. Group 2 – Bantu Classes 3 and 4

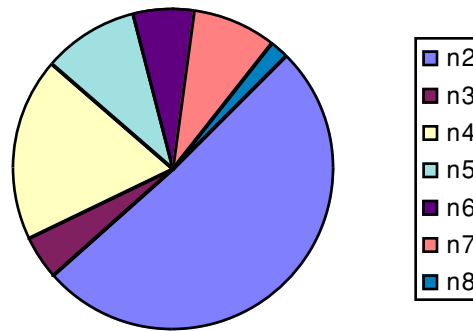
- Singular: **umu-** {both} [weak] Bantu class 3 – before consonant stems
- umw-** {both} – before vowel stems
- Plural: **imi-** {both} [weak] Bantu class 4 – before consonant stems
- imy-** {both} – before vowel stems

3.2.2.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 2

This group consists of exclusively non-personal nouns. Scholars and textbook authors have generalized that most plant names are in Group 2 (Bantu class 3). Taking the reasonably comprehensive list of plant names in the back of the Kirundi dictionary (Rodegem 1970), we can see that just about half are indeed in Group 2. However, the remainder are spread across Groups 3 through 8, with the biggest concentrations in Group 4 and then Group 5.<sup>160</sup>

Figure 1. Distribution of Plant Names in Kirundi

GROUP	n2	n3	n4	n5	n6	n7	n8
FLORA	50.9	04.6	18.6	09.8	06.2	08.2	02.0



- Names of flora (trees, shrubs, bushes, and other plants), their parts, and their byproducts, including foodstuffs.

FLORA

- /umugano – imigano/ {both} 'bamboo,' *Arundinaria alpina*
- /umukó – imikó/ {both} 'tree sp.,' *Hyphaene ventricosa* (Kirk)
- /umukoni – imikoni/ {both} 'tree sp. (used medicinally),' *Sinaderia* sp. *Synadenium umbellatum* (Pax.)
- /umunyinyá – iminyinyá/ {both} 'acacia,' *Acacia abyssinica* (Hochst.)
- /umwuúngu – imyuúngu/ {both} 'pumpkin'
- /umuyeenzi – imiyeenzi/ {both} 'tree sp.,' *Euphorbia tirucalli* L.

<sup>160</sup> None are found in Group 1 (strictly human) and Group 9.

## PLANT PARTS, BYPRODUCTS and FOODSTUFFS

/umufá – imifá/ {both} 'sauce (for meat)'  
 /umugozí – imigozí/ {both} 'string, rope, cord'  
 /umukáaté – imikáaté/ {Rundi}, /umukaáte – imikaáte/ {Rwanda} 'bread'  
 /umuneke – imineke/ {both} 'ripe banana'  
 /umucúungwá/ {Rundi} 'orange'<sup>161</sup>  
 /umutí – imítí/ {both} 'medicine, drug'  
 /umuzi – imizi/ {both} 'root'  
 /umweénda – imyeénda/ {both} 'cloth (piece of cloth)'<sup>162</sup>

- Natural phenomena, several objects in nature perceived of as mobile

/umugezi – imigezi/ {both} 'river (minor), stream'<sup>163</sup>  
 /umuro – imiro/ {both} 'fire'  
 /umwóotsi – imyóotsi/ {both} 'smoke'  
 /umurávyo – imirávyo/ {Rundi}, /umurábyo – imirábyo/ {Rwanda} 'lightning (flash)'  
 /umuyaga – imiyaga/ {both} 'wind, breeze'  
 /umucó/ {Rundi}, /umucyó/ {Rwanda} 'daylight'  
 /umukuúngugu – imikuúngugu/ 'dust, speck of dust'  
 /umurimá – imirimá/ {both} 'field, garden'  
 /umuseényi – imiseényi/ {both} 'sand, grain of sand'  
 /umusózi – imisózi/ {both} 'hill, mountain; dry land (as opposed to sea)'  
 /umuziinga – imiziinga/ {both} 'beehive'  
 /umwoobo – imyoobo/ {both} 'hole, pit'

- Elements of the HUMAN ECOSYSTEM or social environment

/umuhana – imihana/ {both} 'locality, neighborhood'  
 /iminyago/ {Rwanda} 'booty, plunder, spoils of war' [cf: /umunyago/ 'single captured item'<sup>164</sup>]  
 /umudugúdu/ {Rwanda} 'city'<sup>165</sup>  
 /umugisha – imigisha/ {both} 'blessing; prosperity'  
 /umuhaánda – imihaánda/ {both} 'road, route'  
 /umuhirá – imihirá/ {Rundi} 'dwelling, domicile, home' [cf: /imuhirá/ {both} 'at home, homewards'  
 /umuragé – imiragé/ {Rwanda} 'inheritance, legacy'<sup>166</sup>  
 /umuryaango – imiryango/ {both} 'family, clan, social group'  
 /umwaáku/ {both} 'bad luck, misfortune'  
 /umweénda – imyeénda/ {Rundi}, /umweéndá – imyeéndá/ {Rwanda} 'debt'<sup>167</sup>

- Names of some body parts (of humans and animals), including the word for 'body' itself (See Table 31)

/umubiri – imibiri/ {both} 'body'  
 /umugóongo – imigóongo/ {both} 'back'  
 /umuhogó – imihogó/ {both} 'throat, gullet'  
 /umunwa – iminwa/ {both} 'mouth; lip; beak'  
 /umuriizo – imiriizo/ {both} 'tail'  
 /umuruúndi – imiruúndi/ {both} 'shin'  
 /umushatsi – imishatsi/ {Rundi}, /umusatsi – imisatsi/ {Rwanda} 'hair (of the head)'  
 /umutíma – imítíma/ {both} 'heart, spirit; conscience'  
 /umutsí – imítsí/ {both} 'sinew, nerve'  
 /umutwé – imítwé/ {both} 'head'

<sup>161</sup> Rwanda has /icuúnga/ *n3* for 'orange'.

<sup>162</sup> Homographic with /umweénda/ {Rundi}, /umweéndá/ {Rwanda} 'debt' in the {human ecosystem} BELOW.

<sup>163</sup> However, note /urúuzi/ {both} *n6-sg* 'river (major).'

<sup>164</sup> This noun can mean 'prisoner-of-war,' but is always non-human and follows the postposition /hó/.

<sup>165</sup> Rundi has /igisagára/ *n4* 'city.'

<sup>166</sup> Rundi has /iragí/ *n3-sg* 'inheritance.' While both come from the same verb root (/–raga/ 'bequeath') these derivations fall into different noun classes.

<sup>167</sup> Homographic with /umweénda/ 'cloth' treated among {plant byproducts} ABOVE.

*/umwíijimá – imyíijimá/* {Rwanda} 'liver (organ)<sup>168</sup>

- Manufactured items: tools and implements; many objects having to do with wood

*/umuryáango – imiryáango/* {both} 'door, portal'

*/umuhehá – imihehá/* {both} 'pipe; drinking straw'

*/umuheto – imiheto/* {both} 'bow (weapon)'

*/umuhíni – imihíni/* {both} 'handle (of a mattock, hoe or pickaxe)'

*/umuhoro – imihoro/* {both} 'machete, scythe, pruning hook'

*/umwaampi – imyaampi/* {Rundi}, */umwaambi – imyaambi/* {Rwanda} 'arrow'

*/umweénda – imyeénda/* {both} 'cloth (piece of cloth)'

- Things which spread or extend<sup>169</sup>

*/umukóno – umukóno/* {Rundi}, */umukonó – umukonó/* {Rwanda} 'cubit (unit of measure)'

*/umukweége – imikweége/* {Rwanda} 'wire'

*/umuroongo – imiroongo/* {both} 'line, row, queue'

*/umurúungá – imirúungá/* {Rwanda} 'rope, big braided cord'

- A few animals or insects and their byproducts

*/umusaámbi – imisaámbi/* {both} 'crested crane, royal crane'

*/umuswi – imiswi/* {Rundi}, */umushwi – imishwi/* {Rwanda} 'chick, baby bird'

*/umubú – imibú/* {both} 'mosquito'

*/umuswá – imiswá/* {both} 'termite, white ant'

*/umugina – imigina/* {both} 'termite mound'

- A few time words (see Table 32)

*/umuúnsi – imiúnsi/* {both}, */umuúsi – imiúsi/* {Rundi} 'day'

*/umwáaka – imyáaka/* {both} 'year'

*/umwaánya – imyaánya/* {both} 'time, moment, period (of time)'

*/umuseké – imiseké/* {both} 'dawn, daybreak'

*/umugórooba – imigórooba/* {both} 'evening, late afternoon'

- Some human emotions<sup>170</sup>

*/umunézeero/* {both} 'happiness, joy'

*/umwaága/* {both} 'bad mood'

*/umweéte/* {both} 'interest, enthusiasm, zeal'

*/umujinyá/* {both} 'anger, rage, fury'

### 3.2.2.2. Derivations in Group 2

The majority of derived nouns in Group 2 come from verb stems. Adjectives that agree with a member of this class can also be nominalized.

- Nouns derived from verbs with **-o** showing the RESULT of applying the action (**umu-Δ-o**)<sup>171</sup>

*/umubábaro – imibábaro/* {both} 'grief, sorrow, sadness' < /-**bábara**/ 'suffer, grieve'

*/umuniho – iminiho/* {both} 'groan; complaint' < /-**niha**/ 'groan; complain'

*/umunuuko – iminuuko/* {both} 'odor, bad smell' < /-**nuuka**/ 'stink, smell bad'

*/umuraambararo – imiraambararo/* {both} 'length' < /-**raambarara**/ 'lie flat'

*/umurávyo/* {Rundi}, */umurábyo/* {Rwanda} 'lightning (flash)' < /-**rávyo**/ {Rundi}, /-**rábya**/ {Rwanda} 'produce lightning; shine like lightning'

*/umurimo – imirimo/* {both} 'work, labor; job; function, office' < /-**rima**/ 'work the earth, cultivate'

*/iminyago/* {Rwanda} 'booty, plunder' < /-**nyaga**/ 'plunder'

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<sup>168</sup> Rundi has */igitigú/ n4* 'liver.'

<sup>169</sup> Also see previous examples */umugozí/* {both} 'string, rope, cord' in {plant byproducts}, */umuhehá/* 'pipe' under {manufactured items}, and */umuryaango/* {both} 'family, clan, social group' under {human ecosystem}.

<sup>170</sup> See */umubábaro/* {both} 'grief' under {result} derivations below.

<sup>171</sup> See */umunézeero/* {both} 'happiness, joy' < /-**nézeera**/ 'please s.o., make s.o. happy' under {human emotions} above.

/umutwáaro – imitwáaro/ 'load, pack, burden' < /-twáara/ 'carry on the head'  
 /umwaambaro – imyaambaro/ {both} 'garment, dress' < /-aambara/ 'get dressed'

- In Kinyarwanda for the most part,<sup>172</sup> there are several plural nouns derived from benefactive verbs with -e and which indicate a MANNER or PROCEDURE. [P2rule **imi-Δ-ir-e** or **imi-Δ-er-e**].  
 /imigeéndere/ {Rundi} 'habit, custom,' /imigeéndere/ {Rwanda} 'gait, manner of walking' < /-geenda/ 'go away, leave; move along, walk'  
 /imihíingire/ {Rwanda only} 'manner of cultivating; style of plowing' < /-híinga/ 'plow, cultivate'  
 /iminyweére/ {Rwanda only} 'drinking' < /-nywá/ 'drink'  
 /imiriíre/ {Rwanda only} 'eating' < /-ryá/ 'eat'  
 /imisabíre/ {Rwanda only} 'petitions' < /-saba/ 'ask'  
 /imyíigire/ {Rwanda only} 'study habits, manner of studying' < /-úga/ 'learn, study'<sup>173</sup>
- Nouns derived from verbs with -i which indicates a RESULT (**umu-Δ-i**)  
 /umuganí – imigání/ {both} 'fable, fairy tale; parable; proverb' < /-gana/ 'tell stories of long ago'  
 /umwóotsi/ 'smoke, fume' < /-ootsa/ 'roast in coals, bake, broil, grill'
- Nouns derived from adjectives  
 /umuníni/ {both} *n2-sg* 'large item; [rel adj] one which is large'  
 /umutó/ {both} *n2-sg* 'small item; [rel adj] one which is small'

### 3.2.2.3. Loans in Group 2

/umupiira/ {both} 'ball; [ext] rubber; tire' < Swahili  
 /umudúga/ {mostly Rundi & Rwanda rarely} 'automobile' < English *motorcar*  
 /umusáraáni/ {both} 'latrine, toilet' < Swahili  
 /umunutá/ {Rundi}, /umunotá/ {Rwanda} 'minute' < French *minute* (reanalyzed as if *mi-nute*)

### 3.2.2.4. The Grammar of Group 2 Nouns

Table 36a. Group 2 Nouns with Consonant Stems

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>umu-</b>	<b>umutí</b> pill	<b>imi-</b>	<b>imití</b> pills
red	<b>mu-</b>	<b>unó mutí</b> this medicine	<b>mi-</b>	<b>inó mití</b> these medicines
class	<b>u-</b>	<b>uryá</b> this	<b>i-</b>	<b>iryá</b> these
poss	<b>wa</b> <b>waa</b>	<b>umutí wa Peetero</b> Peter's medicine <b>umugezi waa mbere</b> the first river	<b>ya</b> <b>yaa</b>	<b>imití ya Peetero</b> Peter medicines <b>imigezi yaa mbere</b> the first rivers
poss vn poss loc	<b>wó</b>	<b>umutí wó kwaa mugaa-nga</b> drug from the doctor's	<b>yó</b>	<b>imití yó kwaa mugaanga</b> drugs from the doctor's
loc	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku muúnsi</b> per day <b>mu muúnsi</b> in a day		<b>ku miúnsi ibiri</b> every other day <b>mu miúnsi ibiri</b> in two days
obj	<b>-wu-</b>	<b>murawúhiinga?</b> Are you plowing it?	<b>-yi-</b>	<b>murayíhiinga?</b> Are you plowing them?
adj	<b>mu-</b>	<b>umuriizo muníni</b> big tail	<b>mi-</b>	<b>imiriizo miníni</b> big tails
num	<b>u-</b>	<b>umutí umwé</b> one pill	<b>i-</b>	<b>imití imwé</b> some pills
subj	<b>u-</b>	<b>umweénda urameswa</b> the cloth will get washed	<b>i-</b>	<b>imisaámbi irahunze</b> the cranes are running away
part	<b>u-</b>	<b>uhéze</b>	<b>i-</b>	<b>ihéze</b>

<sup>172</sup> Juvenal Ndayiragije (pc) cites /imigeénderanire/ {both} 'frequenting, visiting one another,' so this construction is not unknown in Kirundi. Also see the first example /imigeéndere/ BELOW.

<sup>173</sup> In Rundi *n2-pl* derivation from verbs is not productive, but there is /imyíigiishe/ {Rundi} 'teaching, doctrine' < /-úgiisha/ 'teach, cause to learn.'

## Chapter 3: Nouns

function	singular	example	plural	example
		it ending		they ending
rel subj	<b>u-</b> {only Rwanda}	<b>umwáaka utáaha</b> next year	<b>i-</b> {only Rwanda}	<b>imirwaano ihítana</b> battles which kill (innocent civilians)
rel obj	<b>u-</b> {both}	<b>ko umwíijimá uhuungá</b> that the darkness flees	<b>i-</b> {both}	<b>imihigo itaandúkanye</b> (that) the promises are different
auto	<b>uú-</b> {Rwanda} <b>uwu-</b> {Rundi}	<b>uúkarishye</b> {Rwanda} <b>uwukárishe</b> {Rundi} that (medicine) which is bitter	<b>íi-</b> {Rwanda} <b>iyi-</b> {Rundi}	<b>íiteemba</b> {Rwanda} <b>iyitéemba</b> {Rundi} those (rivers) which flow
pass agent conj	<b>n'úmu-</b>	<b>n'úmuyaga</b> by the wind <b>n'úmuryaango</b> and family	<b>n'ími-</b>	<b>n'ímití</b> by drugs <b>n'ímiryango</b> and families

**Table 36b. Group 2 Nouns with Vowel Stems**

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>umw-</b>	<b>umwáaka</b> year	<b>imy-</b>	<b>imyáaka</b> years
red	<b>mw-</b>	<b>uyu mwáaka</b> this year	<b>my-</b>	<b>iyi myáaka</b> these years
class	<b>w-</b>	<b>wáa</b> that	<b>y-</b>	<b>yáa</b> those
poss	<b>w'V</b>	<b>umwóotsi w'ítaábi</b> cigarette smoke	<b>y'V</b>	<b>imití y'úmutwé</b> headache medicines
poss vn poss loc	Does not differ from the consonant forms because the vn ( <b>ku-</b> , <b>gu-</b> ) and loc ( <b>mu-</b> and <b>ku-</b> ) prefixes always begin with a consonant, thus <b>wó mu</b> , <b>yó ku</b> , etc.			
loc	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku mwáaka</b> per year <b>mu mwáaka</b> in a year	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku myeénda</b> among the clothes <b>mu myeénda</b> in the clothes
obj	<b>-w-</b>	<b>ndawaandika</b> I write it down	<b>-y-</b>	<b>muyiíce</b> you should kill them
adj	<b>mw-</b>	<b>umuúnsi mwiizá</b> nice day	<b>my-</b>	<b>imicó myiizá</b> good character
num	Does not differ from consonant forms because all numeral roots start with a consonant			
subj	<b>w-</b>	<b>waanduye</b> it got dirty	<b>y-</b>	<b>yaanduye</b> they got dirty
part	<b>w-</b>	<b>wáanduza</b> it contaminating	<b>y-</b>	<b>yáanduza</b> they contaminating
rel subj	<b>w-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>umugozí weerá</b> {Rwanda only} the rope that is white	<b>y-</b>	<b>imigozí yeerá</b> {Rwanda only} the ropes that are white
rel obj	<b>w-</b>	<b>umusózi wiitwá</b> a mountain that is called... {both}	<b>y-</b>	<b>imisózi yiitwá</b> mountains that are called ... {both}
auto	<b>uw-</b>	<b>uwiíbumbye</b> {Rwanda} <b>uwiíbumvye</b> {Rundi} that (group) which is united	<b>iy-</b>	<b>iyiíbumbye</b> {Rwanda} <b>iyiíbumvye</b> {Rwanda} those (groups) which are united
pass agent conj	<b>n'úmw-</b>	<b>n'úmwíijimá</b> by darkness <b>n'úmwíijimá</b> and darkness	<b>n'ímy-</b>	<b>n'ímyéendá</b> by debts {Rwanda} <b>n'ímyéenda</b> and debts {Rundi}

### 3.2.3. Group 3 – Bantu Classes 5 and 6

Singular: **i-** {both} [weak] Bantu class 5 – before consonant stems  
**iji-**<sup>174</sup> {rare} – before consonant stems  
**iri-** {rare} – before consonant stems  
**iry-**<sup>175</sup> – before vowel stems

Plural: **ama-** [weak] Bantu class 6 – before consonant stems  
**am-** – before vowel stems

<sup>174</sup> This prefix occurs frozen in /**ijúsho** – **amáaso**/ {both} 'eye.'

<sup>175</sup> Such as in /**iryúinyo** – **améenyó**/ {both} 'tooth' and /**iryóóya** – **amoóya**/ {both} 'feather.' This prefix is also found in demonstratives, possessives, and autonomes.

## 3.2.3.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 3

If one is forced to characterize most of this class, it would be the notion of {MORE THAN ONE}. Hence, it encompasses things that come in pairs, items that come in groups or in bulk. This is then extended to MASS nouns and to LIQUIDS.<sup>176</sup>

- Things which usually come or occur in quantities, but singly as well

/ibuye – amabuye/ {both} 'stone, rock'<sup>177</sup>  
 /igúfa – amagúfa/ {both}, /igúfwa – amagúfwa/ {Rwanda alt} 'bone'  
 /isáro – amasáro/ {both} 'pearl' – Note: /urusáro/ {Rundi alt} (JN)  
 /ihiindu – amahiindu/ {Rwanda} 'hailstone'<sup>178</sup>  
 /irigi/ {Rundi}, /igi/ {both} 'egg' [Note pl: /amagi/ {both} 'egg'; Rundi has the rare prefix *iri-*]  
 /ijaambo/ {both} *n3-sg* 'word' [Note: /amajaambo/ {Rundi}, /amagaambo/ {Rwanda} 'words'  
 /icébe – amacébe/ {both} 'cow udder'  
 /ino – amano/ {both} 'toe'  
 /iruumbu/ {both} 'swarm (of bees, flies, etc.)'<sup>179</sup>  
 /iryiinyo – améenyoy/ {both} 'tooth; teeth'  
 /iryoooya – amoóoya/ 'feather'  
 /isepfú – amasépfu/ {Rundi} 'hiccup'<sup>180</sup>  
 /isuunzu – amasuunzu/ {both} 'tuft of hair'  
 /ivúunja – amavúunja/ {both} 'chigger, tick,' *Pulex penetrans*

- Parts of the body (human or animal) that come in pairs<sup>181</sup> (See Table 31)

/ibabá – amababá/ {both} 'wing'  
 /ibéere – amabéere/ {both} 'breast, teat'  
 /iboondo – amaboondo/ {both} 'flank, side of the body (between the hip and the lowest rib)'  
 /ihahá – amahahá/ {Rundi} 'lung'<sup>182</sup>  
 /iheémbe – amaheémbe/ {both} 'horn'<sup>183</sup>  
 /ijiísho – amáaso/ {both} 'eye'  
 /itáko – amatáko/ {both} 'buttock, rump; thigh'  
 /itáma – amatáma/ {both} 'cheek'  
 /iví – amaví/ {both} 'knee'  
 /izúuru – amazúuru/ {both} 'nostril'

- Constituent parts of trees or bushes; or their products

/ibabi – amababi/ {both} 'leaf'  
 /ihwá – amahwá/ {both} 'thorn'  
 /ishaká – amasaká/ {both} 'sorghum,' *Sorghum caudatum*  
 /ishámi – amashámi/ {both} 'branch'  
 /ishaza/ {Rwanda} '(small) pea'<sup>184</sup>  
 /ishúurwé – amashúurwé/ {Rundi} 'flower'  
 /itaábi – amataábi/ {both} 'tobacco'

<sup>176</sup> We reject the category {items of exceptionally large size} (Dubnova 1984:38), and reserve that for Group 4 which is properly an augmentative group.

<sup>177</sup> In southern Bantu languages, e.g., Zulu and Xhosa, many {hard objects} are in this class. In Rundi and Rwanda, only this word and 'bone,' 'pearl,' and 'hailstone' (BELOW) seem to qualify, but also fit the {quantity} designation discussed here. 'Egg' is {hard} only if one considers the shell.

<sup>178</sup> The individual hailstone or several (plural); the collective is /urubúra/ {both} *n6-sg*.

<sup>179</sup> This form is singular and indicates a collection; more commonly (see BELOW) such nouns are plural.

<sup>180</sup> Rwanda has a homonym, /isepfú/ *n5-sg*, however its plural /amasépfu/ is in group 3.

<sup>181</sup> Both /izosi/ {Rundi} and /ijosí/ {Rwanda} 'neck' illustrate how the semantics of noun class assignment fall apart. It is unclear why this body part is in group 3 since it does not come in pairs or as part of a group.

<sup>182</sup> Rwanda has /igihahá – ibihahá/ 'lung' in group 4.

<sup>183</sup> Its extended meaning, 'tusk,' does not always occur in pairs.

<sup>184</sup> Rundi has /ubushaza/ based on the same root, but in group 8.

## Chapter 3: Nouns

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- Nouns indicating time (of day, year, season, etc.)
  - /amakúuka/ {both} 'mid-afternoon' (from about 2 to 3 p.m.) [No singular]
  - /amanywá/ {both} 'daylight hours; daytime' [No singular]
  - /amatárama/ {Rwanda} 'social evening, night spent socially' [No singular]
  - /icí/ {Rundi}, /icyí/ {Rwanda} 'dry season' (from the winter solstice to the vernal equinox)
  - /idákiiká – amadákiiká/ {Rwanda} 'minute' (unit of time) {Arb}
  - /ijoro – amajoro/ {both} 'night'
  - /itúumbá – amatúumbá/ {both} 'rainy season, autumn' (from the autumnal equinox to the winter solstice)
- Natural phenomena and substances<sup>185</sup>
  - /ibára – amabára/ {both} 'color'
  - /icó/ {both} 'dirt, dirtiness; stain, taint' [No plural]
  - /ijuru – amajuru/ {both} 'sky; heaven'
  - /ishaamba – amashaamba/ {Rundi}, /ishyaamba – amashyaamba/ {Rwanda} 'jungle, rain forest'
  - /isóoko – amasóoko/ {both} 'spring; source'
  - /ivú – amavú/ {both} 'ash, cinders'
  - /izúuba – amazúuba/ {both} 'sun'
- Collective nouns in the plural that do not have a singular,<sup>186</sup> sometimes called "PLURALIA TANTUM"<sup>187</sup>
  - /amaganyá/ {both} 'worries, anxiety'
  - /amagará/ {both} 'strength, energy'
  - /amahóro/ {both} 'peace'
  - /amajaambere/ {Rundi}, /amajyaambere/ {Rwanda} 'progress'
  - /amakubá/ {Rundi}, /amakúba/ {Rwanda} 'troubles; misfortune' [col]
  - /amapfá/ {both} 'famine; drought'
  - /amasé/ {both} 'dung (of large animal, e.g., cow, buffalo, hippopotamus, elephant)'
  - /amaziinda/ {both} 'forgetfulness'
- Liquid or viscous substances which also have only a plural form
  - /amaté/ {Rundi}, /amacáandwé/ {Rwanda} 'saliva, spittle'<sup>188</sup>
  - /amagaanga/ {both} 'urine (of an animal)'
  - /amaráso/ {both} 'blood'
  - /amarirá/ 'tears' [cf: *irira* 'tear' {rare}]
  - /amaárwa/ {both} 'sorghum beer'
  - /amashirá/ {Rundi} (JN), /amashyirá/ {Rwanda} 'slime; pus'
  - /amatá/ {both} 'milk'
  - /amavúta/ {both} 'butter, grease, fat, (cooking) oil'
  - /amáazi/ {both} 'water'
- Some nouns within the HUMAN ECOSYSTEM<sup>189</sup>
  - /ibuúmba – amabuúmba/ {both} 'clay (as used for earthenware)'
  - /idírishá/ {Rundi}, /idírishyá/ {Rwanda} 'window'
  - /ijwí/ {both} 'voice'
  - /iragí/ {Rundi} 'inheritance, heritage, legacy'<sup>190</sup>
  - /iréembo – amaréembo/ {both} 'portal, doorway' (to the court)
  - /ishuúri/ {both} 'school' { < German *Schule*}
  - /izíiko – amaziiko/ {both} 'hearth, fireplace'
  - /izína – amazína/ {both} 'name'

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<sup>185</sup> See also /ibuye/ 'stone,' /ihiindu/ 'hailstone' under {quantity} terms and /amáazi/ under {liquid}.

<sup>186</sup> See also /amakúuka/ 'mid-afternoon' and /amanywá/ 'daytime' in {time} words ABOVE.

<sup>187</sup> See Dubnova 1984:38 who uses this term.

<sup>188</sup> Although these words are not at all related in form or root, they share identical semantic components.

<sup>189</sup> There is no clearly definable thread uniting these as opposed to those treated in group 2 (§3.2.2.1).

<sup>190</sup> Rwanda has /umuragé/ 'inheritance' which is formed from the same root but in group 2.



- Manufactured items, tools, and implements<sup>191</sup>
  - /icúmu – amacúmu/ {both} 'spear, lance'
  - /ikára – amakára/ {both} 'coal; charcoal'
  - /iraago/ 'lancet, knife' (for slaughtering cattle)
  - /isékuro – amasékuro/ {both} 'mortar' (for pounding, grinding)
  - /isúka – amasúka/ {both} 'pick-axe; hoe'
  - /itára – amatára/ {both} 'light, lamp'
- A few emotions
  - /ihiinda/ {Rundi} 'anxiety, preoccupation, worry, grief'
  - /ipfá/ {both} 'greed, envy'
  - /irári – amarári/ {Rwanda} 'lust, passion'
  - /ishavú/ {both} 'sorrow, sadness, grief'
  - /isharí/ {Rundi}, /ishyari/ {Rwanda} 'jealousy' – /amahari/ {both} *n3-pl* 'jealousies, rivalries (between co-wives of a polygamous husband)'
  - /isóni/ {both} 'modesty, decency; shyness, (sense of) shame'

### 3.2.3.2. Derivations in Group 3

The majority of derivations in Group 3 come from verb stems. Reduplicated nouns form a subset within this group. Nominalized adjectives that agree with a member of this class do not occur with any great frequency.<sup>192</sup>

- Verbal nouns with the suffix **-a** showing the OBJECT or THEME of an action (**i-Δ-a** or **ama-Δ-a**)
  - /amaganyá/ {both} 'worries, anxiety' < /-ganya/ 'moan, groan, complain; worry, be anxious'
  - /amajya n'amaaza/ {Rwanda} 'comings and goings' < /-jya/ 'go' /na/ 'and' /-za/ 'come'
  - /amakeenga/ {both} 'suspicions; suspects' < /-kéenga/ 'distrust, be on one's guard against'
  - /ihuunga – amahuunga/ {both} 'flight, fleeing' < /-huunga/ 'flee'
  - /irema – amarema/ {both} 'creation' < /-rema/ 'create, form, organize'
  - /iseengeesho – amaseengeesho/ {Rwanda} 'prayer, entreaty' < /-seenga/ 'worship, pray to' [caus]
  - /iyígiisha/ {both} 'teaching, instruction' < /-igiisha/ 'teach' [v-caus]
- Verbal nouns with the suffix **-a** indicating an appropriate TIME for the action (**i-Δ-a**)
  - /irima/ {Rundi} 'time for plowing, farming season' < /-rima/ 'dig, hoe, farm, cultivate'
  - /ihúnga/ {Rwanda} 'time for plowing, farming season' < /-húnga/ 'cultivate, plow'
  - /ipfá/ {both} 'death, mortality; death's door, time of one's death' < /-pfá/ 'die, lose one's life'
  - /isaaruura/ {both} 'harvest time' < /-saaruura/ 'harvest'
  - /itaaha/ {both} 'time for returning; the moment of coming back' < /-taaha/ 'go home, come back'
- Verbal nouns with the suffix **-o** showing the OBJECT or INSTRUMENT of an action (**i-Δ-o** or **ama-Δ-o**)
  - /amahóro/ {both} 'peace, tranquility' < /-hóra/ 'cool, become cold; become calm; be silent'
  - /ipfúundo – amapfúundo/ {both} 'knot' < /-pfúundika/ 'tie, make a knot'
  - /isáano – amasáano/ {both} 'similarity' < /-sa ná-/ 'resemble, look like (physically)'
  - /iseezerano – amaseezerano/ {both} 'promise, accord; contract, covenant' < /-seezerana/ 'promise'
  - /amahano/ {both} 'calamity, disaster; punishment' < /-hana/ 'punish'<sup>193</sup>
  - /itégeko – amatégeko/ {both} 'order, command; instruction; law' < /-tégeka/
  - /itúuro – amatúuro/ {both} 'gift, offering, donation, something bestowed' < /-túura/ 'offer'
  - /ityáazo/ {both} 'whetstone, grindstone' < /-tyáaza/ 'whet, sharpen'

<sup>191</sup> Again, there is no clearly definable thread distinguishing these from those treated in group 2 (§3.2.2.1).

<sup>192</sup> In speaking of a collection of rocks /ibuye – amabuye/, one could say /irinini/ 'the big one,' or of several of them /amanini/ 'the big ones.' The only group 3 nominalized adjective we encountered in our research was /itooto/ {Rwanda} 'youthfulness.'

<sup>193</sup> Rwanda also has the singular form /ishyano/.

- Nouns with the suffix **-o** derived from BENEFACTIVE verbs showing the PLACE associated with an action (**i-Δ-ir-o** or **i-Δ-er-o**)

/ibáagi-ro/ {both} 'butchery, slaughtering place' < /-báaga/ 'butcher'

/ibóhero/ {Rundi} 'prison, jail' < /-bóha/ 'tie, bind'

/iguri-ro/ {Rwanda} 'market (place)'<sup>194</sup> < /-gura/ 'buy, sell'

/ikóran-ro/ {both} 'gathering, get-together' < /-kórana/ 'put together, gather (up)'

/itéekero/ {Rwanda} 'kitchen'<sup>195</sup> < /-téeka/ 'cook'

/itéeran-ro/ {both} 'meeting, gathering, get-together' < /-téerana/ 'gather, come together'

/ivuuri-ro/ {both} 'dispensary, pharmacy; hospital' < /-vuura/ 'medicate, cure, treat (a sick person)'

- Forms involving the REDUPLICATION of a noun stem (see §2.5.17)

/amabéerebéere/ {Rundi} 'mother's milk, breast milk (human only)'<sup>196</sup> [Cf: /ibéere/ n3-sg 'breast']

/amabwáabwá/ {both} 'udders of a mammal (e.g., bitch or sow)' [cf: /imbwá/ 'dog']

/amahénéhene/ {Rundi} 'goat dung' [cf: /impené/ 'goat'], /amahénéhene/ {Rwanda} 'goat's milk' [cf:

/ihené/ 'goat']

/amakóbekóbe/ {Rundi} 'goat's milk'<sup>197</sup>

/amataamataama/ {both} 'sheep's milk' [cf: /intaama/ 'sheep, ewe']

### 3.2.3.3. Loans in Group 3

/amalalí/ {Rundi} 'illness, sickness' < French *maladie*

/igaáre – amagaáre/ {both} 'bicycle' < Swahili

/isokó – amasokó/ {both} 'market place' < Arb *souk*

/ishuúri/ {both} 'school' < German *Schule*

/idáikiiká/ {Rwanda} 'minute' (unit of time) {Arb}

/ifaraanga – amafaraanga/ {both} 'franc; [pl] money' [collective] < French *franc*

/iliitiro – amaliitiro/ {both} 'liter' < French *litre*

/itaábi/ {both} 'tobacco' < intl; cf: French *tabac*

/itárikí – amatárikí/ {both} 'date, day' (of the month) {Arb}

### 3.2.3.4. The Grammar of Group 3 Nouns

- The prefix **ama-** marks the irregular plural of many nouns which have their singular in other classes.

/amafí/ {both} 'fishes; fish' (generic) < /ifi/ n5a-sg

/amafu/ {both} 'flour (mass); types of flour' < /ifu/ n5a-sg 'flour, powder'

/amasábuné/ {Rwanda} 'bars of soap' < /isabune/ n5a-sg {Arb}

/amasáhaáni/ {Rundi}, /amasahaane/ {Rwanda}, 'plates, dishes' < «isahani, isahane» n5a-sg

/amasaáke/ {both} 'roosters' < /isake/ n5a-sg

/amashí/ {Rundi}, /amashyí/ {Rwanda} 'palms' < /urushí/ {Rundi}, /urushyí/ {Rwanda} n6-sg 'palm, interior part of the hand (including the fingers)'

/amatárikí/ {both} 'dates' < /itárikí/ n5a-sg 'date, day' (of the month) {Arb}

/amazu/ {both} 'houses' < /inzu/ n5-sg 'house, residence'

/amara/ {both} n3-pl-ir 'intestines, entrails' < /urura/ n6-sg 'intestine'

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<sup>194</sup> Rundi has /akaguri-ro/ n7-sg 'market' with the same root and derivation, but in a different noun class.

<sup>195</sup> Rundi has /igitekero/ n4-sg 'kitchen' with the same root and derivation, but in a different noun class.

<sup>196</sup> Rwanda has /amashéreka/ n3-pl 'mother's milk, breast milk.'

<sup>197</sup> Although clearly in the form of a reduplication, there is no known Rundi stem \*kóba or \*kóbe.

Table 37a. Group 3 Nouns with Consonant Stems

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>i-</b>	<b>ibuye</b> stone	<b>ama-</b>	<b>amabuye</b> stones
red	<b>Ø-</b>	<b>zína</b>	<b>ma-</b>	<b>mazína</b>
class	<b>ri-</b>	<b>rírya</b>	<b>a-</b>	<b>aryá</b>
poss	<b>ryaa</b>	<b>izína ryaa</b> Peetero name of Peter <b>ryaa mbere</b> the first	<b>ya</b> <b>yaa</b>	<b>amazína ya</b> Peetero names of Peter <b>yaa mbere</b> the first
poss vn poss loc	<b>ryó</b>	<b>izína ryó mu baantu</b> a name among humans	<b>yó</b>	<b>amashírahámwe yó ku kirwa</b> associations of the island
loc	<b>mu</b> <b>ku</b>	<b>mwiishuúre</b> in school <b>kwiishuúre</b> to school	<b>mu</b>	<b>mu mavúta</b> in oil <b>ku mavúta</b> into the oil
obj	<b>-ri-</b>	<b>ndarígutúura</b> I give it to you	<b>-ya-</b>	<b>ndayágutúura</b> I give them to you
adj	<b>ri-</b>	<b>igí riníni</b> a big egg	<b>ma-</b>	<b>amáaso maníni</b> big eyes
num	<b>ri-</b>	<b>igí rimwé</b> one egg	<b>a-</b>	<b>amagí abiri</b> two eggs
subj	<b>ri-</b>	<b>rigera</b> it reaches	<b>a-</b>	<b>ntaagerá</b> they do not reach
part	<b>rí-</b>	<b>rigeze</b> it arriving	<b>a-</b>	<b>agíze</b> they consisting of
rel subj	<b>ri-</b> {both}	<b>rikoméye</b> {both} which is important [same for both]	<b>a-</b> [dif tone]	<b>amáazi ashyúshye</b> {Rwanda} <b>amáazi ashuushé</b> {Rundi} hot water
rel obj	<b>ri-</b>	<b>kó risigúura amaráso</b> that it represents blood	<b>a-</b>	<b>kó amajwí anyuránye</b> that voices are different
auto	<b>iri-</b>	<b>irikóonje</b> {both} that which is cold	<b>aá-</b> {Rwanda} <b>aya-</b> {Rundi}	<b>aákonje</b> those which are cold  <b>ayaréenga</b> those that exceed
pass agent conj	<b>n'í-</b>	<b>n'íibéere</b> 'by breast' <b>n'íizúuba</b> 'and the sun'	<b>n'áma-</b>	<b>n'ámaferi</b> 'by brakes' <b>n'ámافی</b> 'and fish'

Table 37b. Group 3 Nouns with Vowel Stems

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>iry-</b>	<b>iryíinyo</b> tooth	<b>am-</b>	<b>améenyoy</b> teeth
red	<b>ry-</b>	<b>iri ryíinyo</b> this tooth	<b>ma-</b>	<b>aya méenyoy</b> these teeth
class	<b>ry-</b>	<b>ryáa ryíinyo</b> that tooth	<b>y-</b>	<b>yáa méenyoy</b> those teeth
poss	<b>ry'</b>	<b>iryíinyo ry'iritéerano</b> artificial tooth	<b>y'</b>	<b>amabuye y'ágaciroy</b> precious stones
poss vn poss loc	Does not differ from the consonant forms because the vn ( <b>ku-</b> , <b>gu-</b> ) and loc ( <b>mu-</b> and <b>ku-</b> ) prefixes always begin with a consonant, thus <b>ryó mu</b> , <b>yó ku</b> , etc.			
loc	<b>mu</b> <b>ku</b>	<b>mu ryoóya</b> in the feather <b>ku ryoóya</b> on the feather	<b>mu</b> <b>ku</b>	<b>mu méenyoy</b> in between the teeth <b>ku méenyoy</b> on the teeth
obj	<b>-ry-</b>	<b>bararyúumva</b> they hear it	<b>-y-</b>	<b>barayúumva</b> they hear them
adj	<b>ry-</b>	<b>ijwí ryiizá</b> a nice voice	<b>m-</b>	<b>amaráso meénshy</b> lots of blood
num	Does not differ from consonant forms because all numeral roots start with a consonant			
subj	<b>ry-</b>	<b>ryeenda kumera</b> it is almost like	<b>y-</b>	<b>yeenda kumera</b> they are almost like
part	<b>ry-</b>	<b>ryáari</b> it recently being	<b>y-</b>	<b>yúgaye</b> they being sealed
rel subj	<b>ry-</b> {both}	<b>iryoóya ryeerá</b> {both} a white feather	<b>y-</b>	<b>kó amaferi yacítse</b> {both} that the brakes failed
rel obj	<b>ry-</b> {both}	<b>kó ryaábaaye</b> {both} that it occurred	<b>y-</b> {both}	<b>kó amabutike yayiroónse</b> that the stores obtained it
auto	<b>iry-</b>	<b>iryaákomootse</b> one that originated	<b>ay-</b>	<b>ayeéra</b> the ones that are white
pass agent conj	<b>n'í(i)-</b>	<b>n'íiryíinyoy</b> by a tooth <b>n'iryoóya</b> and a feather	<b>n'áma-</b>	<b>n'áméenyoy</b> by teeth <b>n'ámoóya</b> and feathers

### 3.2.4. Group 4 – Bantu Classes 7 and 8

Singular:	<b>iki-</b> {both} [strong] Bantu class 7 – before voiced consonant stems
	<b>igi-</b> {both} [strong] Bantu class 7 – before voiceless consonant stems
	<b>ic-</b> {Rundi} – before vowel stems
	<b>icy-</b> {Rwanda} – before vowel stems
Plural:	<b>ibi-</b> {both} [strong] Bantu class 8 – before consonant stems
	<b>ivy-</b> {Rundi} – before vowel stems
	<b>iby-</b> {Rwanda} – before vowel stems

#### 3.2.4.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 4

This group encompasses both human and non-human nouns. A number of characterizations have been discussed or can be determined for this class.<sup>198</sup>

- Nouns referring to language, ethnic group, or culture

Note: many of these roots can be found in group 1 designating a person of that nationality or ethnicity, or in group 8 designating the country or area associated with the group.<sup>199</sup>

*/icáarabó/* {Rundi}, */icyáarabú/* {Rwanda} 'Arabic (language and culture)'  
*/icóongerezá/* {Rundi}, */icyóongerezá/* {Rwanda} 'English (language and culture)'  
*/ikidaági/* {Rundi}, */ikidaáge/* {Rwanda} 'German (language and culture)'  
*/ikigáandá/* {both} 'Ganda, Luganda, Ugandan (language and culture)'  
*/ikinyarwaanda/* {both} 'Rwanda (language and culture)'  
*/ikinyéekoóngo/* {both} 'Congo, Kongo, Congolese' (language and culture)  
*/ikiruúndi/* {both} 'Rundi' (language and culture)

- Body parts or products (See Table 31)

*/icuíya/* {Rundi}, */icyuíya/* {Rwanda} 'sweat'  
*/igikórorwá – ibikórorwá/* {both} 'spittle, sputum'  
*/igihaánga – ibihaánga/* {both} 'skull, cranium'  
*/igihahá – ibihahá/* {Rwanda} 'lung'<sup>200</sup>  
*/igikoónjo – ibikoónjo/* {both} 'wrist'  
*/igipfúkamiro – ibipfúkamiro/* {both} 'knee; knee-cap'  
*/igipfuúnsi – ibipfuúnsi/* {both} 'fist'  
*/igitigú/* {Rundi} 'liver'<sup>201</sup>  
*/igituúza – ibituúza/* {both} 'chest; torso'  
*/ikigaanza – ibigaanza/* {both} 'hand; wrist'  
*/ikireenge – ibireenge/* {both} 'foot'

- Several manufactured items

*/icaánsi – ivyaánsi/* {Rundi}, */icyaánsi – ibyaánsi/* {Rwanda}, 'milk pot or can'  
*/icúuma – ivyúuma/* {Rundi}, */icyúuma – ibyúuma/* {Rwanda} 'knife, blade; iron, metal; [pl] tools, equipment'  
*/igikáangiisho – ibikáangiisho/* {both} 'scarecrow'  
*/igikoómbe – ibikoómbe/* {both} 'tin container, cup, mug'  
*/igisaabo – ibisaabo/* {both} 'churn' (made from a hollowed out gourd)  
*/igiteebo – ibiteebo/* {both} 'basket'

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<sup>198</sup> Two proposed by Hurel (1959:105) have not stood the test of time, namely: "objects composed of small units which form a complex whole" and "everything that astonishes, inspires fear, shame, or causes discomfort." All of his examples fit into other domains. Translation by S. J. Harrell.

<sup>199</sup> Thus */umugáandá – abagáandá/ n1* 'Ganda, Ugandan person,' */ubugáandá/ n8* {both} 'Uganda (country).'

<sup>200</sup> Rundi has */ihahá – amahahá/ n3* 'lung' with the same root, but in a different noun class.

<sup>201</sup> Rwanda */umwíijimá – imyíijimá/ n2* 'liver.'

/ikibaando – ibibaando/ {both} 'big stick; cane, walking stick; wooden door bolt'  
 /ikirago – ibirago/ {both} 'rush mat, mat'  
 /ikiremo – ibiremo/ 'piece of fabric; animal skin or hide'

- Certain FLORA (plant names) including their parts or products<sup>202</sup>

/icaátsi – ivyaátsi/ {Rundi}, /icyaátsi – ibyaátsi/ {Rwanda} 'grass; [pl] grasses; straw [collective]  
 /igishishwa/ {Rundi}, /igishishwá/ {Rwanda} 'peel, husk, shell'  
 /igishyíimbo – ibishyíimbo/ {Rwanda}, 'bean; haricot'  
 /igití – ibítí/ {both} 'tree, (piece of) wood'  
 /igitooke – ibitooke/ {both} 'bunch of bananas; banana stalk' [Alt: /igitooki/ {both}]  
 /igitúungurú – ibítúungurú/ {both} 'onion'  
 /ikibabi – ibibabi/ {both} 'leaf'  
 /ikigóori – ibigóori/ {both} 'corn, maize'  
 /ikijuumbu – ibijuumbu/ {Rundi}, /ikijuumba – ibijuumba/ {Rwanda} 'sweet potato'  
 /ikireere – ibireere/ {both} 'dry banana leaf'
- Certain FAUNA (animals, birds, insects, etc.) and their products<sup>203</sup>

/icaári – ivyaári/ {Rundi}, /icyaári – ibyaári/ {Rwanda} 'nest'  
 /igihere – ibihere/ {Rundi}, /igihéri – ibihéri/ {Rwanda} 'bedbug, stinkbug'  
 /igikeré – ibikeré/ {Rundi}, /igikerí/ {Rwanda} 'frog, toad, *Bufo regularis*'  
 /igikóokó – ibikóokó/ {both} 'wild animal, savage beast'  
 /igikóona – ibikóona/ {both} 'crow; raven'  
 /igisiiga – ibisiiga/ {both} 'bird of prey, hawk, large bird'  
 /igitúungwa – igituúngwa/ {Rundi} 'small livestock animal'<sup>204</sup>  
 /ikibugu – ibibugu/ {both} 'tsetse fly; horsefly'  
 /ikimasá – ibimasá/ {both} 'bull, male calf (about 4 years old)'  
 /ikiréemvé – ibiréemvé/ {both} 'cooked blood of an ox (coagulated blood)'  
 /ikiruúra – ibiruúra/ {both} 'wolf; wild leopard'
- Some nouns within the HUMAN ECOSYSTEM<sup>205</sup>

/icáaha – ivyáaha/ {Rundi}, /icyáaha – ibyáaha/ {Rwanda} 'fault, sin; felony'  
 /icuúmba – ivyuúmba/ {Rundi}, /icyuúmba – ibyuúmba/ {Rwanda} 'room, chamber'  
 /igihóme – ibihóme/ {Rundi}, /igihomé – ibihomé/ {Rwanda} 'fortress, palisade'  
 /igihúgu – ibihúgu/ {both} 'country, nation'  
 /igikoóni – ibikoóni/ {both} 'kitchen'  
 /igisagára – ibisagára/ {Rundi} 'city'<sup>206</sup>  
 /ikigega – ibigega/ {both} 'granary, silo, loft for storing grain'  
 /ikirarí – ibirarí/ {both} 'path (seldom-frequented); country road'
- Several items within the natural environment

/icaámbu – ivyaámbu/ {Rundi}, /icyaámbu – ibyaámbu/ {Rwanda} 'ford, passage' < /-aambuka/  
 'cross, traverse'  
 /icoóndo – ivyoóndo/ {Rundi}, /icyoóndo – ibyoóndo/ {Rwanda} 'mud, mire'  
 /igicu – ibicu/ {both} 'cloud'  
 /igishaanga – ibishaanga/ {both} 'muddy swamp, marsh'  
 /ikime/ {both} 'dew'  
 /ikinogó – ibinogó/ {both} 'hole, hollow'  
 /ikirééré – ibirééré/ {both} 'sky; atmosphere, air'  
 /ikiziba – ibiziba/ {both} 'puddle (of dirty water)'  
 /ikiyága – ibiyága/ {both} 'lake'

<sup>202</sup> While the majority of plant names are in group 2 (approx 50%), the second highest concentration (18%) is in this group (See Figure 1 in §3.2.2.1).

<sup>203</sup> The majority of animal names are in group 5 (see Figure 2 in §3.2.5.1) with the second highest in group 4.

<sup>204</sup> Rwanda has /ítúungo – amatúungo/ n3 'livestock' with the same root, but in a different noun class.

<sup>205</sup> Contrast these with those taken up in groups 2 and 3.

<sup>206</sup> Cf: Rwanda /umudugúdu/ n2 'city, town, village.'

## Chapter 3: Nouns

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- A person considered as outside social norms<sup>207</sup>
  - /igiháangaange/ 'giant, powerful person' {Rwanda}; 'heroic, brave person' {Rundi}
  - /igihamáke/ {Rwanda} 'coward'
  - /igipfáamatwí – ibipfáamatwí/ {both} 'deaf person'
  - /igikuri – ibikuri/ {both} 'dwarf'
  - /igisaambo – ibisaambo/ {both} 'thief; glutton'
  - /ikigáabá/ {Rundi} 'headstrong person; [atr] disobedient, intractable, hard to manage' </-gáab- 'disobey; be disobedient, rebellious, hard to manage'
  - /ikimúga – ibimúga/ {both} 'invalid, infirm, cripple, handicapped person'
  - /ikiragi – ibiragi/ {both} 'mute, dumb person; [atr] stupid'
  - /ikiréma – ibiréma/ {both} 'cripple' (person with a disability)
- Names of a few ailments and physical afflictions
  - /ibicuráne/ {both} 'cold, head cold'
  - /ikinyá – ibinyá/ {both} 'cramp, muscle pain, tingling sensation, numbness, pins and needles'
  - /igisebe – ibisebe/ {both} 'wound, sore, ulcer'
  - /ikiiza – ibiiza/ {both} 'plague, epidemic, severe illness'
  - /igituúntu – ibituúntu/ {both} 'tuberculosis, consumption'
  - /ikiruryi – ibiruryi/ {Rwanda} 'boil, abscess'
- Units of measurement relating to time, place, position
  - /icyúmwéeru – ibyúmwéeru/ {Rwanda} 'week'
  - /igihe – ibihe/ {both} 'time, period, era; moment, interval'
  - /igitóondo – ibitóondo/ {both} 'morning'
  - /ikijyáaruguru/ {Rwanda} 'perpendicular height; uphill'
  - /ikijyéepfó/ {Rwanda} 'perpendicular depth; downhill'
  - /ikimaányu/ {both} 'slice, piece, fraction' </-máanyura/ 'slice, break (up, into pieces), fracture'
  - /ikinjana – ibinjana/ {Rundi}, /ikinyeejana – ibinyeejana/ {Rwanda} 'century'
- A few nouns which might be considered NEUTER in gender (see §1.8.2)<sup>208</sup>
  - /ikiintu – ibiintu/ {both} 'thing'
  - /icókuryá – ivyókuryá/ {Rundi}, /icyókuryá – ibyókuryá/ {Rwanda} 'food' [lit. 'something to eat']

### 3.2.4.2. Derivations in Group 4

Besides containing nouns derived from verbs as in the other classes discussed so far, group 4 has many nouns from other groups which connote bigness or exaggeration or even some form of contempt. These drastic differences in meaning (from highly positive to extremely negative) are readily understood by native speakers but require careful analysis of the context on the part of a student.

/ibiká/ {both} 'huge cows' VS 'ugly cows' [cf: /inká/ *n5-sg/pl* 'cow']

/ikigoré/ {both} 'big woman' VS 'stupid woman' [cf: /umugoré/ *n1-sg* 'woman, female; wife']

- Amplicative or augmentative meaning of nouns in other classes.
  - /icáana – ivyáana/ {Rundi}, /icyáana – ibyáana/ {Rwanda} 'pup, faun, colt, cub (young of some large animals)' [cf: **umwana** 'baby, infant' (*n1*), **inyana** 'calf' (*n5*)]
  - /igisóre/ 'whopper, solidly built young man' [cf: **umusore** *n1* 'young man, pubescent youth']
  - /igisózi/ {both} 'very large hill, mountain,' /ibisózi/ 'mountain range' [cf: **umusozi** *n2* 'hill']
  - /ikibuye/ {both} 'boulder, very large rock' [cf: **ibuye** *n3* 'stone']
  - /ikivúra/ {both} 'deluge, downpour' [cf: **imvura** *n5* 'rain']

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<sup>207</sup> These differ from the {pejorative} or {augmentative} derivations taken up in the next section in that they are not derived from counterparts in other noun classes.

<sup>208</sup> Some authors consider this the closest thing to a neuter class in Bantu, e.g., Overdulse et al. 1975:88, Hands 1952:44. This is certainly so in terms of the GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION of group 4 (see §3.2.4.4 BELOW), but not generally so semantically.

- Derogatory, insulting, or pejorative meaning of nouns in other classes.  
*/ibinyábwooba/* {both} 'extreme cowards' [cf: */ubwóoba/ n8* 'fear, cowardice' – */umunyábwooba/ n1* 'coward']  
*/ikigabo/* {both} 'clumsy man; rebellious man'<sup>209</sup> [cf: */umugabo/ n1* 'man, adult male; husband']  
*/ibyeénda/* {Rwanda} 'pile of messy clothing'<sup>210</sup> [cf: */umweénda/ n2* 'cloth (piece of cloth); clothing']
- Nouns involving the reduplication of the stem (see §2.5.17).  
*/ibinéézánéézá/* [R+R] {Rwanda} 'glee, delight' – cf: Rundi */akaáneezá/ n7* 'happiness, gladness'  
*/igitaábitáabi/* [B+M] {both} 'tobacco leaf rib (used when one runs out of tobacco)' – cf: */itaábi/ n3* 'tobacco'  
*/ikiményaménya/* [A+T] {Rundi}, */ikiményiményi/* {Rwanda} 'evidence, proof, clear sign'  
*/ikinyúgunyúgu/* [R+R] {both} 'butterfly'
- Nouns derived from verbs with **-a (igi-Δ-a)**.  
*/igisoonga/* {Rundi} 'tip, point,' {Rwanda} 'sharpened piece of wood, arrow' [Rrule] < */-soonga/* 'be pointed; come to a point'  
*/igitaángaaza/* {both} 'miracle, s.t. wonderful, amazing event' [P2rule] < */-taangaaza/* 'astonish, surprise' [cf: */-taangaara/* 'marvel, be astonished']  
*/ikibyíimba/* {Rwanda} 'swelling' < */-byíimba/* 'swell'  
*/ikiméra – ibiméra/* {both} 'plant, vegetation' [Arule] < */-mera/* 'sprout, germinate'
- Nouns derived from passive verbs **-w- + -a (igi-Δ-w-a)**.  
*/ibyaáambarwa/ n4-pl* {Rwanda} 'clothing' < */-aambara/* 'wear, put on (clothing)'  
*/igikorwá – ibikorwá/* {both} 'work, product < */-kóra/* work, do, perform; touch; make' + **-w-**  
*/igituúngwa – ibituúngwa/* {Rundi} 'small livestock animal' < */-túunga/* 'have a lot of cows, possess animals or goods'  
*/ikinyoóbwa – ibinyoóbwa/* {both} 'drink, beverage' < */-nywá/* 'drink'  
*/ikiremwá – ibiremwá/* {both} 'creature' < */-rema/* 'create; form, organize'
- Nouns derived from verbs with **-e (igi-Δ-e)**, usually with P2 tonality.  
*/iciírore – ivyírore/* {Rundi} 'mirror' < */-írore/* 'look at oneself'  
*/icyíizeere/* {Rwanda} 'hope' < */-íizeera/* 'hope, count on, expect s.t. from s.o.'  
*/igicé – ibicé/* {both} 'piece, part, fraction, division' < */-cá/* 'cut, sever, slice'<sup>211</sup>  
*/igikomére – ibikomére/* {both} 'wound, injury, lesion' < */-kómereka/* 'be wounded'  
*/igiteérane – ibiteérane/* {both} 'meeting, gathering' < */-téerana/* 'gather, come together'  
*/ikivaánge – ibivaánge/* {both} 'mixing, mixture; [ext] mulatto, person of mixed race' < */-váanga/* 'mix'
- Nouns derived from the PALATALIZED (perfect) stems of verbs with **-yi (igi-Δ-yi)**.  
*/ibisazi/* [Rrule] *n4-pl* {both} 'lunacy, madness' < */-sara/* 'be mad'  
*/ikigúzi/* [Arule] {Rundi}, */ikiguzí/* [Erule] {Rwanda} 'price, cost, value' < */-gura/* 'buy, sell'
- Nouns derived from verbs with **-o (igi-Δ-o)**  
*/ibyíiriingiro/* {Rwanda} *n4-pl* 'hopes; trust confidence' < */-íiriingira/* 'trust, hope in, rely on'  
*/icíiyumviiro – ivyíiyumviiro/* {Rundi} 'idea, thought' < */-íiyumviira/* 'think, be deep in thought'  
*/icyéemezo/* {Rwanda} 'proof; official declaration; certificate' < */-éemeza/* 'confirm, attest'  
*/igicíiro/* {both} 'price, value, cost' < */-cíira/* 'bargain, haggle (over price)'  
*/igicúmuro – ibicúmuro/* {both} 'crime, sin' < */-cúmura/* 'commit a crime, do wrong, sin'  
*/igihéembo – ibihéembo/* {both} 'salary, wage, payment' < */-héemba/* 'pay'  
*/ikibázo – ibibázo/* {both} 'question' < */-báza/* 'ask'  
*/ikigáaniiro – ibigáaniiro/* {Rundi}, */ikigaaniiro – ibigaaniiro/* 'conversation, talk' < */-gáaniira/* {Rundi}, */-gaaniira/* {Rwanda} 'converse'

<sup>209</sup> But in another context it can mean 'hulk, hunk, solidly built man.'

<sup>210</sup> This same word can also mean 'large clothes (i.e., made for big people).'

<sup>211</sup> Since this word is based upon the monosyllabic root */-cá/* tone appears on the final syllable. Nevertheless, as can be seen in the other examples, the tonality of these particular derivations comes on the second mora of the root.

## Chapter 3: Nouns

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*/ikirúundo/* {both} 'pile, heap, mass' < */-ruunda/* 'pile up or together, amass'  
*/ikiziriko – ibiziriko/* {both} 'hobble, shackle, fetter, strap, bond' < */-zirik-* 'attach s.t. with a rope'

- Nouns derived from benefactive verbs with **-o (igi-Δ-ir-o)**  
*/icúubahiro – ivyúubahiro/* {Rundi}, */icyúubahiro – ibyúubahiro/* {Rwanda} 'respect, esteem, dignity, honor, consideration' < */-úubaha/* 'respect'  
*/igicáaniro – ibicáaniro/* {both} 'hearth, fireplace; altar' < */-cáana/* 'kindle, light, build a fire'  
*/igikúundiro – ibikúundiro/* {both} 'charm, loveliness; favor' < */-kúunda/* 'love'  
*/igitéekero/* {Rundi} 'kitchen'<sup>212</sup> < */-téeka/* 'cook'  
*/ikirorero – ibirorero/* {Rwanda} 'vantage point, elevated area from which to view s.t.' < */-roro/* 'observe, view, look at'

### 3.2.4.3. Loans in Group 4

The only loanwords in this group "sound" like they belong in this class, i.e., they begin with syllables such as [ki], [gi], or [bi] and are reinterpreted as if those sounds were a classificatory prefix.

*/ibiro/* {both} 'office, bureau' < French *bureau* [Note plural form with singular meaning]  
*/ibitaro/* {both} 'hospitals, dispensaries' < French *hôpital* [Note plural form can have a singular meaning]  
*/icáayi – ivyáayi/* {Rundi}, */icyáayi – ibyáayi/* {Rwanda} 'tea; tea plant' < Indic *chaay* < Chinese *chaa*  
*/igitabo – ibitabo/* {both} 'book' < Arb *kitab*  
*/ikiníini – ibiníini/* {both} 'quinine, *Quinquina*; pill, medicine tablet < French *quinine*  
*/ikiró – ibiró/* {both} 'kilo' < French *kilo*

### 3.2.4.4. The Grammar of Group 4 Nouns

- This class corresponds with the NEUTER GENDER of English *it* or German *das*.

In Kinyarwanda and Kirundi, this construction is used if there is no clearcut reference to a particular noun class. However, when used in this sense, plural agreement (**bi-**) is more usual than the singular (**ki-**).

*/ni vyiizá/* {Rundi}, */ni byiizá/* {Rwanda} 'That's good.'; 'It's ok!'  
*/nivyó/* {Rundi}, */nibyó/* {Rwanda} 'That's it!'  
*/bizooba vyiizá/* {Rundi}, */bizaaba byiizá/* {Rwanda} 'That would be good!'  
*/ndabiizi/* {both} 'I know it.'  
*/simbiizi/* {Rundi}, */siimbíizi/* {Rwanda} 'I don't know it.'  
*/ni bíte/* {both} 'What's going on?; What happened?'

- When the subject consists of two or more nouns in different classes, *n4-pl* is commonly used.  
*/ibishyíimbo n'ámafí biri mu sahaane/* {Rwanda} 'Beans and fish are in the dish.'
- Group 4 can have ADVERBIAL force.

When a short form of the singular prefix is added to a noun stem, it conveys the qualities specified by that noun. Such constructions appear to be more common in Kinyarwanda than in Kirundi.

*/bibí/* {both} 'badly, poorly, not in a good manner'  
*/kizuúngu/* {both} 'like a white person; in a European way'  
*/cyáana/* {Rwanda} 'childishly, like a child'  
*/gicutí/* {Rwanda} 'in a friendly way or manner'  
*/kigabo/* {both} 'manfully, like a man; [atr] manly, virile' – Rundi is usually */rugabo/* {both}  
*/kigoré/* {both} 'womanly, like a woman; [atr] feminine' – Rundi is usually */rugoré/* {both}

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<sup>212</sup> Rwanda has */itéekero/ n3-sg* 'kitchen' with the same root and derivation, but in a different noun class.



Table 38a. Group 4 Nouns with Consonant Stems

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>iki-</b> <b>igi-</b>	<b>ikiintu</b> thing <b>igikóona</b> crow	<b>ibi-</b>	<b>ibiintu</b> things <b>ibikóona</b> crows
red	<b>ki-</b> <b>gi-</b>	<b>kiintu</b> thing <b>gikóona</b> crow	<b>bi-</b>	<b>biintu</b> things <b>bikóona</b> crows
class	<b>ki-</b>	<b>kírya</b> this	<b>bi-</b>	<b>bírya</b> these
poss	<b>caa</b> {Rundi} <b>cyaa</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ikiiza ca Sidá</b> the AIDS epidemic <b>igisebe cyaa Peetero</b> Peter's wound	<b>vyaa</b> {Rundi} <b>byaa</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ibitaro vyaa mbere</b> the first hospital {Rundi} <b>ibitsíke byaa Peetero</b> Peter's eyebrows {Rwanda}
poss vn poss loc	<b>có</b> {Rundi} <b>cyó</b> {Rwanda}	<b>igituntu co mu mahaha</b> 'tuberculosis of the lungs' <b>igitabo cyo gusoma</b> a book to read	<b>vyó</b> {Rundi} <b>byó</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ibiíndi vyó kugeenzuura</b> other things for observing <b>ibiintu byó muu nzu</b> things (found) in the house
loc	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku gitabo</b> on the book <b>mu gitabo</b> in the book	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku bitabo</b> on the books <b>mu bitabo</b> in the books
obj	<b>-ki-</b> <b>-gi-</b>	<b>ndakíguha</b> I'll give it to you <b>turagisaangira</b> we will share it	<b>-bi-</b>	<b>kubikubaganya</b> to disturb them
adj	<b>ki-</b> <b>gi-</b>	<b>igihúgu kibí</b> bad country <b>ikiintu gikurú</b> big thing	<b>bi-</b>	<b>ibihúgu bibí</b> bad countries <b>ibití bikurú</b> full-grown trees
num	<b>ki-</b>	<b>igitabo kimwé</b> one book	<b>bi-</b>	<b>ibitabo bibiri</b> two books
subj	<b>ki-</b> <b>gi-</b>	<b>kiraménetse</b> it broke <b>igihugu gishobóre</b> a country should be able to	<b>bi-</b>	<b>ibitabo biri ku mézá</b> the books are on the table
part	<b>kí-</b> <b>gí-</b>	<b>kíkiri</b> it still being <b>gíkora</b> it functioning	<b>bí-</b>	<b>bíkiri</b> they still being
rel subj = rel obj	<b>ki-</b> <b>gi-</b>	<b>kibarírwa</b> that is counted <b>giteeyé</b> that provokes	<b>bi-</b>	<b>bisaanzwé</b> that is usual
auto	<b>iki-</b> <b>igi-</b>	<b>ikizíra</b> that which is taboo <b>igikórwa</b> that which is done	<b>ibi-</b>	<b>ibitéerasóni</b> those which cause disgrace
pass agent conj	<b>n'íki-</b> <b>n'ígi-</b>	<b>n'íkireenge</b> by a foot <b>n'ígihúgu</b> and the country	<b>n'íbi-</b>	<b>n'íbihúgu</b> by countries <b>n'íbihúgu</b> and countries

Table 38b. Group 4 Nouns with Vowel Stems

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>ic-</b> <b>icy-</b>	<b>icúuma</b> knife; metal {Rundi} <b>icyúuma</b> knife; metal {Rwanda}	<b>ivy-</b> <b>iby-</b>	<b>ivyúuma</b> knives {Rundi} <b>ibyúuma</b> knives {Rwanda}
red	<b>c-</b> <b>cy-</b>	<b>cúuma</b> knife {Rundi} <b>cyúuma</b> knife {Rwanda}	<b>vy-</b> <b>by-</b>	<b>vyúuma</b> knives {Rundi} <b>byúuma</b> knives {Rwanda}
class	<b>c-</b> <b>cy-</b>	<b>cáa</b> that {Rundi} <b>cyáa</b> that {Rwanda}	<b>vy-</b> <b>by-</b>	<b>vyáa</b> those {Rundi} <b>byáa</b> those {Rwanda}
poss	<b>c-'</b> {Rundi} <b>cy-'</b> {Rwanda}	<b>mu gihe c'amasezerano</b> at the time of the treaties {Rundi} <b>mu gihe cy'úbukoloni</b> during the colonial period {Rwanda}	<b>vy-'V</b>  <b>by-'V</b>	<b>ibitúgu vy'iburyó</b> {Rundi} right shoulders <b>ibiruungo by'ipirawu pilaf</b> spices {Rwanda}
poss vn poss loc	Does not differ from the consonant forms because the vn ( <b>ku-</b> , <b>gu-</b> ) and loc ( <b>mu-</b> and <b>ku-</b> ) prefixes always begin with a consonant, thus <b>cyó mu</b> , <b>có ku</b> , etc.			
loc	<b>ku</b>  <b>mu</b>	<b>ku caámbu</b> {Rundi} <b>ku cyaámbu</b> {Rwanda} at the ford <b>mu caámbu</b> {Rundi} <b>mu cyaámbu</b> {Rwanda} in the ford	<b>ku</b>  <b>mu</b>	<b>ku vyaátsi</b> {Rundi} <b>ku byaátsi</b> {Rwanda} on the grass <b>mu vyaátsi</b> {Rundi} <b>mu byaátsi</b> {Rwanda} in the grass
obj	<b>-c-</b> {Rundi} <b>-cy-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>twacaanditse</b> {Rundi} we recently wrote it <b>ikacyooza néézá</b> {Rwanda} then it washes it well	<b>-vy-</b> {Rundi} <b>-by-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>navyihoze</b> {Rundi} he should be silent about it <b>nabyihorere</b> {Rwanda} he should be silent about it
adj	<b>c-</b> {Rundi} <b>cy-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>icaámbarwa ciizá</b> {Rundi} good clothing <b>igisigo cyiizá</b> {Rwanda} a good poem	<b>vy-</b> {Rundi} <b>by-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ibigániiro vyiizá</b> {Rundi} a good conversation <b>ibyaámbarwa byiizá</b> {Rwanda} good clothing
num	Does not differ from consonant forms because all numeral roots start with a consonant			
subj	<b>c-</b> {Rundi} <b>cy-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>coorohé</b> {Rundi} it should be supple <b>cyoonoona</b> {Rwanda} it (always) damages	<b>vy-</b> {Rundi} <b>by-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ntivyoná</b> they do not cause damages <b>byaaraangira</b> if it could be achieved
part	<b>c-'V</b> {Rundi} <b>cy-'V</b> {Rwanda}	<b>cóonsa</b> {Rundi} <b>cyóonsa</b> {Rwanda} it breast feeding	<b>vy-'V</b> {Rundi} <b>by-'V</b> {Rwanda}	<b>vyóonsa</b> {Rundi} <b>byóonsa</b> {Rwanda} they breast feeding
rel subj = rel obj (not dif- ferent)	<b>c-</b> {Rundi} <b>cy-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>cuuzúye</b> {Rundi} which is full <b>igití cyuummyé</b> {Rwanda} dry stick (piece of wood)	<b>vy-</b> {Rundi} <b>by-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>vyuuzúye</b> {Rundi} which are full <b>ibití byuummyé</b> {Rwanda} dry wood
auto	<b>ic-</b> {Rundi} <b>icy-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>icoómpa</b> {Rundi} I wish that [lit. it would give me] <b>icyaátumara impaká</b> {Rwanda} that which would settle our dispute	<b>ivy-</b> {Rundi} <b>iby-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ivyeérekeye</b> {Rundi} those which are related to <b>ibyuúngaanira</b> {Rwanda} those which supplement
pass agent conj	<b>n'íc-</b> {Rundi} <b>n'icy-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>n'ícaámwa</b> {Rundi} by the fruit <b>n'íicyúuma</b> {Rwanda} and a knife	<b>n'ívy-</b> {Rundi} <b>n'íby-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>n'ívyáámwa</b> {Rundi} by the fruits <b>n'íibyúuma</b> {Rwanda} and knives

### 3.2.5. Group 5 – Bantu Classes 9 and 10

The singular and plural forms of this class are homographic and homophonic. However, the grammar surrounding either in context will clearly reveal the underlying number intended: singulars have **i-** or **y-** agreement forms while plurals have **zi-** or **z-**.

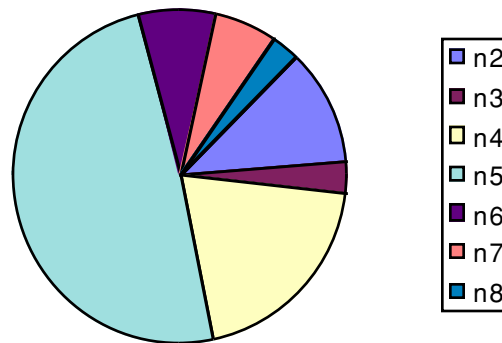
Singular:     **in-** {both} [weak] Bantu class 9 – before non-labial consonant stems  
                   **im-** {both} – before labial consonant stems  
                   **iny-** {both} – before vowels [See Table 39d]  
                   **inz-** {both} – replacing the semivowel **y**  
 Plural:       **in**<sup>-213</sup> {both} [strong] Bantu class 10 – before non-labial consonant stems  
                   **im-** {both} – before labial consonant stems  
                   **iny-** {both} – before vowels [See Table 39d]  
                   **inz-** {both} – replacing the semivowel **y**

#### 3.2.5.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 5

This group consists of both personal and non-personal nouns. Grammarians and textbook authors have generalized that most animal names are in Group 5 (Bantu class 9). Taking the reasonably comprehensive list of animal names in the back of the Kirundi dictionary (Rodegem 1970:630–635), we can see that slightly more than half (51.5%) are indeed in Group 5. The remainder are spread across groups 2 through 8, with the biggest concentrations in Group 4 (almost 20%) and then Group 2 (11.5%).

Figure 2. Distribution of Animal Names in Kirundi

GROUP	n2	n3	n4	n5	n6	n7	n8
FAUNA	11.5	03.5	19.6	51.5	07.7	06.4	02.9



- Names of FAUNA (animals, insects, birds, reptiles, etc.).

*/imbarágasa – imbarágasa/* 'flea, chigger,' *Pullex penetrans*

*/imbeba – imbeba/* {both} 'mouse, rat'

*/imbogó – imbogó/* {both} 'buffalo, *Syncerus caffer*'

*/imbwá – imbwá/* {both} 'dog'

*/indá – indá/* {both} 'louse; [pl] lice'

*/imfyisi – imfyisi/* {Rundi}, */impyisi – impyisi/* {Rwanda} 'jackal, hyena'

*/ingoona – ingoona/* {both} 'crocodile, *Crocodylus niloticus*'

*/ingúha – ingúha/* {both} 'tick, parasite (that attacks cattle)' [Alt: **urugúha** n6]

<sup>213</sup> It is this plural prefix which is irregular and weak. Agreement forms have the prefix **zi-**, which is regular among Bantu languages and strong. See §3.2.6 for a discussion of how **iny-** and **inz-** differ between *n5* and *n6*.

/ingurube – ingurube/ {both} 'pig'  
 /ingwe – ingwe/ {both} 'leopard, *Felis pardus*'  
 /inká – inká/ {both} 'cow'  
 /inkokó – inkokó/ {both} 'chicken, fowl'  
 /inkura – inkura/ {both} 'rhinoceros, *Rhinoceros bicornis*'  
 /imparage – imparage/ {both} 'zebra'  
 /impené – impené/ {Rundi} 'goat' – cf: /ihené/ {Rwanda} n5a-sg  
 /intaama – intaama/ {both} 'sheep'  
 /intáre – intáre/ {both} 'lion, *Felis leo*'  
 /intúuro – intúuro/ {both} 'wild cat'  
 /inzóka – inzóka/ {both} 'snake; worm'  
 /inzovu – inzovu/ {both} 'elephant, *Loxodonta africana*'

- Designations of people implying such extremes as dignity or honor as opposed to disdain or contempt.<sup>214</sup>

/incutí/ {both}, /inshutí/ {Rwanda} 'relative, next of kin; close friend'  
 /imfúra – imfúra/ {both}, /impfúra/ {Rwanda} 'first-born; [ext] nobleman'  
 /impfúnya – impfúnya/ {both} 'runt, person stunted in growth'  
 /inyángamugayo/ {Rwanda} 'blameless person, person with integrity'  
 /inzérerezi/ {both} 'bum, vagabond, aimless wanderer, homeless person'

- Abstract notions such as customs, qualities, faults or feelings.

/imbáragá/ {both} 'strength, power, effect'  
 /ingeso/ {both} 'habit, trait; character; [neg] vice, moral fault'  
 /ingoga/ {both} 'speed, quickness, rapidity; rush'  
 /inzara/ {both} 'hunger, famine, starvation'  
 /inzíiká/ {both} 'resentment, rancor'  
 /inzozí/ {both} 'dream'  
 /ishavú/ {both} 'sadness, sorrow, grief' < /-shávura/ 'be saddened, cross, or cantankerous; grieve'

- Animal or plant products, including foodstuffs.

/imbúto – imbúto/ {Rundi} 'fruit; seed; (young) plant'<sup>215</sup>  
 /impaamba – impaamba/ {both} 'provisions, food for a journey, sustenance'  
 /inguúndu – inguúndu/ {both} 'sprout of plant, offshoot (as off a tree stump); plant (generic)'  
 /inkoni – inkoni/ {both} 'stick, piece of wood'  
 /inkweeto – inkweeto/ {both} 'shoe'  
 /inyama – inyama/ {both} n5a 'meat, flesh'  
 /inzogá – inzogá/ {both} 'beer, alcoholic beverage'

- The HUMAN ECOSYSTEM including household implements, objects of everyday use.

/imvá – imvá/ {both} 'grave, tomb'  
 /ingásiiro – ingásiiro/ {Rundi} (JN), /ingásiire – ingásiire/ {Rwanda} 'millstone, grindstone'  
 /ingoma – ingoma/ {both} 'drum; [ext] regime, reign, kingship'  
 /ingovyí – ingovyí/ {Rundi}, /ingobyi – ingobyi/ {Rwanda} 'hammock'  
 /inkóno – inkóno/ {both} 'pot, cauldron, earthenware pot'  
 /intébe – intébe/ {both} 'seat, chair'  
 /intóorezo – intóorezo/ {both} 'ax, hatchet'  
 /inyuundo – inyuundo/ {both} n5a 'hammer'  
 /inzira – inzira ~ amayira/ 'road, path, street; way'  
 /inzu – inzu ~ amazu/ {both} 'house'

<sup>214</sup> This category includes someone with a physical affliction. Other examples include: /indyaarya/ {both} 'miser; hypocrit,' /indáshimá/ {both} 'ingrate,' /impumyi/ {both} 'blind person' among the verb derivations below.

<sup>215</sup> Rwanda this is /urubúto – imbúto/ n6.

- The natural environment including several meteorological terms.  
*/imvúra/* {both} 'rain' [collective, no plural]  
*/ingwá – ingwá/* {both} 'chalk, white clay; kaolin'  
*/inkubá – inkubá/* {both} 'thunder'  
*/inyaanja – inyaanja/* {both} 'sea, ocean'  
*/inyéyeéri – inyéyeéri/* {Rundi}, */inyéyeerí – inyéyeerí/* {Rwanda} 'star'  
*/isí – amasí/* {both} *n5a* 'land, earth, world'  
*/isóoko – amasóoko/* {both} *n5a* 'spring; fountain; source'
- A few body parts or afflictions.<sup>216</sup>  
*/inda – inda/* {both} 'belly, abdomen'  
*/indurwe – indurwe/* {both} 'bile'  
*/ingiingo – ingiingo/*<sup>217</sup> {both} 'joint, knuckle'  
*/inkókorá – inkókorá/* {both} 'elbow'  
*/inkovú – inkovú/* {both} 'scar, gash'  
*/intóboro – intóboro/* {both} 'pore'  
*/inyoónjo – inyoónjo/* {Rwanda} 'bump, hump'  
*/isepfú – amasepfú/* {Rwanda} 'hiccup'<sup>218</sup>  
*/iseséme – amaseséme/* {both} *n5a* 'nausea'

### 3.2.5.2. Derivations in Group 5

The vast majority of derivations in Group 5 come from verb stems.

- Nouns derived from verbs with **-o** showing the PRODUCT, INSTRUMENT, or a MEANS of doing the action (**iN-Δ-o**) with root tonality [R].  
*/imbyino/* {Rwanda} 'song; dance' < /-byína/ 'dance and sing, exult'<sup>219</sup>  
*/imvúgo/* {both} 'language' < /-vúga/ 'speak'  
*/indiriimbo/* {both} 'anthem, hymn' < /-ririimba/ 'sing'  
*/impéro/* {Rundi} 'finish, end' < /-héra/ 'finish, be at an end'  
*/indahiro/* {both} 'oath, vow' < /-rahira/ 'swear, make an oath'  
*/indero/* {both} 'education' < /-rera/ 'raise, bring up; educate'  
*/indóoto/* {both} 'dream, revelation' < /-róota/ 'dream'  
*/inyandiko/* {both} 'writing' < /-aandika/ 'write'
- Nouns derived from verbs with the suffix **-ano** (**iN-Δ-ano**)<sup>220</sup> with root tonality [R]  
*/impáano/* {both} 'gift (when nothing is expected in return), donation' < /-há/ 'give'  
*/impoongano/* {both} 'bribe; atonement, propitiation' < /-hoonga/ 'atone, make amends'  
*/imvaano/* {Rundi} 'origin, issue, cause, reason' < /-va/ 'leave, exit, come out of'  
*/indagano/* {both} 'promise, vow' < /-raga/ 'promise; bequeath, leave (e.g., in a will)'  
*/inkwáano/* {both} 'pledge made by the family of the groom to that of the bride' < /-kwá/ 'give bridewealth'  
*/inyíbano/* {both} 'stolen item, fenced goods' < /-íiba/ 'steal'
- Nouns derived from verbs with **-a** (**iN-Δ-a**) with varying tonal rules.  
*/intáshimá/* {Rundi} (JN), */indáshimá/* {Rwanda} 'ingrate' < /-ta-/ 'not' + /-shimá/ 'praise; thank'  
 [Note the use of the negative A+P]  
*/indwáara/* {both} 'illness, sickness' < /-rwáara/ 'be sick, feel ill, ache' [R]  
*/indyaarya/* {both} 'miser, skinflint; hypocrit' (one who pretends compassion) < /-ryaarya/ 'be indifferent, frosty; be a hypocrit' [R]  
*/inkórorá/* {both} 'cough, cold' < /-kórorá/ *v-tr* 'cough (up s.t.); have a cold' [R+E]

<sup>216</sup> There are several others among the derivations below, e.g., */indwáara/* {both} 'illness,' */inkórorá/* {both} 'cough,' and */imvuné/* {both} 'dislocation.'

<sup>217</sup> Also */urugiingo – ingiingo/* {both} *n6* 'joint, articulation.'

<sup>218</sup> Rundi has a homonym, */isepfú/ n3-sg*, however note that both have the plural */amasépfu/*.

<sup>219</sup> Rundi has */uruvyino – imvyino/ n6*.

<sup>220</sup> This suffix has nothing to do with the reciprocal augment **-an-**.

- Nouns derived from verbs with **-e (iN-Δ-e)** with P2 tonality.  
*/imbabáre/* {both} 'gravely-ill person; poor or destitute person' < /-**bábara/** 'suffer, be hurt'  
*/imbohé – imbohé/* {both} 'prisoner, (bound) captive' < /-**bóha/** v-tr 'tie, bind'  
*/imvuné – imvuné/* {both} 'dislocation, fracture; sprain' < /-**vúna/** v-tr 'break'  
*/incuúke/* {Rwanda} 'weaned baby' < /-**cúuka/** 'be weaned'
- Nouns derived from perfective, causative, or factitive verbs with **-yi (iN-Δ-yi)**.  
*/imbabázi – imbabázi/* {both} 'forgiveness, pardon, mercy' < /-**bábara/** 'suffer, be hurt, be sad' [P2]  
*/impumyi – impumyi/* {both} 'blind person' < /-**huma/** 'be blind, become blind' [R]  
*/impuunzi/* {both} 'runaway, refugee, deserter' < /-**huunga/** 'flee (from); run away' [R]  
*/inkúrikizi – inkúrikizi/* {both} 'consequence, reaction' < /-**kúrikira/** 'follow, come after' [R]
- Passive nouns derived from verbs with the passive suffix **(iN-Δ-w-a)**.  
*/imfuúngurwa/* {Rundi} 'food, nourishment' < /-**fuungura/** 'eat, have s.t. to eat;' [P2]  
*/imfuúngwa/* {Rwanda} 'prisoner' < /-**fuunga/** v-tr 'close, shut; [ext] lock s.o. up, imprison' [P2]  
*/intumwá/* {both} 'messenger, envoy' < /-**túma/** 'send' [P2, lit. 'one who is sent']

### 3.2.5.3. Loans in Group 5 (See 3.2.5a below)

- /indeége – indeége/* {both} 'airplane' < Swahili
  - /indimú – indimú/* {both} 'lemon, citric fruit' < Swahili
  - /inguvu/* {Rundi}, */ingufú/* {Rwanda} 'strength, vigor; force, energy, power' < Swahili
- Note: the majority of loans receive the simple **i-** prefix (*n5a*) or no prefix at all (*n5b*).

### 3.2.5.4. The Grammar of Group 5 Nouns

Apart from the class prefix and reduced form, the affixes in this table apply to this group as well as its two subgroups, *n5a* and *n5b*.

Table 39a. Group 5 Nouns with Consonant Stems

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>in- im-</b>	<b>indagú</b> prophecy <b>imvá</b> tomb	<b>in- im-</b>	<b>indagú</b> prophecies <b>imvá</b> tombs
red	<b>n- m-</b>	<b>iyi ndagú</b> this prophecy <b>iyi mvá</b> this tomb	<b>n- m-</b>	<b>izi ndagú</b> these prophecies <b>izi mvá</b> these tombs
class	<b>i-</b>	<b>iryá</b> this	<b>zi-</b>	<b>zírya</b> these
poss	<b>ya</b>	<b>incutí ya Peetero</b> Peter's friend	<b>zaa</b>	<b>incutí zaa Peetero</b> Peter's friends
poss vn poss loc	<b>yó</b>	<b>inzu yó mu mugí</b> {Rwanda} a house in the city <b>inzu yo gutambiramwo</b> {Rundi} a house for dancing	<b>zó</b>	<b>inzu zó mu mugí</b> {Rwanda} houses in the city <b>inzu zó gutáambiramwo</b> {Rundi} houses for dancing
loc	<b>kuu muu</b>	<b>kuu máana</b> to God <b>muu náama</b> in a meeting	<b>kuu muu</b>	<b>kuu ntébe</b> on chairs <b>muu ntáará</b> in regions
obj	<b>-yi-</b>	<b>abayíroonka</b> those who get it	<b>-zi-</b>	<b>kuzíha</b> to give to them
adj	<b>n-</b>	<b>inkóno yaawe ntóoyá</b> your small pot	<b>n-</b>	<b>inkóno zaawe ntóoyá</b> your small pots
num	<b>i-</b>	<b>inzovu imwé</b> one elephant	<b>e-</b>	<b>inzovu ebyiri</b> two elephants <b>inzovu zibiri</b> {Rundi alt}
subj	<b>i-</b>	<b>imvúra iraguuye</b> it is raining	<b>zi-</b>	<b>imbwá ziraryá</b> the dogs are eating
part	<b>i-</b>	<b>imvúra igwá</b> the rain falling	<b>zí-</b>	<b>inká zígaanga</b> cows urinating
rel subj	<b>i-</b>	<b>indwáara ikómeye</b> {Rwanda} <b>indwáara ikoméye</b> {Rundi} a serious illness	<b>zi-</b>	<b>ingáruká zikoméye</b> {both} serious consequences

rel obj	<b>i-</b>	<b>kó impumyi izá</b> that the blind man is coming	<b>zi-</b>	<b>kó impumyi ziizá</b> that the blind people are coming
auto	<b>íí-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ítaryaaná</b> {Rwanda} one that does not bite	<b>izi-</b> {both}	<b>izítaryaaná</b> {both} ones that do not bite
Rundi	<b>iyi-</b> {Rundi}	<b>iyiziimvye</b> {Rundi} one that is expensive		<b>iziziimvye</b> {Rundi} ones that are expensive
pass agent conj	<b>n'í(i)-</b>	<b>n'íináama</b> by the council <b>n'ínzara</b> and hunger	<b>n'í(i)-</b>	<b>n'íinká</b> by cows <b>n'íntaama</b> and sheep

Table 39b. Group 5 Nouns with Vowel Stems or /y/

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>iny-</b> <b>inz-</b>	<b>inyíbano</b> stolen item <b>inzogá</b> alcoholic beverage	<b>iny-</b> <b>inz-</b>	<b>inyíbano</b> fenced goods <b>inzogá</b> alcoholic beverages
red	<b>ny-</b> <b>nz-</b>	<b>iyi nyíbano</b> this stolen item <b>iyi nzogá</b> this beer	<b>ny-</b> <b>nz-</b>	<b>izi nyíbano</b> these fenced goods <b>izi nzogá</b> these beers
class	<b>y-</b>	<b>yáa</b> that	<b>z-</b>	<b>záa</b> those
poss	<b>y'</b>	<b>inkóno y'ítaábi</b> tobacco pipe	<b>z'</b>	<b>inshutí z'ámagará</b> inseparable friends
poss vn poss loc	Does not differ from the consonant forms because the vn ( <b>ku-</b> , <b>gu-</b> ) and loc ( <b>mu-</b> and <b>ku-</b> ) prefixes always begin with a consonant, thus <b>yó mu</b> , <b>zó ku</b> , etc.			
loc	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>kuu nzira</b> by the road <b>muu nzira</b> on the road	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>kuu nzogá</b> from the beers <b>muu nzogá</b> into the beers
obj	<b>-y-</b>	<b>nayaanditse</b> I wrote it	<b>-z-</b>	<b>bakaziiteera</b> then they are implanted with them
adj	<b>ny-</b> <b>nz-</b>	<b>inyama nyinshi</b> a lot of meat <b>inká nziizá</b> a beautiful cow	<b>ny-</b> <b>nz-</b>	<b>inká nyiinshi</b> a lot of cows <b>inká nziizá</b> beautiful cows
num	Does not differ from consonant forms because all numeral roots start with a consonant			
subj	<b>y -</b>	<b>imbwá yaasaze</b> the dog went mad	<b>z -</b>	<b>imbwá zaasaze</b> the dogs went mad
part	<b>y -</b>	<b>indwáara yáandukira</b> a disease being contagious	<b>z -</b>	<b>indwáara záandukira</b> diseases being contagious
rel subj (not different)	<b>y -</b>	<b>inzu yuuzúye</b> {both} a recently completed house [no special form in Rwanda]	<b>z -</b>	<b>inzu zuuzúye</b> {both} recently completed houses
rel obj	<b>y -</b>	<b>ko indwáara yaandúkira</b> that a disease is contagious	<b>z -</b>	<b>ko indwáara zaandúkira</b> that diseases are contagious
auto	<b>iy-</b>	<b>iyaándukira</b> that which is contagious	<b>iz-</b>	<b>izaándukira</b> those which are contagious
pass agent conj	<b>n'í(i)-</b>	<b>n'íinyáangamugayo</b> by a person with integrity <b>n'ínzogá</b> and a beer	<b>n'í(i)-</b>	<b>n'íinyáangamugayo</b> by people with integrity <b>n'ínyígiisho</b> and lessons

## 3.2.5a. Group 5a – No Nasal in the Prefix

The first subgroup has the simple singular prefix **i-** (rather than **in-**). Most often the plural is irregular (**ama-** from group 3). The following kinds of words are found in this subclass.

- Roots that begin with a nasal [**m**, **n**] or a fricative [**f**, **s**, **sh**, **h**].
  - /ifí – amafí/ {both} 'fish' [irreg 5-3]
  - /ifu – amafu/ {both} 'flour; powder' [irreg 5-3]
  - /ihené – amahené/ {Rwanda} 'she-goat, jennie' [irreg 5-3; cf: Rundi /impené/]
  - /imáana/ {both} 'God; Lord'
  - /ináama – ináama or amanáama/ {both} 'meeting'
  - /inumá – inumá/ {both} 'turtle dove, pigeon,' *Columba arquatrix*, *C. guinea*
  - /inyamáaswa – inyamáaswa/ {both} 'animal (quadruped, game)'
  - /inyána – inyána/ {both} 'calf'

## Chapter 3: Nouns

/inyoni – inyoni/ {both} 'bird'  
 /inyóota/ {both} 'thirst' [no plural]  
 /isaazi – isaazi/ {both} 'fly'  
 /ishá – amashá {both} 'gazelle'

- Many loanwords including those that do not follow the phonological rules for **iN-**.  
 /ibáhashá – amabáhashá/ {both} 'envelope'  
 /ibaáŋki – ibaáŋki or amabaáŋki/ {both} 'bank (financial institution)' < French *banque* or English *bank*  
 /ibáruwá – amabáruwá/ {Rwanda} 'letter, writing; Scripture' < Swahili  
 /iboombo – amaboombo/ {both} 'faucet, tap, pump-well (source of flowing water)' < Swahili  
 /ikaanzu – amakaanzu/ {both} 'dress (clothing)' < Swahili  
 /ikáraamu – amakáraamu/ {Rundi}, /ikáramú – amakáramú/ {Rwanda} 'pencil' < Swahili *kalamu* < Arb  
 /ikaravaáti – amakaravaáti/ {both} 'necktie, tie' < French *cravate*  
 /ikawá/ {Rundi}, /ikáawá/ {Rwanda} 'coffee; coffee plant' < Arb  
 /imódoká – amamódoká/ {both} 'car, automobile' < English *motorcar*  
 /inoóti – inoóti/ {both} 'bill, cash, banknote' < English, French *note*  
 /isahá/ {Rundi}, /isáahá/ {Rwanda} 'hour' < {Arb}  
 /isaháane – amasaháane/ {Rundi}, /isahaane – amasahaane/ {Rwanda} 'plate, dish' < Swahili < Arb  
 /isábuné/ {both} 'soap' < Swahili < Arb  
 /ishuúre – amashuúre/ {Rundi}, /ishuúri – amashuúri/ {Rwanda} 'school' < German *Schule*  
 /isokó/ {both} 'market' < Swahili < Arb

**Table 39c. Group 5a and 5b Nouns (Consonant Stems Only)**

function	singular	example	plural	example
n5a	<b>i-</b>	<b>ipaataro</b> pair of pants	[n3-pl]	<b>amapaataro</b> pants
n5b	<b>Ø-</b>	<b>kajúgujúgu</b> helicopter	<b>zaa-</b>	<b>zaa kajúgujúgu</b> helicopters
red	<b>Ø-</b> <b>Ø-</b>	<b>iyi paataro</b> this pair of pants <b>iyi kajúgujúgu</b> this helicopter	[n3-pl] <b>zaa-</b>	<b>aya mapaataro</b> these pants <b>izi zaa kajúgujúgu</b> these helicopters
loc	<b>kw'</b> <b>mw'</b>	<b>kwiisí</b> on the earth <b>mwipaataro</b> in the pants	<b>ku</b> [n3-pl] <b>mu</b> [n3-pl]	<b>ku makaravaáti</b> on the neckties <b>mu mapaataro</b> among the pants

### 3.2.5b. Group 5b – Singular Zero (Ø-) Prefix, Plural zaa-

This second subgroup has no prefix (Ø- ZERO) in the singular. Most often the plural is **zaa-**. The following kinds of words are found in this subclass. Note that several seem to have reduced prefixes from other classes, e.g., **mu-** n1, **ru-** n6, **ka-** or **ga-** n7, but the grammatical concord is strictly with group 5.

- Truncated nouns, some of which are derived from other classes.  
 /gacaáca/ {Rwanda} 'gathering of elders to settle a dispute amicably or to reconcile people, an informal system of adjudication; the place where such people gather'  
 /kajúgujúgu – zaa kajugujugu/ {both} 'helicopter'  
 /kameré/ {both} 'nature, natural state; character'  
 /mugiga – zaa mugiga/ {both} 'meningitis'  
 /rutásuumbwá/ {Rundi} 'the Most High'
- Geographic names (proper nouns that name places, rivers, mountains, etc.).  
 /afuriká/ {both} 'Africa' < intl  
 /kaanzeenze/ {Rwanda} (commune in the prefecture of Kigali-Ngali in Rwanda)  
 /ngoozi/ {Rundi} (province in northern Burundi; also a city)  
 /nyamiraambo/ {Rwanda} (district in Kigali City)  
 /sabyiinyo/ {Rwanda} (volcano located in the northwest of Rwanda; lit. 'Old Man's Teeth')



- A broad range of unaffixed loanwords.  
 /baánki – zaa baánki/ {both} 'bank' < French *banque*  
 /filími – zaa filími/ {both} 'movie, film' < French *film*  
 /gaári – zaa gaári/ {both} 'vehicle, engine' < Swahili *gari*  
 /káaburiimbo/ {both} 'asphalt, tarmac' < Swahili  
 /komiíne/ {both} 'commune' < French *commune* – Pl: /amakomiíne/ *n3*  
 /leeta – zaa leeta/ {both} 'government' < French *l'Etat*  
 /risaánsi/ {both} 'distilled fuel (gasoline, diesel, petrol)' < French *l'essence*  
 /raadiyó – zaa raadiyó/ {Rwanda} 'radio' < English, French, intl *radio*  
 /saa mooyá/ {both} 'seven o'clock (7 a.m. or p.m.)' < Swahili  
 /sukaári/ {both} 'sugar' < Arb

### 3.2.6. Group 6 – Bantu Classes 11 and 10

- Singular: **uru-** {both} [strong] Bantu class 11 – before consonant stems  
**urw-** {both} – before vowel stems
- Plural: **in-** {both} [strong] Bantu class 10 – before non-labial consonant stems  
**im-** {both} – before labial consonant stems and those beginning with /h/<sup>221</sup>  
**i-** {both} – before roots beginning with **ny-**  
**inz-** {both} – before vowels or replacing the semivowel **y**

Researchers writing on this topic have said that the plural of singular **uru-** nouns (class 11) is the same as that of singular **in-** nouns (class 9), calling them all class 10.<sup>222</sup> While both groups have an overlap in affixes for consonant-initial stems (**in-**, **im-**, **i-**, **inz-**), there is a clearcut difference in formation when vowel roots are involved – for group 5 the prefix is **iny-** whereas for group 6 it is **inz-**.

Table 39d. Group 5 and Group 6 Vowel Root Forms

vowel	root	group 5 [sg / pl]	root / primary form	group 6 [pl]
a	/–aandika/ write /–aanduruka/ come from {Rundi}	/inyandiko/ writing /inyanduruko/ motive, cause, origin {both}	/–aandika/ write /urwáamo/ uproar	/inzaandiko/ letters /inzáamo/ uproars
e	/–éegama/ lean /–eenga/ brew	/inyégamo/ partition /inyeengo/ brewing	/–éegeka/ prop s.t. up, support	/inzeéga/ apiaries /inzéego/ ladders, trellises
i	/–íiba/ steal /–íigiisha/ teach	/inyíbano/ stolen item /inyíigiisho/ teaching	/–íitwaaza/ excuse /–iibutsa/ remind	/inziitwaazo/ excuses /inziibutso/ souvenirs
o	/–oongeera/ add, " increase	/inyóngeerá/ surplus /inyongezo/ increase	/urwoobo/ pit /urwoóndo/ mud	/inzoobo/ pits /inzoóndo/ muds; mortars
u	/–uunguka/ gain /–úumva/ hear	/inyungú/ profit /inyúmviro/ {Ru} ear- /inyúmviro/ {Rw} drum	/uruugi/ door /urúuzi/ river	/inzuugi/ doors /inzúuzi/ rivers

#### 3.2.6.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 6

This group encompasses mostly non-human nouns; only very few derived forms refer to humans. A number of associated meanings have been discussed or can be determined for this class.

- Among Bantu languages this group traditionally denotes long or high items.  
 /urubáahó – imbáahó/ {both} 'plank, board, slate'  
 /urubaambo – imaambo/ {both} 'peg, stake, large nail'  
 /urubavu – imbavu/ {both} 'rib'  
 /urudódo – indódo/ {both} 'wire; thread (for sewing)'  
 /uruge – inge/ {both} 'bowstring'

<sup>221</sup> For the change of /h/ to [p], MURMURING, see §2.5.3.

<sup>222</sup> Thus our group 5 herein is treated as class 9–10 while our group 6 is treated as class 11–10.

/uruugi – inzuugi/ {both} 'door'  
 /urugó – ingó/ {both} 'fence, stockade; yard (fenced part of land), enclosure; coral, kraal'  
 /uruhiindu – impiindu/ {both} 'needle used for weaving (in basket-work)'  
 /urura – amara/ {both} 'intestine'  
 /urutí – intí/ {both} 'shaft (e.g. of a spear)'

- Membership of some items in this group is striking and would appear on the basis of their meaning to belong in another.<sup>223</sup>

/uruhinja – impiinja/ {both} 'infant, newborn baby' [one might expect *n1*, human, or *n7*, diminutive]  
 /urúuzi – inzúuzi/ {both} 'river (major)' [one might expect *n2* as is /umugezi/ 'river (minor)']  
 /urugáryi/ 'summer' [cf: /umuhiindo/ *n2* 'spring'; /icí/ {Rundi}, /icyí/ {Rwanda} *n3* 'winter' and /itúumbá/ *n3* {both} 'autumn']

- A few items in either nature or the human ecosystem, including some that are manufactured.

/urubíbi – imbíbi/ {Rwanda} 'limit; border'  
 /urucaáca/ {both} 'lawn'  
 /uruhaánde – impaánde/ 'side, flank, part'  
 /urunyeyeerí – inyenyeerí/ {Rundi} 'star, planet, comet, celestial body'<sup>224</sup>  
 /urusakú – insakú/ {both} 'noise, din, row' [Cf: /-sákuza/ {both} 'yell, scream, shout, make noise']  
 /urwoobo – inzoobo/ {both} 'hole'  
 /urwoóndo – inzoóndo/ {both} 'mud; mortar'  
 /urugorí – ingorí/ {both} crown (R22, R36.8)  
 /urumuri – imuri/ {both} 'torch, firebrand'  
 /urunigí – inigí/ {both} 'pearl necklace'  
 /urusíiká – insíiká/ {both} 'partition, barrier, wall'  
 /urwaávyá – inzaávyá/ {Rundi}, /urwaábya – inzaábya/ {Rwanda} 'butter pot'

- Some body parts.<sup>225</sup>

/urubóori – imbóori/ {Rwanda} 'stinger of a bee'  
 /urugóhe – ingóhe/ {both} 'eyelash; eyelid'  
 /uruhaánga/ {both} 'forehead'  
 /uruhára/ {both} 'bald spot; baldness' – /uruhará/ {Rundi dialect alt}  
 /uruhú – impú/ {both} 'skin' [Alt: /urusáato/ {Rundi}]  
 /ururími – indími/ {both} 'tongue; language'  
 /urushí – ir amashí/ {Rundi}, /urushyí – amashyí/ {Rwanda} 'palm' (of the hand)  
 /urutoke – intoke/ {both}, /urutoki – intoki/ {both} 'finger'  
 /urutúgu – intúgu/ {Rwanda} 'shoulder'  
 /urwáara – inzáara/ {both} 'nail' (of the finger or toe)  
 /urwoóya/ {both} 'wool, fur, body hair'

- A few flora (plants) and their products. [Note: most plant names are in group 2.]

/imbágará/ {Rundi}, /imbágara/ {Rwanda} 'weeds' [Note: singular is very rare]  
 /urubiingo – imbiingo/ {both} 'reed'  
 /urubobi – imbobi/ {both} 'moss'  
 /urubogá – imbogá/ {both} 'leafy vegetable'  
 /urubúto – imbúto/ {Rwanda} 'fruit; seed'<sup>226</sup>  
 /uruuho – inzuuho/ {both} 'gourd'  
 /urukíindo – inkíindo/ {both} 'palm rod; switch made of palm ribs'  
 /urukwí – inkwí/ {both} 'firewood'

<sup>223</sup> Some author's remarks in this regard are downright humorous. For example, "a potpourri of renegade nouns which, according to their implications, should have been allocated to some other class" (Hands 1952:64) or "names of manufactured objects or of objects which in general indicate a certain order or uniformity that pleases the eye" (Hurel 1959:107).

<sup>224</sup> Both dialects have an alternate in *n5-sg/pl* /inyenyeerí/ {Rundi} and /inyenyeerí/ {Rwanda}.

<sup>225</sup> See also /urubavu/ 'rib' and /urura/ 'intestine' among {long} objects ABOVE.

<sup>226</sup> Rundi has /imbúto – imbúto/ *n5*.

/urumogi/ {both} 'hemp (plant),' *Cannabis sativa*; 'marijuana, hashish'  
 /ururábyo – indábyo/ {Rwanda} 'flower'  
 /ururó – ir uburó/ {both} 'millet'  
 /uruyúzi – inzúzi/ {both} 'gourd seed'

- A few fauna (animals, insects). [Note: most fauna are in group 5.]  
 /urugúha – ingúha/ {both} 'tick, parasite that attacks cattle' [Alt: **ingúha** n5]  
 /urukwáavu – inkwáavu/ {both} 'rabbit, hare'  
 /urutózi – intózi/ {both} 'red ant, *Dorylus wilwerthi*'  
 /uruyúki – inzúki/ {both} 'bee'  
 /uruzige – inzige/ {both} 'locust, grasshopper'  
 /uruzirámire/ {both} 'python'  
 /urwuúmvu – inzuúmvu/ {Rwanda} 'chameleon'

### 3.2.6.2. Derivations in Group 6

Besides containing nouns derived from verbs as in most other classes, group 6 is similar to group 4 in that there are nouns from other groups which acquire a variety of different meanings.<sup>227</sup>

- Pejorative and augmentative meanings.<sup>228</sup>  
 /urugabo/ {both} 'hunk, big man, sturdily built man; [atr] brave, virile' [cf: /**umugabo**/ n1 'man, adult male; husband,' /**ikigabo**/ n4 'hulk, solidly big man; clumsy man; rebellious hunk']  
 /urugaanza/ {both} 'big ugly hand' [cf: /**ikigaanza**/ n4 'hand, wrist']  
 /uruhoro/ {both} 'big unwieldy knife' [cf: /**umuhoro**/ n2 'scythe, pruning hook, pruning knife']  
 /uruuntu/ {both} 'huge thing, s.t. massive' [cf: /**ikiintu**/ n4 'thing,' /**akaantu**/ n7 'trifle, small thing']
- Groves, orchards, or plantations of trees and plants in other classes.  
 /urufúunzo – imfúunzo/ {both} 'papyrus marsh' [cf: /**imfúunzo**/ {Rundi} n5, /**umufúunzo**/ {Rwanda} n2 'papyrus']  
 /urugano/ {Rwanda} 'bamboo forest' [cf: /**umugano**/ 'bamboo']  
 /urusáavé/ {Rwanda} 'misave tree plantation' [cf: /**umusáavé**/ 'tree sp.,' *Markhamia platycalyx*, *M. lutea-spathodea nilotica*]  
 /urutooke/ {both} 'banana plantation' [cf: /**igitooke**/ 'bunch of bananas,' /**agatooke**/ 'small bunch of bananas']
- Abstract nouns derived by REDUPLICATION from nouns in other groups (see §2.5.17).  
 /uruunturuuntu/ {both} 'human scent' [cf: /**umuuntu**/ n1 'person, human being']  
 /urunwaarunwa/ {Rwanda} 'indiscretion, inability to keep a confidence, being a big mouth or blabbermouth' [cf: /**umunwa**/ n2 'mouth']
- Nouns derived from verbs with the suffix **-o** form a kind of echo noun denoting an instrument used in an action or the result of performing such an action (**uru-Δ-o**).  
 /urubóho – imbóho/ {both} 'package' < /-**bóha**/ 'tie, bind'  
 /urudódo – indódo/ {both} 'thread (for sewing)' < /-**dóda**/ 'sew'  
 /urugeendo – ingeendo/ {both} 'journey, trip, voyage' < /-**geenda**/ 'go, leave, depart; move along, walk'  
 /urugero – ingero/ {both} 'measure, pattern, example' < /-**gera**/ 'measure'  
 /urukúundo/ {both} 'love' < /-**kúunda**/ 'love'  
 /ururásaago/ {both} 'incision; scarification' < /-**rásaaga**/ 'incise; scarify; [ext] inject, vaccinate'  
 /ururírimbo/ {both} 'song, chant' < /-**rírimba**/ 'sing'  
 /urusókozo/ {both} 'comb' < /-**sókoza**/ 'comb (the hair)'  
 /urusyo – insyo/ {both} 'grindstone; grinder' < /-**sya**/ 'grind'  
 /urwáango/ {Rwanda} 'hate, hatred' < /-**áanga**/ 'dislike, hate; reject, refuse'

<sup>227</sup> Dubnova also speaks of a lexical group "the so-called nouns of segregation (i.e., 'one of many')" (1984:40), but does not give any examples.

<sup>228</sup> See Dubnova 1984:40 and Kimenyi 1980:4.

/urwáanko/ {Rundi} 'hate, hatred' < /-áanka/ 'dislike, hate; reject, refuse'  
/uruvyíno – imvyíno/ {Rundi} 'song (and dance)' < /-vyína/ 'dance (and sing), exult'<sup>229</sup>  
/urwaandiko – inzaandiko/ {both} 'writing; letter' < /-aandika/ 'write'  
/urwiitwaazo – inziitwaazo/ {both} 'excuse, pretext' < /-íitwaaza/ 'carry s.t. with oneself; do s.t. under some pretext'<sup>230</sup>

- Nouns derived from verbs with the suffix **-i (uru-Δ-i)**.  
/uruhigi – impigi/ {Rundi} 'amulet, talisman' < /-higa/ 'show valor or bravery; bet, take a chance'<sup>231</sup> [P2]  
/urukuúmbuzi/ {Rwanda} 'memory, remembrance' < /-kumbuza/ 'cause s.o. to have nostalgia'<sup>232</sup> [P2]  
/urunigi – inigi/ {both} 'pearl necklace' < /-niga/ 'choke, strangle, seize one's neck'<sup>233</sup> [P2]  
/uruugi – inzuugi/ {both} 'door' < /-ugara/ 'shut, close (as a door)' [R]  
/urusaangi/ {Rundi} 'common property, goods possessed in common; [atr] common, general' [P2]
- Nouns derived from verbs with the suffix **-e (uru-Δ-e)** with P2 tonality.  
/urusaange/ {Rwanda} 'common property, goods possessed in common; [atr] common, general, collective'  
/uruhuunge/ {Rundi} 'outsiders, immigrants, refugees' [col] < /-huunga/ 'flee, run away'  
/urutoónde – intoónde/ {both} 'row, line; rank, class' < /-tóonda/ 'line up, form a row'  
/uruvaange/ {both} 'conglomeration, mixture' < /-váanga/ 'mix'
- Nouns derived from verbs with the suffix **-a (uru-Δ-a)**.  
/urujá n'úruúza/ {Rundi} (JN), /urujoyá n'úruúza/ {Rwanda} 'comings and goings'  
/urubaanza – imaanza/ {both} 'dispute, trial, litigation, lawsuit; custom, ritual' < /-baanza/ 'begin (a series of actions), commence'
- Nouns with the suffix **-o** derived from benefactive verbs (**uru-Δ-er/ir-o**).  
/uruseengero – inseengero/ {both} 'church (building); temple' < /-seenga/ 'worship'  
/urugaaniiro – ingaaniiro/ {Rwanda} 'parlor, living room' < /-gaaniira/ 'chat together, converse'
- Nouns derived from verbs (**uru-Δ-u**) {rare}.<sup>234</sup>  
/urupfú/ 'death' < /-pfá/ 'die'

### 3.2.6.3. Loans in Group 6

/urubáahó – imbáahó/ 'board, plank, beam, slate' < Swahili  
/urunyáanyá – inyáanyá/ {both} 'tomato,' *Lycopersicon esculentum* < Swahili  
/urupaapuro – impaapuro/ {Rundi}, /urupapuru – impapuru/ {Rwanda} 'paper' < French *le papier*

### 3.2.6.4. The Grammar of Group 6 Nouns

- Group 6 singular nouns can be used as ADVERBS OF MANNER.

When a short form of the singular prefix **ru-** is added to a noun stem from group 1, it conveys the attribute associated with that noun. Such constructions seem to be more common in Kirundi than in Kinyarwanda (which uses group 4 in this way, see §3.2.4.4).

/rugabo/ {both} 'manfully, bravely, forcefully, gallantly' [cf: /umugabo/ 'man, adult male']  
/rugoré/ {Rundi} 'like a woman' [cf: /umugoré/ 'woman, adult female']

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<sup>229</sup> Rwanda has /imbyíno – imbyíno/ *n5*.

<sup>230</sup> This example brings up the possibility that some nouns are derived from the perfect or causative form of verbs (i.e., **uru-Δ-y-o**), such as /urufuunguuzo – imfuunguuzo/ {both} 'key' < /-fuunguura/ 'open.' Perhaps such nouns derive directly from the causative or instrumental form of the verb, e.g., /-fuunguuzo/ 'use s.t. to open s.t.'

<sup>231</sup> Rwanda has /impigi/ *n5* with the same meaning and from the same verb root.

<sup>232</sup> Derived from the causative of /-kúumbura/ {both} 'desire to go back, have nostalgia, be wistful.'

<sup>233</sup> For a similar verb-noun meaning pair in English reflect on the word *choker* meaning 'necklace.'

<sup>234</sup> Some nouns appear to have this shape, but actually result from truncation (§2.5.15), e.g., /urusakú/ {both} 'noise, din' < /-sákuza/ 'yell, shout, make noise' or /urukebú/ {Rwanda} 'stiff neck' < /-kébuka/ 'look back.'

/ruuntu/ {both} 'humanely, politely' [cf: /umuuntu/ 'person, human being']

/rwáana/ {Rundi} 'childishly, like a child' [cf: /umwáana/ 'child, infant' – Rwanda /cyáana/]

Table 40a. Group 6 Nouns with Consonant Stems

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>uru-</b>	<b>urutoki</b> finger <b>urufuunguuzo</b> key	<b>in-</b> <b>im-</b>	<b>intoki</b> fingers <b>imfuunguuzo</b> keys
red	<b>ru-</b>	<b>uru rutoki</b> this finger <b>uru rufuunguuzo</b> this key	<b>n-</b> <b>m-</b>	<b>izi ntoki</b> these fingers <b>izi mfuunguuzo</b> these keys
class	<b>ru-</b>	<b>rúrya ruyúki</b> that bee	<b>zi-</b>	<b>zírya nzúki</b> those bees
poss	<b>rwaa</b>	<b>urupfú rwaa Peetero</b> Peter's death	<b>zaa</b>	<b>impíinja zaa Peetero</b> Peter's infants
poss vn poss loc	<b>rwó</b>	<b>urufuunguuzo rwó gu-</b> <b>fuunguura</b> key for opening	<b>zó</b>	<b>inkwí zó gutéekesha</b> firewood for cooking
loc	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b> <b>i</b>	<b>ku rúuzi</b> on the river <b>mu rukiiko</b> in court <b>iruhaánde</b> aside	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b> n/a	<b>ku ntúgu</b> on shoulders <b>muu nseengero</b> in churches
obj	<b>-ru-</b>	<b>ndarubiika</b> I'm putting it aside	<b>-zi-</b>	<b>ukazisya</b> then you grind them
adj	<b>ru-</b>	<b>urugeendo rureerure</b> a long trip	<b>n-</b>	<b>inzúuzi ndeende</b> long rivers
num	<b>ru-</b>	<b>uruyúki rumwé</b> one bee	<b>e-</b> <b>zi-</b>	<b>indími enyé</b> four languages <b>indími ziné</b> {Rundi alt}
subj	<b>ru-</b>	<b>ntíruruhije</b> it is not difficult	<b>zi-</b>	<b>ntíziruhije</b> they are not difficult
part	<b>rú-</b>	<b>rúkomeye</b> (lawsuit) it being difficult	<b>zí-</b>	<b>zíkomeye</b> (lawsuits) they being difficult
rel subj = rel obj	<b>ru-</b>	<b>ruraangíza</b> that completes [no special form in Rwanda]	<b>zi-</b>	<b>ziraangíza</b> that complete
auto {both}	<b>uru-</b>	<b>urugúkwiye</b> the ( <b>uruhú</b> animal skin) that befits you	<b>izi-</b>	<b>izigúkwiye</b> the ones ( <b>impú</b> animal skins) that befit you
pass agent conj	<b>n'úru-</b>	<b>n'úrufú</b> by a death <b>n'úrukúundo</b> and love	<b>n'ín-</b> <b>n'ím-</b>	<b>n'úinkwáavu</b> by rabbits <b>n'úimbavu</b> and ribs

Table 40b. Group 6 Nouns with Vowel Stems (See also Table 39d)

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>urw-</b>	<b>urwáara</b> fingernail <b>urwéego</b> prop, ladder <b>urwiibutso</b> reminder <b>urwuuri</b> pasture	<b>inz-</b>	<b>inzáara</b> fingernails <b>inzéego</b> props, ladders <b>inziibutso</b> reminders <b>inzuuri</b> pastures
red	<b>rw-</b>	<b>uru rwuuri</b> this pasture	<b>nz-</b>	<b>izi nzuuri</b> these pastures
class	<b>rw-</b>	<b>rwáa</b> that	<b>z-</b>	<b>záa</b> those
poss	<b>rw'V</b>	<b>urufuunguuzo rw'inzu</b> the key of the house	<b>z'V</b>	<b>inzuugi z'amazu</b> the doors of the houses
poss vn poss loc	Does not differ from the consonant forms because the vn ( <b>ku-</b> , <b>gu-</b> ) and loc ( <b>mu-</b> and <b>ku-</b> ) prefixes always begin with a consonant, thus <b>rwó mu</b> , <b>zó ku</b> , etc.			
loc	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku rwéego</b> on the ladder <b>mu rwáara</b> in the fingernail	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku nzéego</b> on the ladders <b>muu nzéego zóose</b> in all echelons
obj	<b>-rw-</b>	<b>murwiíce</b> you should kill it (rabbit)	<b>-z-</b>	<b>muziíce</b> you should kill them (locusts)
adj	<b>rw-</b>	<b>urusíká rwiizá</b> a nice partition	<b>nz-</b>	<b>intoki nziizá</b> nice fingers
num	Does not differ from consonant forms because all numeral roots start with a consonant			

## Chapter 3: Nouns

subj	<b>rw-</b>	<b>rwaákize ejó</b> it healed yesterday	<b>z-</b>	<b>zaákize kéera</b> they healed long ago
part	<b>rw-</b>	<b>rwéegamye</b> (ladder) it leaning against	<b>z-</b>	<b>zéegamye</b> (ladders) they leaning against
rel subj = rel obj	<b>rw-</b>	<b>urudódo rweerá</b> a white thread	<b>z-</b>	<b>zaáraangwa</b> (lawsuits) that were characterized
auto	<b>urw-</b>	<b>urweégamye</b> the one which leans against	<b>iz-</b>	<b>izeégamye</b> the ones which lean against
pass agent conj	<b>n'úrw-</b>	<b>n'úrwiibutso</b> by a reminder <b>n'úrwuuri</b> also pasture	<b>n'ínz-</b>	<b>n'íinzúki</b> by bees <b>n'íinziibutso</b> and reminders

### 3.2.7. Group 7 – Bantu Classes 12 and 13

Singular: **aka-** {both} [strong] Bantu group 12 – before voiced consonant stems

**aga-** {both} – before voiceless consonant stems

**ak-** {both} – before vowel stems

Plural: **utu-** {both} [strong] Bantu group 13 – before voiced consonant stems

**udu-** {both} – before voiceless consonant stems

**utw-** {both} – before vowel stems

#### 3.2.7.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 7

There are just a few nouns found exclusively in this group because this is primarily a DERIVATIONAL CLASS, i.e., nouns of other classes generally acquire a DIMINUTIVE meaning when given these affixes. The following nouns do not imply any such meaning and are therefore genuine members of this group.

/agacúramá – uducúramá/ {Rwanda} 'bat, flying fox' [cf: /-cúrama/ {both} 'be upside down']

/agacíiro/ {both} 'utility, value, importance' [cf: /igícíiro – ibícíiro/ {both} n4 'price, value, cost; fare']

/agahiinda – uduhiinda/ {both} 'sorrow, sadness, grief; worry, concern' [cf: /ihiinda – amahiinda/ n3 {Rundi} 'anxiety, preoccupation, worry, grief']

/agahúundwé/ {Rundi} 'perplexity, confusion, bewilderment'

/agasámunyíga/ {Rwanda} 'skunk'

/akaáneezá/ {Rundi} 'happiness, gladness' [cf: /-néeza/ {Rwanda} 'please, gladden, make s.o. happy']

- A few body parts belong here, which can perhaps be perceived of as small, and which do not have counterparts in other noun groups.

/agahéra – uduhéra/ {both} 'little finger'

/agatsíinsiino – udutsíinsiino/ {Rwanda} 'heel' [cf: /igitsíinsiino/ 'large heel']

/akáanaanwá – utwáanaanwá/ {Rwanda} 'chin'

/akanigo – utunigo/ {Rundi} 'neck; throat' [cf: /-niga/ {both} 'choke, strangle, seize one's neck']

/akanwa – utunwa/ {both} 'mouth' [Alt: /umunwa/ {both} 'mouth; lip; beak']

#### 3.2.7.2. Derivations in Group 7

- It imparts a DIMINUTIVE meaning involving something smaller in size, relationship, or degree to a correlate noun in another class; this is extremely productive, yielding hundreds of such nouns.

/agacúma – uducúma/ {Rundi} < /agacumá – uducumá/ {Rwanda} 'small squash' [cf: /igicumá/ {Rwanda} n4 'squash, gourd, *Lagenaria vulgaris*']

/agacutí – uducutí/ {both} 'distant relative; friend' [cf: /incutí/ {both} n5 'close relative, intimate friend']

/agahéke – uduhéke/ {both} 'grain (e.g. of sand), granule' [cf: /impéke/ {both} n5 'grain (of cereal crop)']

/agahené – uduhené/ {both} 'small she-goat, little jennie' [cf: /impené/ {Rundi}, /ihené/ {Rwanda} n5 'jennie goat']

/agakoóbwa/ {both} 'little girl' [cf: /umukoóbwa/ {both} n1 'girl, daughter']

/agakóokó – udukóokó/ {both} 'insect, bug' [cf: /igikóokó/ {both} n4 'wild animal, savage beast']

/agatabo – udutabo/ {both} 'booklet, pamphlet' [cf: /igitabo/ {both} 'book']

/agatébe – udutébe/ {both} 'stool, small chair' [cf: /intébe/ {both} n5 'seat, chair']  
 /agatí – udutí/ {both} 'shrub, bush; twig' [cf: /igiti/ {both} n4 'tree; piece of wood']  
 /akabáandé – utubáandé/ {both} 'dale, small valley' [cf: /umubáandé/ {both} n2 'valley']  
 /akabuye – utubuye/ {both} 'pebble, small stone' [cf: /ibuye/ {both} n3 'rock, stone']  
 /akaguru – utuguru/ {both} 'small leg; part of one's leg' [cf: /ukuguru/ {both} n9 'leg']  
 /akagozí – utugozí/ {both} 'thread' [cf: /umugozí/ {both} 'string, rope, cord']  
 /akáana – utwáana/ {both} 'small child, little one' [cf: /umwáana/ {both} 'child']  
 /akaantu – utuuntu/ {both} 'trifle, small thing, little item' [cf: /ikiintu/ {both} n4 'thing']  
 /akayira – utuyira/ {both} 'path' [cf: /inzira/ {both} n5 'road, street']  
 /akazi – utuzi/ {both} 'radicle (part of a plant embryo that develops into a root)' [cf: /umuzi/ {both} n2 'root']  
 /akazu – utuzu/ {both} 'cottage, hut, small house' [cf: /inzu/ {both} n5 'house']

- It also denotes a smaller quantity or lesser amount of what is expressed by a noun in another class; these are often used to soften requests, e.g., Can I have *a drop of water*, Give me *a little money*, May I have *a swig of beer*, etc.

/agafu/ {both} 'small amount of flour' [cf: /ifu/ n5a {both} 'flour']  
 /akáagwá/ {Rwanda} 'a little banana beer' [cf: /urwáagwá/ n6-sg {Rwanda} 'banana beer or wine']  
 /akaánya – utwáanya/ {both} 'moment, instant' [cf: /umwáanya/ {both} n2 'period of time']  
 /akúunyu/ {both} 'a pinch of salt' [cf: /umúunyu/ {both} n2 'salt']  
 /akayogá – utuyogá/ {both} 'swig, small amount of beer or alcoholic beverage' [cf: /inzogá/ {both} n5 'beer; banana wine; alcoholic beverage, intoxicating drink']  
 /udutá/ {both} 'a little milk' [cf: /amatá/ {both} n3 'milk']  
 /utugaanga/ {both} 'drops of urine; a little urine' [cf: /amagaanga/ {both} n3 'urine (of animal)']  
 /utúuzi/ {both} 'a little water' [cf: /amáazi/ {both} n3 'water']

- With some nouns it can express either a positive or negative meaning. Some such connotations are fixed and others are derived from context: a pejorative meaning implying contempt or insult, or, conversely expressing that someone is respectable or worthy of praise or that something is quite pleasant.<sup>235</sup>

/agasusuruko – udususuruko/ {both} 'pleasant heat of the sun (when it just starts warming up)' < /-susuruka/ {both} 'be warm; feel the sensation of warmth' [only positive]  
 /akagabo – utugabo/ {both} 'puny little man, despicable character, schemer' vs. 'extraordinary man, respectable fellow' [depends on context]  
 /akagoré/ {both} 'stupid woman, bitch; easy woman, whore' [usually only negative]  
 /akazúuba/ {both} 'pleasant sunlight' [only positive; cf: /izúuba/ {both} 'sun']

- Nouns derived from verbs with the suffix **-o (aka-Δ-o)**

/agasuuzuguro/ {both} 'insolence' < /-suuzugura/ {both} 'be insolent towards, find fault with'  
 /agatwáaro/ {both} 'small burden, light burden' < /-twáara/ {both} 'carry (off), take away; have a load' [cf: /umutwáaro/ 'load, pack, burden']  
 /akaguriro/ {Rundi} 'market place' < /-gurira/ 'sell s.t. to s.o.' [Alt: /iguriro/ {Rwanda} n3]  
 /akamaro/ {both} 'worth, utility, role, usage, usefulness, function' < /-mara/ "  
 /akarorero/ {both} 'model, example' < /-rorera/ {both} 'look at s.t. for s.o.' < /-roro/ 'observe, look at'  
 /akarusho/ {both} 'superiority; extreme care, quest for perfection' < /-

- Nouns derived from verbs with the suffix **-a (aga-Δ-a)**

/agakizá/ {both} 'salvation' < /-kiza/ {both} 'cure, heal; save (s.o.)'  
 /akaága/ {both} 'difficult situation, impasse' < /-ága/ {both} 'be narrow'  
 /akaminúuza/ {Rundi} 'superiority; [atr] excellent, eminent' < /-mínuuza/ {both} 'surpass, predominate'

<sup>235</sup> As we have seen in groups n4 (§3.2.4.2) and n6 (§3.2.6.2). These extremes have a parallel in colloquial English where one might use negative terms to praise something or someone, e.g., "that was a *hell of a hamburger*" or "so and so is *hot shit*." The autonome /akatáráabóneka/ {both} 'excellence, superbness; [atr] without precedent or equal' [lit.'what is not yet seen'] is probably formed on analogy with the positive implications of such nouns.

3.2.7.3. Loans in Group 7

Some loanwords in this group "sound" like they belong in this class, i.e., they begin with syllables such as [ka] or [ga] and are reinterpreted as if those sounds were a classificatory prefix. However, loans in other classes can also be used with a diminutive value.

/akabaati – utubaati/ {both} 'cabinet, cupboard, closet' < English *cupboard*

/akabari – utubari/ {both} 'bar (drinking place), tavern; cabaret, night club' < French *cabaret*

/akazi – utuzi/ {both} 'work, job, task' < Arb *kazi*

/akamáshíini/ {both} 'apparatus, small machine' [cf: /imáshíini/ n5a 'machine, engine'] < French *machine*

/agafaraanga – udufaraanga/ {both} 'a little money, a small sum' [cf: /ifaraanga – amafaraanga/ n3 'franc; money' < French *franc*

3.2.7.4. The Grammar of Group 7 Nouns

Table 41a. Group 7 Nouns with Consonant Stems

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>aka- aga-</b>	<b>akaantu</b> trifle, small thing <b>agateebo</b> small basket	<b>utu- udu-</b>	<b>utuuntu</b> trifles, small things <b>uduteebo</b> small baskets
red	<b>ka- ga-</b>	<b>aka kaantu</b> this trifle <b>aka gakóokó</b> this insect	<b>tu- du-</b>	<b>utu tuuntu</b> these trifles <b>utu dukóokó</b> these insects
class	<b>ka-</b>	<b>kárya</b> this	<b>tu-</b>	<b>túrya</b> these
poss	<b>kaa</b>	<b>agahiinda kaa Mariyá</b> Mary's sorrow	<b>twaá</b>	<b>uduhiinda twaa Mariyá</b> Mary's sorrows
poss vn poss loc	<b>kó</b>	<b>agatabo kó gusoma</b> a booklet to read	<b>twó</b>	<b>udutabo twó gusoma</b> booklets to read
loc	<b>ku mu</b>	<b>ku gatébe</b> on a stool <b>mu kanwa</b> in the mouth	<b>ku mu</b>	<b>ku dutébe</b> on stools <b>mu tubaati</b> in the cabinets
obj	<b>-ka- -ga-</b>	<b>barakarora</b> they observe it <b>yagátwaaye</b> he took it away	<b>-tu- -du-</b>	<b>kuturaangiza</b> to finish them <b>baáradusábye</b> they asked for them
adj	<b>ka- ga-</b>	<b>agatabo kabí</b> a bad booklet <b>akaánya gató</b> a little while	<b>tu- du-</b>	<b>udutabo tubí</b> bad booklets <b>utwaánya dutó</b> short moments
num	<b>ka-</b>	<b>agatabo kamwé</b> one booklet	<b>tu- du-</b>	<b>udutabo tubiri</b> two booklets <b>udutabo dutaanu</b> five booklets
subj	<b>ka- ga-</b>	<b>karavúga</b> it rings <b>gakubagana</b> it is naughty	<b>tu- du-</b>	<b>turarira</b> they are crying <b>dukubagana</b> they are naughty
part	<b>ká- gá-</b>	<b>kányegejwe</b> it being hidden <b>gákora</b> it functioning	<b>tú- dú-</b>	<b>bádukiikije</b> they encircling them <b>dúkora</b> they functioning
rel subj = rel obj	<b>ka- ga-</b>	<b>karibwá</b> that it is eaten <b>gataangwá</b> that it is provided	<b>tu- du-</b>	<b>turibwá</b> that they are eaten <b>dupfuuyé</b> that are dead
auto	<b>aka-</b>	<b>akaríiwe</b> that which is eaten	<b>utu-</b>	<b>uturí</b> the little ones that are there
pass agent conj	<b>n'áka- n'ága-</b>	<b>n'áakáana</b> by a child <b>n'ágakóokó</b> and a bug	<b>n'útu- n'údu-</b>	<b>n'úturyó duké</b> by a little food <b>n'údutá</b> and a little milk



Table 41b. Group 7 Nouns with Vowel Stems

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>ak-</b>	<b>akáana</b> baby, infant	<b>utw-</b>	<b>utwáana</b> babies, infants
red	<b>k-</b>	<b>aka káana</b> this baby	<b>tw-</b>	<b>utu twáana</b> these babies
class	<b>k-</b>	<b>káa</b> that	<b>tw-</b>	<b>twáa</b> those
poss	<b>k-'</b>	<b>akaguru k'íburyó</b> right leg	<b>tw-'</b>	<b>utwáana tw'ábagomé</b> the small children of the rebels
poss vn poss loc	Does not differ from the consonant forms because the vn ( <b>ku-</b> , <b>gu-</b> ) and loc ( <b>mu-</b> and <b>ku-</b> ) prefixes always begin with a consonant, thus <b>kó mu</b> , <b>twó ku</b> , etc.			
loc	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku káara</b> on a short nail <b>mu kéebo</b> in a little basket	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku twáara</b> on short nails <b>mu twébo</b> in little baskets
obj	<b>-k-</b>	<b>bakuubatse</b> they build it	<b>-tw-</b>	<b>batwuubatse</b> they build them
adj	<b>k-</b>	<b>akáana keezá</b> a good baby	<b>tw-</b>	<b>utwáana twiizá</b> good babies
num	Does not differ from consonant forms because all numeral roots start with a consonant			
subj	<b>k-</b>	( <b>agakóokó</b> ) <b>koonoona</b> it (the bug) causes damage	<b>tw-</b>	( <b>udukóokó</b> ) <b>twoonoona</b> they (the bugs) cause damage
part	<b>k-'V</b>	<b>kíipfuuzá</b> he wishing	<b>tw-'V</b>	<b>twíipfuuzá</b> they wishing
rel subj = rel obj	<b>k-</b>	<b>kiitwá</b> that is called [no special form in Rwanda]	<b>tw-</b>	<b>twiitwá</b> that are called
auto	<b>ak-</b>	<b>akuúzuze</b> that which is full	<b>utw-</b>	<b>utwaábaaye</b> those that became
pass agent conj	<b>n'ák-</b>	<b>n'áakáana</b> by a small child <b>n'áakáana</b> and a small child	<b>n'útw-</b>	<b>n'úutwáana</b> by small children <b>n'úutwáana</b> and small children

### 3.2.8. Group 8 – Bantu Classes 14 and 6

Singular: **ubu-** {both} [strong] Bantu group 14 – before consonant stems

**ubw-** {both} – before vowel stems

Plural: **ama-** {both} [weak] Bantu group 6 – before consonant stems

**am-** {both} – before vowel stems

**ubu-** {both, but rare} [strong] – before consonant stems

**ubw-** {both but rare} – before vowel stems

#### 3.2.8.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 8

Many of the nouns in this class are ABSTRACT or COLLECTIVE. There are also nouns specifying a variety of things ranging from products and manufactured items to diseases. Several appear to be only in this class, i.e., they are not derived from other parts of speech.

- Abstract nouns which usually have no plural forms.
  - /ubugiingo/ {Rwanda} 'life, existence; health' [cf: {Rundi} 'time, the present moment']
  - /ubuhemú/ {both} 'treachery, betrayal; infidelity' [truncation of /-hemuka/ P2 'betray, fail to keep one's word']
  - /ubuté/ {both} 'indifference, negligence, laziness, slothfulness'
  - /ubwéenge/ {both} 'mind, intelligence, wit'
  - /ubwiira/ {both} 'haste, undue rush'
  - /ubwóoba/ {both} 'fear, cowardice' [cf: /-óoba/ {Rwanda} 'fear, be afraid']
- Collective nouns.
  - /ubúuki – amúuki/ {both} 'honey' [also a plant product]
  - /ubushó – amashó/ {Rundi} (JN), /ubushyó – amashyó/ {Rwanda} 'herd (of cows)'
  - /ubwaánwa – ubwaánwa/ {both} 'beard'
  - /ubwaátsi/ {both} 'grass (tall sp., used especially for building); pasture, field, prairie'
  - /ubwóoko – amóoko/ {both} 'type, sort, kind; tribe, ethnic identity'
  - /ubwoóya/ {both} 'fur, body hair, wool' [generic or plural]

- Names of geopolitical entities (countries, kingdoms, regions).<sup>236</sup>  
 /**ubudaági**/ {Rundi}, /**ubudaáge**/ {Rwanda} 'Germany'  
 /**ubugáandá**/ {both} 'Uganda'  
 /**ubugoyi**/ {Rwanda} 'the Bugoyi region of Rwanda'  
 /**ubuha**/ {both} 'place of the Giha people' (in eastern Tanzania)  
 /**uburayá**/ {Rundi}, /**uburaaya**/, /**uburaayi**/ {Rwanda} 'Europe'  
 /**uburuúndi**/ {both} 'Rundi' (nation), 'Burundi' (country)  
 /**ubutuutsi**/ {Rundi} 'Tutsi region' (within Burundi)  
 /**ubwaámi**/ {both} 'kingdom' [ < /-áama/ 'endure, go on and on;' cf: /**umwaámi**/ 'king']
- A few plants or plant products (i.e., objects made from them).<sup>237</sup>  
 /**ubuhéke**/ {Rundi} 'grain' (of a cereal crop)  
 /**uburábyo**/ {Rwanda} 'flowers' [pl or generic, also collective]<sup>238</sup>  
 /**uburiri – amariri**/ {both} 'bed'  
 /**uburó**/ [considered plural] {both} 'millet, eleusine' (grass sp. with spikelets) [also collective]  
 /**ubwáato – amáato**/ {both} 'dugout canoe, boat; trough'  
 /**ubwaátsi**/ {both} 'grass' (tall sp., used especially for building); 'pasture, field, prairie'
- Some diseases, ailments, or afflictions.<sup>239</sup>  
 /**ubugaanga**/ {Rwanda} 'fever' (recurrent); malaria; the flu'  
 /**ubuheri**/ {Rwanda} 'scabies, mange' (skin disease)  
 /**ubushiita**/ {both} 'smallpox'
- A few location nouns which are frozen with the preposition **i**.  
 /**ibumosó**/ {both} 'left, to the left, on the left' [cf: /**ubumosó**/ {Rundi} 'left' (side, direction)]  
 /**iburyó**/ {both} 'right, to the right, on the right'<sup>240</sup>

### 3.2.8.2. Derivations in Group 8

There are many nouns in this group derived from other parts of speech: nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The final one is uncharacteristic of all the others which are generally ABSTRACT.

- Abstract nouns derived from nouns in other classes with the same tonality.  
 /**ubucutí**/ {both} 'friendship' [cf: /**incutí**/ *n5-sg* {both} 'close relative, parent; intimate friend']  
 /**ubugabo**/ {both} 'male genitalia; virility, manliness' [cf: /**umugabo**/ *n1-sg* {both} 'man; husband']  
 /**ubukuúngu**/ {both} 'wealth, prosperity' [cf: /**umukuúngu**/ *n1-sg* {both} 'rich person']  
 /**ubuuntu**/ {both} 'generosity, humanitarianism, humaneness' [cf: /**umuuntu**/ *n1-sg* {both} 'person, human']  
 /**ubupfú**/ {Rwanda} 'foolishness, folly' [cf: /**umupfú**/ *n1-sg* {Rwanda} 'fool, silly person']  
 /**ubusóre**/ {both} 'puberty, male adolescence; youth (age group); youthfulness' [cf: /**umusóre**/ *n1-sg* {both} 'young man, pubescent youth']  
 /**ubwóoro**/ {both} 'poverty, need' [cf: /**umwóoro**/ *n1-sg* 'poor person']
- Abstract nouns derived from ADJECTIVE ROOTS with R tonality.  
 /**ububí**/ {both} 'ugliness; evil, wickedness' [cf: /-bí/ {both} 'bad, evil, ugly, unattractive']  
 /**ubugarí**/ {both} 'width, breadth' [cf: /-garí/ {both} 'wide, broad, spacious']  
 /**ubuníni**/ {both} 'size, largeness, bigness' [cf: /-níni/ {both} 'big, large, huge; long; fat; thick']

<sup>236</sup> Many of these roots can be found in Group 1 designating a person from the place specified (§3.2.1.1) and in Group 4 specifying the language or culture of that area (§3.2.4.1). These are not here considered derivations since all appear to have equal status. Note that some place names that appear to be reduced forms of this class are actually members of group 5b, e.g., /**butáre**/ {Rwanda} 'Butare' (prefecture in Rwanda).

<sup>237</sup> See /**ubudódo**/ 'thread' (for sewing) under verbal nouns below.

<sup>238</sup> The Rundi word is totally unrelated in terms of root and noun class /**ishúurwé – amashúurwé**/ *n3* 'flower.'

<sup>239</sup> Some other illnesses derived from verbs are treated below, e.g., /**ubuhumyi**/ 'blindness,' /**ubusazi**/ 'lunacy.'

<sup>240</sup> The noun /**uburyó**/ {both} has many meanings, none of which relate to a location: 'reason, cause, motive; method, way, manner, procedure; medium; opportunity, means (money, financial resources); mood, mode {ling}.'

/ubureebure/ {both} 'length; height' [cf: /-ree-re/ REDUP {both} 'long, tall, high']  
 /ubwiinshi/ {both} 'number, quantity, amount' [cf: /-iinshi/ 'much, numerous; many, a lot (of)']  
 /ubwíizá/ {both} 'beauty, prettiness' [cf: /-iizá/ {both} 'good, kind; clean, neat; attractive']

- Abstract nouns derived from verbs with the suffix **-e (ubu-Δ-e)** with P2 tonality.<sup>241</sup>

/ububabáre/ {both} 'suffering' < /-bábara/ {both} 'suffer, be hurt'  
 /ubugomé/ {both} 'rebellion, revolt' < /-goma/ {both} 'rebel, revolt, mutiny'  
 /ubukéné/ {both} 'poverty, need' < /-kena/ {both} 'be poor'  
 /ubukiré/ {both} 'well-being' < /-kíra/ {both} 'be in good health; be saved'  
 /ubukoónje/ {both} 'cold, coldness' < /-koonja/ {Rundi}, /-kóonja/ {Rwanda} 'be cold'  
 /ubushaáke/ {Rwanda} 'will' < /-shaaka/ {both} 'want, seek'  
 /ubushé/ {Rundi}, /ubushyé/ {Rwanda} 'burn' (injury) < /-shá/ {Rundi}, /-shyá/ {Rwanda} 'get burned'  
 /ubushuúhe/ {Rundi}, /ubushyuúhe/ {Rwanda} 'heat' < /-shúuha/ {Rundi}, /-shyúuha/ {Rwanda} 'be or become hot'  
 /ubutwaáre/ {both} 'chieftainship, authority' < /-twáara/ {both} 'rule, govern'  
 /ubweénde/ {Rwanda} 'free will, volition' < /-eenda/ {both} 'take, accept'
- Abstract nouns derived from the PALATALIZED (perfect) stems of verbs with **-yi (ubu-Δ-yi)** that keep root tonality
 

/ubudeshi/ 'laziness' {Rundi} < /-deha/ {both} 'laze, be idle or lazy'  
 /ubuhanuuzi/ {both} 'prophecy' < /-hanuura/ {both} 'prophecy'  
 /ubuhumyi/ {both} 'blindness' < /-huma/ {both} 'be blind; cf: /impunyi/ {both} 'blind person'  
 /ubukúunzi/ {Rundi} 'love, intimacy' < /-kúunda/ {both} 'love; cf: /urukúundo/ {both} n6 'love'  
 /uburozi – amarozi/ {both} 'poison; black magic, spell' < /-roga/ {both} 'cast a spell (upon); give the evil eye (to); poison s.o.; cf: /umurozi/ {both} n1-sg 'magician, sorcerer, witch doctor'  
 /ubusazi/ {both} 'folly, lunacy, madness' < /-sara/ {both} 'be mad or crazy'  
 /ubushóbozi/ {Rundi}, /ubushobozi/ {Rwanda} 'ability, competence' < /-shóbora/ {Rundi}, /-shobora/ {Rwanda} 'be able'  
 /ubwaambuzi/ {both} 'robbery, banditry' < /-aambura/ {both} 'steal, dispossess'
- Abstract nouns derived from the SIMPLE STEM of verbs (**ubu-Δ-i**) with varying tonality
 

/ubucúruuzi/ {both} 'trade, commerce' [R] < /-cúruuza/ {both} 'sell merchandise, engage in retail'  
 /ubuhiigi/ {both} 'hunt' [P2] < /-hiiga/ {both} 'hunt, go hunting'  
 /ubumenyi/ {both} 'skill, acquired knowledge' [R] < /-menya/ {both} 'know, recognize'  
 /uburaakari/ {both} 'anger' [R] < /-raakara/ {both} 'be angry'  
 /ubutiindi/ {both} 'bad luck, misfortune, misery; destitution' [R] < /-tiindahara/ {both} 'become very poor, get impoverished; cf: /umutiindi/ {both} n1 'unlucky person, wretch'  
 /ubwaámi/ {both} 'kingdom' [P2] < /-áama/ {both} 'endure, last forever; cf: /umwaámi/ n1 'king'
- Nouns derived from BENEFACTIVE verbs with the suffix **-o (ubu-Δ-ir-o)** with root tonality
 

/ubuhungiro/ {both} 'refuge' < /-huunga/ {both} 'flee'  
 /uburéengero/ {Rundi} 'west' < /-réenga/ {both} 'set (of the sun or moon)'  
 /uburuhuukiro/ {Rundi} 'rest area, place of rest,' {Rwanda} 'morgue' < /-ruhuuka/ {both} 'rest'
- Nouns derived from simple verb stems with **-o (ubu-Δ-o)** with root tonality
 

/ubudódo/ {both} 'thread' (for sewing) < /-dóda/ {both} 'sew'  
 /ubwúugamo/ {both} 'shelter (from the rain), refuge' < /-úugama/ 'take shelter (from the rain)'
- Nouns derived from verb stems with **-a (ubu-Δ-a)** with varying tonality
 

/ububaásha/ {both} 'power, ability' [P2] < /-báasha/ {both} 'can, be able to (physically do s.t.)'  
 /ubuhaánga/ {both} 'skill, creative ability' [P2] < /-haanga/ {Rwanda} 'introduce s.t. new, found, create'  
 /uburyaarya/ {both} 'hypocrisy; miserliness' [R] < /-ryaarya/ 'be indifferent, be frosty; be a hypocrit'  
 /ubutumwá/ {both} 'message' [P2] < /-túmwa/ {both} 'be sent; cf: /intumwá/ n5 'envoy, messenger'

<sup>241</sup> Some forms with this pattern follow root tonality, e.g., /ubunebwe/ {both} 'laziness' < /-nebwa/ {both} 'loaf around, be lazy,' /ubugéne/ {Rundi} 'manner, how s.t. is done' < /-géna/ {both} 'determine, propose.'

/ubwáana/ {both} 'childhood' [A] </-aana/ 'cry, weep;' cf: /umwáana/ {both} *n1-sg* 'child'

- Nouns derived from nouns in other classes with the same tonality that connote some form of DEFORMITY, but only in the PLURAL.<sup>242</sup>

/ubuká/ {both} 'feeble and puny cows' [cf: /inká/ *n5-sg/pl* 'cow']

/ubutúgu/ {both} 'small and deformed shoulders' [cf: /igitúgu/ {Rundi} *n4*, /urutúgu/ {Rwanda} *n6* 'shoulder']

/ubwúinyo/ {both} 'deformed teeth' (e.g., buck teeth) [cf: /iryúinyo – améenyoy/ {both} *n3* 'tooth']

### 3.2.8.3. Loans in Group 8

/uburéengeéti – amaréengeéti/ {both} 'blanket' < English *blanket*

/ubururú/ {both} 'blue (color)' < French *bleu*

/ubusítaáni – ubusítaáni/ {Rwanda} 'orchard, garden' < Swahili < Arabic *bustan* [see *n8a* BELOW]

/ubutó/ {both} 'vegetable oil' < Swahili

### 3.2.8.4. The Grammar of Group 8 Nouns

- There are just a few nouns in this class that have an irregular plural in **ubu-** or **ubw-** rather than **ama-**. These then constitute a very small subclass which is identified here as *n8a*.

/uburyó – uburyó/ {both} 'reason, cause, motive; method, procedure; opportunity'

/ubusítaáni – ubusítaáni/ {Rwanda} 'orchard' [see loans ABOVE]

/ubutumwá – ubutumwá/ {both} 'message; news; commission, mission'

/ubwaánwa – ubwaánwa/ {both} 'beard'

/ubwáato – ubwáato/ {both} 'dugout canoe, boat' [Alt pl: /amáato/]

- The reduced prefix (**bu-** or **bw-**) forms some ADVERBS OF MANNER (§11.3).

/buhóro/ {both} 'slowly; carefully'

/bukóokó/ {both} 'like an animal; truly animal; [atr] animalistic'

/butaambwe/ {Rundi} 'like a lion'

/bupyisi/ {Rwanda} 'like a hyena'

/bwaango/ {both} 'quickly, rapidly, hastily'

- Many TEMPORAL adverbial expressions (§11.1) are found in this class.

/búkeeye/ {both} 'the next morning, the following day, afterwards' [lit. 'it dawning']

/ejó buúndi/ {both} 'the day after tomorrow; the day before yesterday' (two days in the past or future, depending on context)

/mu bunyoni/ 'when the birds start to sing (early morning, c. 5:30 a.m.)'

/ntaa bwo/ {both} 'never'

/ubu/ {both} 'now, currently, today'

/ubuúndi/ {both} 'at another time, at some other time; sometimes'

/ubwó/ 'when; then when ...' [conj]

- Several autonomes in this class also serve an ADVERBIAL function.

/ubusáanzwe/ {both} 'usually, normally, ordinarily'

/ubutáigisubiira/ {both} 'in a manner that doesn't repeat anymore'

/ubutázáagaruka/ {Rwanda} 'for good, not to return'

- Hands 1952:279 describes for Rwanda what may be called ECHO FORMS, i.e., with a reduced singular prefix **bu-** before a repetition of the root, that signify LIMITATION, i.e., *only, just*; it confines the meaning of the noun so qualified to its strictest sense.

/abaantu buuntu/ {Rwanda} 'finite men, just men' (Hands 1952:279)

/amatwí butwí/<sup>243</sup> {Rwanda} 'ears only' (Hands 1952:279)

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<sup>242</sup> In an email (Jun 29, 2004), Juvenal Ndayiragije points out that the singular of these is in group 7 (**aka-**). Dubnova (1984:42) says: "the prefix of this class can convey the idea of PEJORATIVE DIMINUTIVENESS." In our research, we have not seen such a connotation mentioned by any other authors.

/amáazi búuzi/ {Rwanda} 'just water'

Table 42a. Group 8 Nouns with Consonant Stems

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>ubu-</b>	<b>uburozi</b> poison	<b>ama-</b>	<b>amarozi</b> poisons
red	<b>bu-</b>	<b>ubu burozi</b> this poison	<b>ma-</b>	<b>aya marozi</b> these poisons
class	<b>bu-</b>	<b>búrya</b> this	<b>a-</b>	<b>aryá</b> these
poss	<b>bwaa</b>	<b>ubutégetsi bwaa leeta</b> the government's authority	<b>ya</b>	<b>amaántuuzé ya Peetero</b> Peter's whatchamacallits {Rundi}
poss vn poss loc	<b>bwó</b>	<b>ubukéné bwó mu Rwaanda</b> poverty in Rwanda	<b>yó</b>	<b>amarozi yó kwíca</b> poisons for killing
loc	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b> <b>i</b>	<b>ku buriri</b> on the bed <b>mu buriri</b> in the bed <b>iburyó</b> on / to the right	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku mariri</b> on beds <b>mu mariri</b> in beds
obj	<b>-bu-</b>	<b>kubúrya</b> to eat it	<b>-ya-</b>	<b>kuyárya</b> to eat them
adj	<b>bu-</b>	<b>uburiri butóoyá</b> a small bed	<b>ma-</b>	<b>amahiri magufi</b> short clubs
num	<b>bu-</b>	<b>uburyó bumwé</b> one method	<b>a-</b> <b>bu-</b> <i>n8a</i>	<b>amariri ané</b> four beds <b>uburyó bubiri</b> two methods
subj	<b>bu-</b>	<b>buramúteera</b> it overcomes him	<b>a-</b>	<b>agizwe</b> they are made of
part	<b>bú-</b>	<b>búba</b> it being	<b>a-</b>	<b>abá</b> they being
rel subj = rel obj	<b>bu-</b>	<b>(ubuhaánga) bukenérwa</b> (intelligence) that is needed	<b>a-</b>	<b>(amariri) akenérwa</b> (beds) that are needed
auto	<b>ubu-</b>	<b>ubusáanzwe</b> {both} (type) that which is ordinary	<b>aá-</b> <b>aya-</b>	<b>aátootezwa</b> {Rwanda} <b>ayatóotezwa</b> {Rundi} (tribes) those which are persecuted
pass agent conj	<b>n'ubú-</b>	<b>n'úbutégetsi</b> by the authority <b>n'úbutégetsi</b> and authority	<b>n'áma-</b>	<b>n'ámarozi</b> by poisons <b>n'ámarozi</b> and poisons

Table 42b. Group 8 Nouns with Vowel Stems

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>ubw-</b>	<b>ubwáato</b> boat	<b>am-</b>	<b>amáato</b> boats
red	<b>bw-</b>	<b>ubu bwáato</b> this boat	<b>m-</b>	<b>aya máato</b> these boats
class	<b>bw-</b>	<b>bwáa bwáato</b> that boat	<b>y-</b>	<b>yáa máato</b> those boats
poss	<b>bw'</b>	<b>ubukana bw'intaambwe</b> the fury of a lion	<b>y'</b>	<b>amáato y'ábasóre</b> the young men's boats
poss vn poss loc	Does not differ from the consonant forms because the vn ( <b>ku-</b> , <b>gu-</b> ) and loc ( <b>mu-</b> and <b>ku-</b> ) prefixes always begin with a consonant, thus <b>bwó mu</b> , <b>yó ku</b> , etc.			
loc	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku bwáato</b> on the boat <b>mu bwáana</b> in childhood	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku máato</b> on boats <b>mu máato</b> in boats
obj	<b>-bw-</b>	<b>waábwiishe</b> you killed it	<b>-y-</b>	<b>waáyiishe</b> you killed them
adj	<b>bw-</b>	<b>ububaásha bwiinshi</b> a lot of power	<b>ma-</b>	<b>amóoko meénshi</b> many types
num	Does not differ from consonant forms because all numeral roots start with a consonant			
subj	<b>bw-</b>	<b>bwiifuuza</b> it wants	<b>y-</b>	<b>yiifuuza</b> they want
part	<b>bw-</b>	<b>bwiifuuza</b> it wanting	<b>y-</b>	<b>yiifuuza</b> they wanting
rel subj = rel obj	<b>bw-</b>	<b>bwiifúuza</b> that wants	<b>y-</b>	<b>yiifúuza</b> that want

<sup>243</sup> Jacob et al. attribute a special and quite different meaning to Rwanda /butwí/ (but as a word, not an echo form) 'very much so, in the fullest sense of the word,' e.g., /ni uumuyísiraamu butwí/ {Rwanda} 'He is an avowed Muslim.' or /asa na sé butwí/ {Rwanda} 'He looks just like his father.' (1987 #3:443) Hence, Hands translation of /amatwí butwí/ could be revised to 'very good ears, ears like no other.'

## Chapter 3: Nouns

auto	<b>ubw-</b>	<b>ubwúumye</b> that (grass) which is dry		<b>ayíifuuza</b> the (tribes) which want
pass agent conj	<b>n'úbw-</b>	<b>n'úbwóoro</b> by poverty <b>n'úbwóoba</b> and fear	<b>n'ám-</b>	<b>n'ámáato</b> by boats <b>n'ámóoko</b> and types

### 3.2.9. Group 9 – Bantu Classes 15 and 6

Singular: **uku-** {both} [strong] Bantu group 15 – before voiced consonant stems  
**ugu-** {both} – before voiceless consonant stems  
**ukw-** {both} – before vowel stems  
Plural: **ama-** {both} [weak] Bantu group 6 – before consonant stems  
**am-** {both} – before vowel stems

#### 3.2.9.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 9

Membership in this group, i.e., nouns with the FULL PREFIX (and indeed in all subsequent groups 10-13) is very small.<sup>244</sup> Our research has uncovered only ten such forms for *n9*.

- A few body parts.  
*/ugutwí – amatwí/* {both} 'ear'  
*/ukubóko – amabóko/* {both} 'arm'  
*/ukuguru – amaguru/* {both} 'leg'  
*/ukwáaha – amáaha/* {both} 'armpit'
- The names of a few calendar months as well as the word for 'month' itself.  
*/ukwéezi – améezi/* {both} 'moon; month'  
*/ugushyíingo/* {Rwanda} 'third month of Rwanda calendar' (corresponding to November-December)  
*/ukuboza/* {Rwanda} 'fourth month of Rwanda calendar' (corresponding to December-January)  
*/ukwaakira/* {Rwanda} 'second month of Rwanda calendar' (corresponding to October-November)
- A few miscellaneous nouns.  
*/ukuúntuuzé/* {Rundi} 'such-and-such, some action or other, whatchamacallit' (used when one can't remember or doesn't wish to reveal the act or action)  
*/ukuzimú/* {both} 'pit (underground), chasm, abyss; depths of the earth'

#### 3.2.9.2. Derivations in Group 9 Are the Verbal Noun Subclass (9a)

There is an extremely large number of VERBAL NOUNS in this group derived directly from verbs. In their most basic form they are REDUCED, i.e., the initial vowel of the prefix is dropped (**ku-** instead of **uku-**, **gu-** instead of **ugu-**, etc.). Because they come from verbs, they are sometimes called DEVERBAL NOUNS by linguists. These serve as INFINITIVES (*I like to walk*, see §8.6) and as VERBAL NOUNS (*Walking is my favorite exercise*).<sup>245</sup> For the student of these languages, they serve a critical function in that they indicate the primary tonality of the root.

- Verbal nouns: infinitives.  
*/guhá/* {both} 'to give s.t. to s.o.; providing'  
*/gukúunda/* {both} 'to love; loving'  
*/gupfá/* {both} 'to die; dying'  
*/kugura/* {both} 'to buy; buying'  
*/kuríimba/* {both} 'to sing; singing'

<sup>244</sup> The following derivational subclass of verbal nouns (*n9a*), on the other hand, is very large.

<sup>245</sup> In the grammar of many other languages, linguists use the term GERUND for this kind of verbal noun. However, in Rwanda and Rundi the term GERUND is reserved for a special kind of future-oriented verbal construction (§8.5.3).

/kuryá/ {both} 'to eat; eating; nourishment'  
 /gutáakara/ {both} 'to get lost, to be misplaced'  
 /kwíizeera/ {both} 'faith, belief, act of believing' [Also: /ukwíizeera/ {both} 'hope, confidence']

The NEGATIVE INFINITIVE is marked by **-ta-** (before voiced consonants), **-da-** (before voiceless consonants), or **-t-** (before vowels).

/kudákorá/ {both} 'not to work'  
 /kudáshimá/ {both} 'not to be satisfied'  
 /kutábá/ {both} 'not to be'  
 /kutámenyá/ {both} 'not to know; ignorance'  
 /kutíigáanda/ {both} 'not to put off'

Note that after the copulative **ni** (and the locative verb **-rí**), the lost **u-** of **uku-**, **ugu-** or **ukw-** is reinstated.

/ivyíizá n'úkugeenda ubu/ {Rundi}, /ibyíizá n'úkugeenda ubu/ {Rwanda} 'The best thing is to go now.'  
 /ukuvúga/ {both} 'to say' «**ni ukuvuga ko**» 'It means' [lit. 'It is to say that...']

Some alternates of these truncated infinitives appear with the full prefix. Most seem to be fixed forms used in prayers, rituals, proverbs, and like expressions.

/ugutíinywa/ {both} 'fear, being feared' «**ugutinywa kwa Mungu**» 'fear of God'  
 /ugusiigwa/ {both} 'being anointed; [ext] unction, anointing (against sickness)' «**ugusigwa kwa abarwayi**» 'the anointing of the sick' {religion}  
 /ukuréenganywa/ {both} 'trial, tribulation' «**ukurenganywa kwa Yezu**» 'the trials of Jesus'  
 /ukwíifuza/ {both} 'desire; to wish for, to covet'  
 /ukwíizeera/ {both} 'hope, confidence;' [ext] 'faith, belief, act of believing' {relig}

### 3.2.9.3. No Loans in Group 9 and above

These higher noun groups, which have such a small membership, appear to be a CLOSED SET of nouns. That is to say, they are not OPEN to borrowing. For this reason, the discussion of the remaining locative noun groups will not have a subsection on loanwords.

The verbal noun subclass (*n9a*) does have a large number of loanwords. Virtually any verb composed of a root that has been borrowed has its infinitive form here.

/gufotora/ {both} 'to photograph, take a picture of' < Fr *photo(graphier)* + **-ra-** verbalizer  
 /gusinya/ {both} 'to sign s.t.' < Fr *signer*

### 3.2.9.4. The Grammar of Group 9 Nouns

The various concord or agreement affixes associated with this class are taken up in Tables 43ab. Since infinitives play such an important part in verb inflection and as objects of auxiliary verbs (§10.2), these functions will be revisited in later sections.

**Table 43a. Group 9 Nouns with Consonant Stems**

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix <i>n9</i>	<b>uku-</b> <b>ugu-</b>	<b>ukuguru</b> leg <b>ugutwí</b> ear	<b>ama-</b>	<b>amaguru</b> legs <b>amatwí</b> ears
prefix <i>n9a</i>	<b>ku-</b> <b>gu-</b>	<b>kuryá</b> to eat; nourishment <b>gutáakara</b> to get lost	n/a	
red	<b>ku-</b> <b>gu-</b>	<b>uku kuguru</b> this leg <b>uku gutwí</b> this ear	<b>ma-</b>	<b>aya maguru</b> these legs <b>aya matwí</b> these ears

### Chapter 3: Nouns

class	<b>ku-</b>	<b>kúrya</b> this	<b>a-</b>	<b>aryá</b> these
poss	<b>kwaa</b>	<b>ukwézi kwaa kábiri</b> February (the second month)	<b>ya</b> <b>yaa</b>	<b>amatwí ya Peetero</b> Peter's ears <b>amézi yaa mbere</b> first months
poss vn poss loc	<b>kó</b>	<b>ukwézi kó mu c(y)í</b> a month of the dry season	<b>yó</b>	<b>amézi yó mu gisiibo</b> months of Lent
loc	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b> <b>i</b>	<b>ku kubóko</b> on the arm <b>mu gutwí</b> in the ear <b>-jya i kuzimú</b> get buried	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku mabóko</b> on the arms <b>mu matwí</b> in the ears
obj	<b>-ku-</b> <b>-gu-</b>	<b>yakúvunnye</b> He broke it <b>ndagushaaka</b> I want it	<b>-ya-</b>	<b>nayávunnye</b> I broke them
adj	<b>ku-</b>	<b>ugutwí kuzima</b> healthy ear	<b>ma-</b>	<b>amabóko meezá</b> good arms
num	<b>ku-</b>	<b>ukwézi kumwé</b> one month	<b>a-</b>	<b>amézi ané</b> four months
subj	<b>ku-</b> <b>gu-</b>	<b>kuravúnitse</b> it is broken <b>gutangiye</b> it starts VERBing	<b>a-</b>	<b>aravúnitse</b> they are broken <b>ntarí</b> they are not
part	<b>kú-</b>	<b>kúvunitse</b> it being broken	<b>a-</b>	<b>avúnitse</b> they being broken
rel subj = rel obj	<b>ku-</b>	<b>kuvunitse</b> that it is broken	<b>a-</b>	<b>avunitse</b> that they are broken
auto	<b>uku-</b> <b>ugu-</b>	<b>ukuvúnika</b> one that breaks <b>ugutáaha</b> that which follows	<b>a-</b> <b>aya-</b>	<b>aátaaha</b> {Rwanda} those which <b>ayatáaha</b> {Rundi} follow
pass agent conj	<b>n'úku-</b> <b>n'úgu-</b>	<b>n'úkuguru</b> by a leg <b>n'úgutwí</b> even the ear	<b>n'áma-</b>	<b>n'ámaguru</b> by foot, on foot <b>n'ámaguru</b> and feet

**Table 43b. Group 9 Nouns with Vowel Stems**

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix <i>n9</i>	<b>ukw-</b>	<b>ukwézi</b> moon, month	<b>ama-</b>	<b>amézi</b> months
prefix <i>n9a</i>	<b>kw-</b>	<b>kwíga</b> to study, to learn	n/a	
red	<b>kw-</b>	<b>uku kwézi</b> this month	<b>m-</b>	<b>aya méezi</b> these months
class	<b>kw-</b>	<b>kwáa</b> that	<b>y-</b>	<b>yáa</b> those
poss	<b>kw'</b>	<b>ukwézi kw'íimvúra</b> rainy month	<b>y'</b>	<b>amézi y'íic(y)í</b> months of the dry season
poss vn poss loc	Does not differ from the consonant forms because the vn ( <b>ku-</b> , <b>gu-</b> ) and loc ( <b>mu-</b> and <b>ku-</b> ) prefixes always begin with a consonant, thus <b>kó mu</b> , <b>yó ku</b> , etc.			
loc	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku kwézi</b> on the moon <b>mu kwézi</b> in a month	<b>ku</b> <b>mu</b>	<b>ku méezi</b> out of the months <b>mu méezi</b> among the months
obj	<b>-kw-</b>	<b>arakwóoza</b> he washes it	<b>-y-</b>	<b>arayóoza</b> he washes them
adj	<b>kw-</b>	<b>ukwézi kwiizá</b> good month	<b>m-</b>	<b>amézi meénshi</b> many months
num	Does not differ from consonant forms because all numeral roots start with a consonant			
subj	<b>kw-</b>	<b>kwaári</b> it was there	<b>y-</b>	<b>yaápfuuye</b> they had been deaf
part	<b>kw-</b>	<b>kwáakomeretse</b> (arm) it having been injured	<b>y-</b>	<b>yaákomeretse</b> (arms) they having been injured
rel subj = rel obj	<b>kw-</b>	<b>kwaáraanzwe</b> that had been characterized	<b>y-</b>	<b>yaáraanzwe</b> that were characterized
auto	<b>ukw-</b>	<b>ukwaábonetse</b> that which showed up	<b>ay-</b>	<b>ayaábonetse</b> those which showed up
pass agent conj	<b>n'úkw-</b>	<b>n'úukwézi</b> by the moon <b>n'úukwézi</b> and the moon	<b>n'ám-</b>	<b>n'ámézi</b> by (its) moons <b>n'ámézi</b> and the months



### 3.2.10. Group 10 Locative – Bantu Class 16

Singular &: **aha-** {both} [strong] Bantu group 16 – before consonant stems  
 Plural **ah-** {both} – before vowel stems (e.g., in autonomes)<sup>246</sup>

#### 3.2.10.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 10

This is the first of the higher noun groups that denote place or LOCATION. It has only one noun shared by Rwanda and Rundi, and a second exclusive to Rundi:

/ahaantu/ {both} 'place, location, space, area'

/ahaantuuzé/ {Rundi} *filler* 'such-and-such a place, somewhere or other, at whatchamacallit' [used when one can't remember or doesn't wish to reveal the location; cf: /ikánaaká/ {Rwanda} *nI3*]

#### 3.2.10.2. Derivations in Group 10

- There are a few locative nouns formed from adjectives which maintain root tonality.
  - /ahabí/ {both} 'a bad place'
  - /ahareehare/ {both} 'a deep place'
  - /aható/ {both} 'a small place'
- Autonomes in this group denote a place associated with a particular action.
  - /ahabóna/ {both} 'a place in view' < /-bóna/ {both} 'find; acquire, obtain, get; see'
  - /ahasígaye/ {both} 'a place that remains' < /-sígara/ {both} 'stay (behind), remain, be left over, be in excess'
  - /ahiítwa/ {both} 'a place which is called' < /-iítwa/ {both} 'be named, be called'

#### 3.2.10.3. The Grammar of Group 10 Nouns

- There are a few forms with the full prefix derived from adjectives which maintain root tonality but which function ADVERBially.
  - /ahakurú/ {Rundi} *adv* 'especially, principally, in the first place'
  - /ahaníni/ {both} *adv* 'mostly, principally, for the most part'
- There are several forms that have a reduced form of this class affix, **ha-**, which may be characterized as members of *nI0a*, but which also behave like ADVERBS.
  - /haáfi/ {both} 'near, nearby, close to, soon'
  - /hagatí/ {both} 'in the middle (of), in between, among; inside, midst, center (of); [atr] central'
  - /haambere/ {both} 'previously, before; of old, long ago, in olden days, in former times'
  - /hamwé/ {both} 'together (with reference to time or place); in one place; in common'
  - /haanyuma/ {both} 'after, afterwards, later, then'
  - /haruguru/ {both} 'above, higher up'
  - /haasí/ {both} 'down, on the ground; below (vertical); bottom; floor'
  - /ható/ {both} 'soon, a little later on (the same day); in an instant'
  - /heejuru/ {both} 'up, on top of, on high (vertical); on, upon' [ < ha-i-juru]
  - /heepfó/ {both} 'down, downwards, below, lower down, down there; behind, at the back of'
- There are also several ADVERBS OF LOCATION with the reduced affix that are formed from DEICTICS (§5).
  - /haákuno/ {both} 'on this side of (a body of water)'
  - /haákurya/ {both} 'on the other side (of a body of water, of a border); beyond, on that side of'
  - /háno/ {both} 'here; this place (insistence or contrast)'
  - /hárya/ {both} 'this, that (place vividly remembered, known by us)'

<sup>246</sup> The one noun in Rwanda and two nouns in Rundi for this class are formed on consonant roots. There are no nouns strictly within this class formed on vowel roots. However, there are autonomes formed from vowel-initial verb roots, such as /ahiítwa/ in the example below.

## Chapter 3: Nouns

- Agreement with group 10 serves to focus upon a specific period of time, a given place, or a particular situation.
  - «**Ni aha ejo**» {both} 'See you tomorrow'
  - «**Ni aha ntuye**» 'This is where I live'
  - «**N'ah' Imana**» 'It's up to God' (i.e., placing one's hope in God)
- Its most widespread usage, however, is in impersonal constructions ('There is...' or 'There are...'). These are always marked by *nIO* agreement.
  - /**hari abaantu beénshi mu rugó, hari abaánda nó muu nzu**/ {both} 'There are a lot of people in the yard; there are also others in the house'
  - /**hari hó beénshi bataazi gusoma**/ {both} 'There are many who do not know how to read'
  - «**Haragera igihe uyo mupatiri bamenyereye agenda hakaza<sup>247</sup> uwundi mushasha**» {Rundi} 'The time came when that priest, whom they knew so well, had to leave, and a new one came.' [lit. 'There arrived the time ... there came another new one.'] (R23)
- Whenever this affix is preceded by a nasal, the **h** will change to **p**, and the nasal will become **m** (review §2.5.3).
  - /**siimpaázi**/ {Rundi}, /**siimpaázi**/ {Rwanda} 'I don't know the place' < si-N-ha-':zi

**Table 44a. Group 10 Nouns with Consonant Stems**

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	<b>aha-</b>	<b>ahaantu</b> place	<b>aha-</b>	<b>ahaantu</b> places
red	<b>ha-</b>	<b>aha haantu</b> this place	<b>ha-</b>	<b>aha haantu</b> these places
class	<b>há-</b>	<b>hárya haantu</b> that place	<b>há-</b>	<b>hárya haantu</b> those places
poss	<b>haa</b>	<b>ahaantu haa Péétéro</b> Peter's place	<b>haa</b>	<b>ahaantu haa Péétéro</b> Peter's places
poss vn poss loc	<b>hó</b>	<b>ahaantu hó mu butali-yaáni</b> a place in Italy	<b>hó</b>	<b>ahaantu hó mu butaliyaáni</b> places in Italy
loc	<b>mu</b>	<b>mu haantu</b> in a place  Note: <b>ku</b> is not used in sg	<b>mu</b>  <b>ku</b>	<b>mu haantu heénshi</b> in many places <b>ku haantu heénshi nagíye</b> among the many places I've been
obj	<b>-ha-</b> <b>-pa-</b>	<b>arahári</b> he is there <b>siimpákora</b> {Rwanda} I don't work there	<b>-ha-</b> <b>-pa-</b>	<b>barahári</b> they are there <b>siimpaázi</b> {Rwanda} I don't know the places
adj	<b>ha-</b>	<b>ahaantu ható</b> a small place	<b>ha-</b>	<b>ahaantu ható</b> small places <b>ahaantu haké</b> few places
num	<b>ha-</b>	<b>ahaantu hamwé</b> one place	<b>ha-</b>	<b>ahaantu hané</b> four places
subj	<b>ha-</b>	<b>haragera igihe</b> there comes a time	<b>ha-</b>	<b>har' aahaantu heénshi</b> there are many places
part	<b>há-</b>	<b>hátiinze</b> later on	<b>há-</b>	<b>nsaanze hári ahaantu heénshi</b> I find out there are many places
rel subj = rel obj	<b>ha-</b> {both}	<b>kó havuzwé</b> that it is said	<b>ha-</b>	<b>kó habonétse</b> that they (the places) were just found
auto {both}	<b>aha-</b>	<b>ahasígaye</b> that which remains	<b>aha-</b>	<b>ahasígaye</b> those which remain
pass agent conj	<b>n'áha-</b>	<b>n'áhaantu</b> by a place <b>n'áhaantu</b> and a place	<b>n'áha-</b>	<b>n'áhaantu</b> by places <b>n'áhaantu</b> and places
post {Rwanda} {Rundi}	<sup>248</sup> <b>hó</b> <b>kó</b>	<b>harihó</b> {both} there exists <b>murabehó!</b> Good bye <b>gutúmatumanakó</b> to inform gradually	<b>hó</b>	<b>harihó</b> {both} there are

<sup>247</sup> The original word in the reading was «**haza**», but Juvenal Ndayiragije has suggested a more appropriate version with the sequence marker.

Table 44b. Group 10 Nouns with Vowel Stems

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	n/a	[no forms attested]	n/a	[no forms attested]
red	n/a	[no forms attested]	n/a	[no forms attested]
class	<b>h-</b>	<b>háa haantu</b> that place	<b>h-</b>	<b>háa haantu</b> those places
poss	<b>h'</b>	<b>ahaantu h'íintáre</b> the place of a lion	<b>h'</b>	<b>ahaantu h'ínyamáaswa</b> places of wild animals
poss vn poss loc	Does not differ from the consonant forms because the vn ( <b>ku-</b> , <b>gu-</b> ) and loc ( <b>mu-</b> and <b>ku-</b> ) prefixes always begin with a consonant, thus <b>hó mu</b> , <b>hó ku-</b> , etc.			
loc	<b>ku</b>  <b>mu</b>	<b>ku haantu h'íintáre</b> to the place of a lion <b>mu haantu h'íintáre</b> in the place of a lion	<b>ku</b>  <b>mu</b>	<b>ku haantu h'ínyamáaswa</b> to the places of wild animals <b>mu haantu h'ínyamáaswa</b> in the places of wild animals
obj	<b>-h-</b>  <b>-p-</b>	<b>arahúubaka</b> {both} he builds there (a place) <b>siimpíiga</b> {Rwanda} I don't study there	<b>-h-</b>  <b>-p-</b>	<b>arahúubaka</b> {both} he builds there (several places) <b>siimpaandika</b> {Rwanda} I don't write in those places
adj	<b>h-</b>	<b>ahaantu heezá</b> a nice place	<b>h-</b>	<b>ahaantu heénshi</b> many places
num	Does not differ from consonant forms because all numeral roots start with a consonant			
subj	<b>h-</b>	<b>keéra haábaayehó</b> {Rwanda} once upon a time	<b>h-</b>	<b>haábaaye</b> there happened (those events)
part	<b>h-</b>	<b>híiyambariye</b> There is one just wearing	<b>h-</b>	<b>híiyambariye</b> There are people just wearing
rel subj = rel obj	<b>h-</b>	<b>kó haábeereye</b> that there took place	<b>h-</b>	<b>kó haábeereye</b> that those took place
auto	<b>ah-</b>	<b>ahiítwa</b> a place which is called	<b>ah-</b>	<b>ahiítwa</b> places which are called
pass agent conj	<b>n'áh-</b>	<b>n'áhuúbatswe</b> by the place built by (the students) <b>n'áhuúbatswe</b> and the place built by (the students)	<b>n'áh-</b>	<b>n'áhuúbatswe</b> by the places built by (the students) <b>n'áhuúbatswe</b> and the places built by (the students)
post	<b>hw'</b> {Rwanda}	<b>araandika hw'izína</b> he is writing a name on it	<b>hw'</b> {Rwanda}	<b>araandika hw'amazína</b> he is writing names on them

### 3.2.11. Group 11 – Bantu Class 17

Singular        **uku-** {both} [strong] Bantu class 17 – before consonant stems  
or Plural        **ukw-** {both} – before vowel stems

This is a very small group inherited from Bantu, consisting of only two nouns shared by Rwanda and Rundi, and a third exclusive to Rundi. It is sometimes ignored in textbooks where authors lump these words with the verbal-noun group (*n9a*). However, the semantics of a VERBAL NOUN (*n9a* act of VERBing) as opposed to a MANNER NOUN (*n11 way or manner of VERBing*) clearly differ.

#### 3.2.11.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 11

- There are only three nouns implying manner; since each is related to another part of speech, strictly speaking, all are derivations.

/ukuuntu/ {both} 'method, way, manner; [ext] money, financial wealth' [cf: /ikiintu/ {both} *n4* 'thing']

/ukuri/ {both} 'truth, the way it is' [cf: /-rí/ {both} *v-cop-loc* 'is, are; be in, at a specific location']

/ukugéne/ {Rundi} 'way of doing, the how' [cf: /-géna/ {both} *v-tr* 'appoint; choose; determine, propose']

<sup>248</sup> The final construction (postposition /hó/) is more common in Rwanda; in Rundi it is usually /kó/ [n11].



pass agent conj	<b>n'úku-</b>	<b>n'úkuri</b> by the truth <b>n'úkuuntu</b> and a method	<b>n'úku-</b>	<b>n'úkuuntu</b> by the methods <b>n'úkuuntu</b> and methods
post {Rundi}	<b>kó</b> <sup>249</sup>	<b>iyi sí turíkó</b> this world that we live on	<b>kó</b> {Rundi}	<b>yoobitaángirakó</b> that they should supply them

Table 45b. Group 11 Nouns with Vowel Stems

function	singular	example	plural	example
prefix	n/a	[no forms attested]	n/a	[no forms attested]
red	n/a	[no forms attested]	n/a	[no forms attested]
class	<b>kw-</b>	<b>kwáa kuuntu</b> that way	<b>kw-</b>	<b>kwáa kuuntu</b> those ways
poss	<b>kw'</b>	<b>ukuuntu kw'umutégarú- gorí</b> a woman's way	<b>kw'</b>	<b>ukuuntu kw'aabáana</b> children's ways
poss vn poss loc	Does not differ from the consonant forms because the vn ( <b>ku-</b> , <b>gu-</b> ) and loc ( <b>mu-</b> and <b>ku-</b> ) prefixes always begin with a consonant, thus <b>kwó mu</b> , <b>kwó ku-</b> , etc.			
loc	n/a	[no forms attested]	n/a	[no forms attested]
obj	<b>-k-</b> before <b>o</b> or <b>u</b>  <b>-kw-</b> elsewhere	<b>wookoongera kó iki</b> {Rundi} / <b>waakoongera hó iki</b> {Rwanda} What can you add to that? <b>waakwiize (ukuuntu)</b> {both} Did you learn (that method)?	<b>-k-</b> before <b>o</b> or <b>u</b>  <b>-kw-</b> elsewhere	<b>urakúumva</b> {both} Do you understand them (the methods)?  <b>tweekwiigá (ukuuntu)</b> {Rundi} / <b>tweekwiize (ukuntu)</b> {Rwanda} we learn them (methods)
adj	<b>kw-</b>	<b>ukuuntu kwiizá</b> {both} a good way <b>ukurí kwóose</b> {Rundi} / <b>ukurí kwóose</b> {Rwanda} the whole truth	<b>kw-</b>	<b>ukuuntu kwiizá</b> {both} good ways <b>ukuuntu kwiínshi</b> {both} many ways
num	Does not differ from consonant forms because all numeral roots start with a consonant			
subj	<b>kw-</b>	<b>ukurí kwaári hé</b> Where has the truth been?	<b>kw-</b>	<b>ukuuntu kwaári kuruhije</b> The methods were tiring
part	<b>kw-</b>	<b>kwáaravúzwe</b> {Rundi} <b>kwáaravúzwe</b> {Rwanda} it (the truth) having been said	<b>kw-</b>	<b>kwáarakóreshewe</b> {Rundi} <b>kwáarakóreshewe</b> {Rwanda} they (the methods) having being used
rel subj = rel obj	<b>kw-</b>	<b>ukurí kwaámye</b> {Rundi} as a matter of fact <b>ukurí kwaambáaye ubu- sá</b> {Rwanda} the pure truth	<b>kw-</b>	<b>ko kwaashobótse</b> that they (the ways) were possible
auto	<b>ukw-</b>	<b>ukwuúzuye</b> that (truth) which is whole	<b>ukw-</b>	<b>ukwoóroshye</b> {Rwanda} <b>ukwoóroshe</b> {Rundi} those (ways) which are easy
pass agent  conj	<b>n'úkw-</b>	<b>n'úkwuúzuye</b> by that (truth) which is whole  <b>n'úkwáanjye</b> {Rwanda} <b>n'úkwáanje</b> {Rundi} and my way	<b>n'úkw-</b>	<b>n'úkwwoóroshye</b> {Rwanda} <b>n'úkwwoóroshe</b> {Rundi} by those (ways) which are easy <b>n'úkwáanjye</b> {Rwanda} <b>n'úkwáanje</b> {Rundi} and my ways
post {Rundi}	<b>kw'</b>	<b>twooyivuga kw'iiki</b> What should we say about it?	<b>kw'</b>	<b>twoozivuga kw'iiki</b> What should we say about them?

<sup>249</sup> The final construction (postposition /kó/) is mostly Rundi; in Rwanda it is usually /hó/ n10 (Table 44a).

**3.2.12. Group 12 – Bantu Class 18**

Singular        **mu-** {both} [strong] Bantu class 18 – before consonant stems  
 or Plural        **mw-** {both} – before vowel stems

There are no nouns that are strictly within this group. Nouns of other groups enter this classificatory system when they follow the preposition **mu**, which is derived from an old Bantu class 18 marker. There are basically two forms, **mu** before consonants and **mw** before vowels; note that these are both REDUCED (never have the pre-prefix). There is no formal distinction between singular and plural, nor do case forms other than the locative and the possessive ever appear. In fact, the only evidence for this as a class in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi is in the demonstrative system (see Chapter 5), which uses the affix **mu-** in a strictly locative sense.

**Table 46a. Group 12 with Consonant Stems**

function	singular or plural	example
prep	<b>mu</b> <b>muu</b>	<b>mu gikonjo</b> on the wrist <b>muunsi</b> beneath, below, under; <b>muu nzu</b> inside the house
class	<b>mu-</b>	<b>umu</b> this place here; <b>múriíya</b> that place over there
poss	<b>mwaa</b>	<b>mwaa daatá wáacu</b> at my uncle's place
post	<b>-mó</b> {Rwanda} <b>-mwó</b> {Rundi}	<b>harimó</b> there is on it; <b>-súbiramó</b> repeat, redo {Rwanda} <b>harimwó</b> there is on it; <b>-súbiramwó</b> repeat, redo {Rundi}

**Table 46b. Group 12 with Vowel Stems**

function	singular or plural	example
prep	<b>mw</b>	<b>mw iishuúri</b> at school
class	<b>mw-</b>	<b>umwo</b> that place there (near you); <b>mwáa</b> that place there
poss	<b>mw'</b>	[no forms attested]
post	<b>mw'</b>	<b>hari mw'áamáazi</b> There is milk in it

**3.2.13. Group 13 – Bantu Class 23**

Singular &:    **i-** {both} [weak] Bantu group 19 – before consonant stems  
 Plural        **y-** {both} – before vowel stems (only in possessives)<sup>250</sup>

**3.2.13.1. Semantic Characteristics of Group 13**

The following nouns are considered members of this group based upon their GENERIC LOCATIVE meaning. Four are common to both dialects (two have alternate vowel length or differing final vowels); one is limited to Kinyarwanda.

- /imbere/* {both} 'ahead, in front of, before; first [ordinal]; up front; inside; above (in value)'
- /imbere y'ínzu/* {both} 'in front of the house'
- /imbere y'ishuuri/* {Rundi}, */imbere y'ishuúri/* {Rwanda} 'in front of the school'
- /inyuma/* {both} 'behind, the reverse, the other side; [adv] after, behind, backward, outside; afterwards, later'
- /inyuma y'ínzu/* 'behind the house'<sup>251</sup>
- /ibugibwa/* {Rwanda} 'at a hangout, to a place one usually frequents'
- /ikánaaká/* {Rundi} (JN), */ikánaaká/* {Rwanda} 'at such and such a place, somewhere or other, at whatchamacallit' [used when one can't remember or doesn't wish to reveal the location; Rundi: */ahaántuuzé/ n10*]

<sup>250</sup> The only nouns in this class are formed on consonant roots. None to our knowledge are formed on vowel roots.

<sup>251</sup> Some of these have alternative locative possessive agreement with *n10*, e.g., */inyuma h'ínzu/* {Rwanda} 'the outside of the house,' */imbere h'ínzu/* 'the front of the house.'

*/intúuzé/* {Rundi} (JN), */intúuzá/* {Rwanda} 'at what's its place, somewhere or other' (the name escapes me)  
[used when one has forgotten the name]

### 3.2.13.2. Derivations in Group 13

Locative nouns (e.g., */haasí/* 'below,' */heejuru/* 'above,' or */haanzé/* 'outside') followed by possessive constructions in *y'* or *ya* probably involve this class as a GENERIC LOCATIVE, and not *n5*.

*/haáfi y'íintébe/* {both} 'near the chair'  
*/haákuno y'úurúuzi/* {both} 'on this side of the river'  
*/haákurya y'úurúuzi/* {both} 'beyond the river'  
*/haruguru y'ámaví/* {both} 'above the knees'  
*/hiíno y'úmusózi/* {both} 'on this side of the mountain'  
*/hiírya y'ívuuriro/* {both} 'beyond the clinic'

### 3.2.13.3. The Grammar of Group 13 Nouns

Nouns of other groups enter this classificatory system when they follow the preposition *i*, which is derived from an old Bantu class 19 marker. There is no formal distinction between singular and plural, nor do case forms other than the possessive and locative ever appear. This affix only has alternate forms (*i* vs. *y*) in its possessive and postpositional functions. Since this marker is either a single vowel or a single consonant, there is no REDUCED form. Hence, Table 47 does not have a second paradigm.

**Table 47. Group 13 with Consonant and Vowel Stems**

function	singular or plural	example
prep	<b>i</b>	<b>ibumosó</b> leftward, to the left, on the left <b>iruhaánde</b> aside, on the side, to the side <b>i kigáli</b> {Rundi}, <b>i kigali</b> {Rwanda} in Kigali
class	<b>i-</b>	<b>iyi</b> here (near me); <b>iryá</b> this place here; <b>íriíya</b> {Rundi}, <b>iriíya</b> {Rwanda} over there
poss [consonant] [vowel]	<b>ya</b> <b>yaa</b> <b>y'</b>	<b>inyuma ya Péétéro</b> behind Peter <b>inyuma yáanyu</b> behind you <b>inyuma y'ínzu</b> behind the house
post [consonant] [vowel]	<b>-yó</b> <b>-y'</b>	<b>avúuyeyó</b> she coming back from there <b>yooherejey' íimbwá</b> {Rwanda} he sent dogs there

Additional evidence for this class in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi is in the demonstrative system, which uses the affix *i-* in a generic locative sense (see Chapter 5), e.g., */inó/* or */iryá/* 'hereabouts,' */iyo/* 'thereabouts.'

## 3.3. How Nouns Are Formed (Noun Derivations)

Nouns generally consist of a prefix, a root, a suffix, and a tone pattern. The tonality of nouns has been discussed in §3.1.2. The PREFIX always indicates the class membership of a noun (discussed in detail throughout §3.2). Bear in mind that, in accordance with linguistic accuracy, a ZERO PREFIX ( $\emptyset$ -) occurs on the subclasses of groups 1 (*n1a*) and 5 (*n5b*).

*/umukuúngu/* [P2rule] {both} *n1* 'rich person'  
*/Øntwáari/* [Rrule] {both} *n1a* 'Ntwari' (male personal name) [lit. 'the courageous one']  
*/umubábaro/* [Rrule] {both} *n2* 'grief, sorrow'

## Chapter 3: Nouns

/i**sékuro**/ [Rrule] {both} *n3* 'mortar (for pounding, grinding)'  
/i**kimenyeetso**/ [Rrule] {both} *n4* 'sign, indication, mark'  
/i**ndúurú**/ [Arule+Erule] {both} *n5* 'cry of alarm, clamor'  
/Ø**minisiteéri**/ [Brule] {Rwanda} *n5b* 'ministry (of government)' < French  
/u**bubabáre**/ [P2rule] {both} *n8* 'suffering'

The root or stem may represent a noun, a verb, or an adjective base.

/u**muuntu**/ [Rrule] {both} *n1* 'person, human being' < /:**ntu**/ {both} [Bantu noun root]  
/u**kuguru**/ [Rrule] {both} *n9-sg* 'leg' < /-**guru**/ {both}; cf: /**akaguru**/ {both} *n7* 'small leg; part of one's leg'  
/i**nyóngerá**/ {Rundi}, /i**nyóngerá**/ {Rwanda} [Arule+Erule] *n5* 'surplus, extra' < /-**oongera**/ {Rundi},  
/-**oongera**/ {Rwanda} *v-tr* 'add, increase, augment'  
/u**bubí**/ [Rrule] {both} 'ugliness, evil' < /-**bí**/ {both} *adj-root* 'bad, evil, ugly'  
/a**bakurú**/ [Rrule]<sup>252</sup> {both} 'elders; important people, principals (of schools)' < /-**kurú**/ *adj-root* 'old, elderly' [cf:]

The suffix can be any one of the five cardinal vowels (-**a**, -**e**, -**i**, -**o**, -**u**), each of which conveys subtle changes in meaning and governs various tone patterns. Study the shifts in meaning among the following derivations from three different roots.

ROOT -**kór**- or perfect stem -**kóz**- 'work, do'  
/i**nkórabúsa**/ [Rrule+Frule+Xrule] {Rwanda} *n5-cmp* 'do-nothing, lazy or idle person'  
/i**gikorwá**/ [P2rule] {both} 'task; act, deed, action; (ordinary) work'  
/i**nkoré**/ [P2rule] {Rwanda} 'gerundive'  
/u**mukózi**/ [Rrule] {both} 'worker, employee'  
ROOT -**bábar**- or perfect stem -**bábaz**- 'suffer, be hurt, have pain'  
/i**mbabáre**/ [P2rule] {both} *n5* 'gravely-ill person; poor or destitute person'  
/i**mbabázi**/ [P2rule] {both} *n5* 'forgiveness, pardon'  
/i**mbábaro**/ [Rrule] {Rundi} *n5* 'pity, compassion'  
ROOT -**pf**- < -**pfá** 'to die'  
/a**mapfá**/ [Rrule] {both} 'famine, drought'  
/i**gipfáamatwí**/ [Rrule + vowel lengthening] {both} *n4-cmp* 'deaf person'  
/u**mupfáakazi**/ [Rrule + vowel lengthening] {both} *n1* 'widow'  
/i**mipfiíre**/ [P2rule] {Rwanda} *n2-pl* 'death, manner of dying'  
/u**mupfú**/ [Rrule] {both} *n1* 'dead person, cadaver, corpse'  
/u**rupfú**/ [Rrule] {both} *n6* 'death; mortality'

The following, then, are the most common derivational patterns in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi.

- Noun class prefix + ROOT

Although the following words end in a vowel, it is not analyzable as a suffix; rather it is part of the entire root.

/u**mwíizá**/ [Arule+Rrule] {both} *n1-sg* 'good-looker, beautiful woman, handsome man'  
/a**beénsi**/ [Rrule] {both} *n1-pl* 'the majority'  
/u**muryaango**/ [Rrule] {both} *n2-sg* 'family, clan, lineage, social group; organization'  
/i**kinyagú**/ [Rrule] {both} *n4* 'honeycomb'  
/i**inzu**/ {both} *n5-sg* 'house, residence; building'  
/u**buníni**/ {both} *n8-sg-abs* 'size, bigness'

- Noun class prefix + ROOT + -**a**

/u**muhaánga** – **abahaánga**/ [P2rule] *n1* 'creative person, expert, specialist, scholar'  
/i**soonga** – **amasoonga**/ [Rrule] {both} *n3* 'tip, point, endpoint, extreme'

<sup>252</sup> If the verb /-**kúra**/ {both} 'grow (up), get bigger; age, get older' is considered the basis of this derivation, then the tone pattern follows the P2rule.



/impuunga/ [Rrule] {both} *n5* 'jackal' [lit. 'the fleeing one' < /-**huunga**/ {both} 'flee, run away']  
 /ukwíkuunda/ [Rrule] {both} *n9-vn* 'self-love, amor proprio' < /-**íkuunda**/ {both} *v-refl* 'love oneself'  
 See **umu-Δ-a** [consonant root - Rrule, vowel root - Jrule] *n1-sg* (§3.2.1.2)  
 See **umu-Δ-w-a** [P2rule] *n1-sg* (§3.2.1.2)  
 See **i-Δ-a** or **ama-Δ-a** [mixed tone rules] *n3* – the OBJECT or THEME of an action (§3.2.3.2)  
 See **i-Δ-a** [Rrule] *n3-sg* – an appropriate TIME for the action (§3.2.3.2)  
 See **igi-Δ-a** [mixed tone rules] *n4-sg* – derived from verbs (§3.2.4.2)  
 See **igi-Δ-w-a** [P2rule] *n4-sg* – derived from passive verbs (§3.2.4.2)

- Noun class prefix + ROOT + **-e**  
 See **umu-Δ-e** [P2rule] *n1-sg* (§3.2.1.2)  
 See **igi-Δ-e** [P2rule] *n4-sg* (§3.2.4.2)  
 See **iN-Δ-e** [P2rule] *n5* (§3.2.5.2)  
 See **uru-Δ-e** [P2rule] *n6* (§3.2.6.2)  
 See **ubu-Δ-e** [P2rule] *n8* – abstract nouns derived from verbs (§3.2.8.2)
- Noun class prefix + ROOT + **-i**  
 See **umu-Δ-i** [Rrule & P2rule] *n1-sg* creates an agent noun expressing the DOER of an action (§3.2.1.2)  
 See **uru-Δ-i** [P2rule & Rrule] *n6-sg* (§3.2.6.2)
- Noun class prefix + ROOT + **-yi**  
 /**umugeenzi**/ [Rrule] {Rwanda} 'passenger' (R8b, R28) < /-**geenda**/ {both} 'go away, leave, depart'  
 /**umuhísi**/ [Rrule] {both} 'deceased person' (R17) < /-**híta**/ {both} 'pass (by, over); set (of sun); end (rain)'  
 /**umusomyi**/ [Rrule] {Rwanda} 'heavy drinker' (R4) < /-**soma**/ 'drink, imbibe'  
 See **umu-Δ-yi** [Rrule] *n1-sg* which indicates a person always associated with the action (§3.2.1.2)  
 See **igi-Δ-yi** [mixed tone rules] *n4-sg* (§3.2.4.2)
- Noun class 2 prefix + ROOT + **-yi** creates a RESULT noun  
 /**umusuzi**/ [Rrule] {both} *n2* 'fart' (R14) < /-**sura**/ 'break wind'  
 /**umwéezi**/ [Rrule] {both} *n2* 'moonlight' < /-**éera**/ 'be white, shine'
- Noun class 3 prefix + ROOT + **-i** creates an abstract verbal noun  
 /**iraángi**/ [P2rule] {both} *n3* 'color' (R18) [cf: /-**raanga**/ {both} 'indicate, show']  
 /**isóni**/ [Rrule] {both} 'modesty' (R17, R31, R33) [cf: /-**sónera**/ {both} 'esteem, have respect for, honor']
- Noun class prefix + ROOT + **-o**, yields a non-personal (RESULT or INSTRUMENTAL) noun  
 /**umugono**/ [Rrule] {both} *n2* 'snoring' < /-**gona**/ *v-intr* 'snore'  
 See **umu-Δ-o** [Rrule] *n2-sg* (§3.2.2.2)  
 See **i-Δ-o** or **ama-Δ-o** [Rrule] *n3* (§3.2.3.2)  
 See **igi-Δ-o** *n4-sg* (§3.2.4.2)
- Noun class prefix + ROOT + **-u**  
 See **umu-Δ-u** [Rrule] {both} *n1-sg* (§3.2.1.2)  
 See **uru-Δ-u** [Rrule] {both} *n6-sg* (§3.2.6.2)

- Nouns formed with the associative prefix (**nya-**)

The (post)prefix **nya-** creates nouns indicating *possession of, belonging to, or association with* the following root. These derivations are often used in attributive functions (§6), given the small number of adjectives in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi. It comes after the class prefix, but before the root; if the following root has low tone, there is low tone on the derived word; if any of the following three syllables has high tone, **-nyá-** will have high tone [Frule]; if the first syllable of the root (i.e., the immediately following mora) has high tone, the high tone is lost on the root [Xrule].

/umunyamabaanga/ {both} *n1-sg* 'confidant; [ext] secretary' [cf: /ibaanga/ *n3-sg* 'secret, secrecy']  
 /umunyántegéké/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg-cmp* 'weakling, weak person; [atr] weak, feeble' [cf: /integé/ *n5-pl-mass* 'strength' + /nké/ *adj-n5-pl* 'few']  
 /umunyábweenge/ {both} *n1-sg* 'wise man, intelligent person' [cf: /ubweenge/ *n8-sg* 'knowledge']  
 /amanyákurí/ {both} *n3-pl* 'true words, honest talk; the truth' [cf: /ukurí/ *n11-sg-abs* 'truth']  
 /ikinyámakurú/ {both} *n4-sg* 'newspaper, journal, periodical' [cf: /amakurú/ *n3-pl-ir* 'news']  
 /ikinyábwoóya/ {Rundi}, /ikinyábwooyá/<sup>253</sup> {Rwanda} *n4-sg* 'caterpillar' [cf: /ubwoóya/ *n8-sg* 'wool, fur, body hair']  
 /inyámazúuru/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'nasal passage; nasal sound' [linguistics] [cf: /izúuru/ *n3-sg* 'nose,' /amazúuru/ *n3-pl* 'nostrils']

If **nya-** begins a word, the syllable which follows usually receives high tone if there is a high tone within the word [Arule], otherwise low tone prevails throughout the derivation; if the immediately following syllable has high tone, that high tone will be lost [Xrule] (see also §3.2.1a.2).

/nyagasani/ {Rwanda} [low tone throughout] *n1a-sg* 'lord'  
 /nyákamwe/ {Rundi} [Frule exception], /nyakámwe/ {Rwanda} [Arule] *n1a-sg* 'person all alone in life (without any family), lone survivor' < /-mwé/ 'one'  
 /nyamínaáni/ {both} [Arule + Rrule] *n1a-sg* (male personal name for the eighth child) < /umunaáni/ 'eight'  
 /nyamwéeru/ {both} [Arule = Rrule] *n1a-sg* 'albino' < /-éera/ 'be white'  
 /nyabábyeyi/ {Rwanda} [Arule + Xrule] *n5b-sg* 'uterus, womb' < /-byáara/

- Nouns formed from verbs can have any of the extensions, e.g., CAUSATIVE, BENEFACTIVE, RECIPROCAL, etc.

/igikóreesho/ [Rrule] {both} *n4* 'instrument, tool, utensil' < /-kóra/ {both} 'work' + -eesh- CAUSATIVE  
 /ikigwaaniisho/ [Rrule] {Rundi} *n4* 'weapon' < /-gwaana/ {Rundi} 'fight' + -iish- CAUSATIVE  
 /mbárirano/ [Rrule] {both} *n5b* 'hearsay' < /-bárirá/ {both} *v-ditr* 'tell s.o. s.t.' + -an- RECIPROCAL  
 /urwángano/ [Rrule] {Rwanda} 'mutual hate' < /-áanga/ {Rwanda} *v-tr* 'dislike, hate' + -an- RECIPROCAL  
 See the Rwanda derivation **imi-Δ-ir-e** or **imi-Δ-er-e** [P2rule] *n2-pl* derived from BENEFACTIVE verbs showing the RESULT of applying the action (§3.2.2.2)  
 See **i-Δ-ir-o** or **i-Δ-er-o** [Rrule] *n3-sg* derived from BENEFACTIVE verbs showing the PLACE associated with an action (§3.2.3.2)  
 See **uru-Δ-ir-o** or **uru-Δ-er-o** [Rrule] *n6-sg* derived from BENEFACTIVE verbs (§3.2.6.2)

- Nouns can be formed from NEGATIVE VERBS with the prefix series **-ta-**, **-da-**, or **-t-**.

/mudásuumbwá/ [Arule+Prule] {both} *n1a-sg* 'person who is not surpassed; [atr] unsurpassable' < /-suumba/ {both} *v-tr* 'surpass, exceed; excel, be over and above or greater than; dominate'  
 /indáshiimá/ [Arule+Prule] {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'ingrate, ungrateful person, someone who is never content' < /-shiima/ 'praise; prefer; appreciate, approve of; agree with; be satisfied with; accept s.t. with pleasure'  
 /intúumvá/ [Arule+Prule] {Rundi} *n5-sg/pl* 'deaf; [fig] s.o. who will not listen or s.t. that will not do what it is supposed to; {Rwanda} 'stubborn person (s.o. who does want to listen); [atr] disobedient, stubborn' < /-úumva/ {both} *v-tr* 'hear, listen'

<sup>253</sup> Kimenyi notes that Kinyarwanda has an unexplained rightward high tone displacement on this form [Frule + Erule] (2002:288).

- Nouns can also be formed from POSTPOSITIONS.  
/imibeérehó/ [P2rule+Erule] {Rwanda} *n2-pl* 'life, existence; manner of being there' < /-bá/ *v-cop* 'be' + /-er-/ [ben] + /-hó/ *post* 'there (on, off, in, above)'  
/indórerwamó/ [Arule+Erule] {Rwanda} *n5-sg/pl* 'mirror; eyeglasses' < /-rora/ 'observe, view' + /-er-/ [ben] + /-w-/ [passive] + /-mó/ *post* 'there (in that place or time)'  
/ukubahó/ [Erule] {both} *n9-vn* 'existence' < /-bá/ *v-cop* 'be' + /-hó/ *post* 'there (on, off, in, above)'
- Some nouns are formed by COMPOUNDING with other parts of speech  
/umugíranéézá/ [Arule + Rrule] {both} *n1-sg-cmp* 'benefactor, do-gooder' < /-gira/ *v-tr* {both} 'do (an act understood in context)' + /-néézá/ *adv* 'well, nicely'  
/umupfáasóni/ [Rrule + vowel lengthening] {both} 'good woman' (R17) < /-pfá/ *v-intr* 'die' + /-isóni/ *n3-sg* 'shame'  
/umutégarúgori/ [Arule + Frule + Rrule] {Rwanda} *n1-sg-cmp* 'woman' < /-téga/ *v-tr* 'wear an ornament on one's head (usually of a woman who has given birth)' + /urugori/ *n6-sg* 'crown, diadem, tiara'
- Some nouns are formed by REDUPLICATION of the root or stem (see §2.5.17 for more details)  
/injúgujúgu/ {Rundi} *n5-sg-redup*, /umujúgujúgu/ {Rwanda} *n2-sg-redup* 'stick used as a projectile'  
/igitírítiri/ {both} *n4-sg-redup* 'corn cob'  
/ubushóorishóori/ {both} *n8-sg-redup* 'top (of a tree); peak, summit'  
See ama- + REDUPLICATION of a noun *n3-pl* (§3.2.3.2)  
See igi- or ibi- + REDUPLICATION of a noun stem *n4* (§3.2.4.2)

### 3.4. The Forms of the Noun

When nouns are used in sentences they have two forms: FULL (consisting of the entire prefix, discussed in the various sections of §3.2) and REDUCED.<sup>254</sup>

The full form has an initial vowel<sup>255</sup> and the appropriate class prefix.

- It occurs on CITATION FORMS, such as when one lists a number of nouns.  
/inyama, umutsíma, imineke, imbogá/ {both} 'meat, dumplings, bananas, vegetables'
- It occurs when the noun is in INITIAL POSITION of the sentence, clause, or phrase (including the PREDICATE after a verb 'to be,' **ni, si, -rí**).  
«Umugore wari umusomyi w'akagwa» (R4) 'A woman who was a heavy drinker...'  
«Umutumwajambo aba ari umwizigirwa» (R11) 'A spokesperson is usually trustworthy...'  
«Kanyanga ... ni inzoga» (R24.1) 'Kanyanga is a liquor'
- It occurs when the noun is REVERSED from subject position.  
«I Kibungo habereye umuhango» (R8a) 'In Kibungo, a ceremony was held...'  
«Mu mugu Cap muri Afurika y'epfo habaye impanuka idasanze» (R8b) 'An unusual accident occurred in Cape Town, South Africa...'  
«Harakozwe ibibi vy'agahomerabunwa» (R37.4) 'Evil beyond belief has also been done.'
- It occurs when the noun is the OBJECT of a verb.  
«Umugabo yabwiye umwana wiwe» (R1) 'A man told his son.'  
«Banki nkuru y'igihugu yatangiye gutanga inoti nshyashya z'amafaranga, 5000, 1000 na 500.» {Rwanda} 'The Central Bank has started providing brand new bills in denominations of 5000, 1000, and 500 francs. (R2)

<sup>254</sup> Some authors speak of the noun's "losing its augment" or "Le nom perd l'augment" (e.g., Ntahokaja 1994:58).

<sup>255</sup> This initial vowel is an ECHO of the vowel in the following syllable: umu-, aba-, imi-, ama-, iki-, ibi-, uru-, uku-, etc.

## Chapter 3: Nouns

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The reduced prefix usually loses its initial vowel (except for *n3* and *n5a*), but keeps the appropriate class affix. Broadly speaking, the short form occurs after a range of grammatical or inflectional markers.

- It is found after locative prepositions (**ku, mu, i, kwaa**).
  - «**ku rutugu**» 'on (his) shoulder' (R5)
  - «**Prezida Kagame yagarutse ku kibazo**» 'President Kagame revisited the problem' (R29.7)
  - «**mu nama**» {both} 'in a meeting' (R9)
  - «**mu mavuta y'ubuto**» 'in vegetable oil' (R18)
  - /imusózi/ {Rwanda} 'on dry land'
  - «**kwa muganga**» {both} 'to a doctor' (R34.5)
- It comes after any demonstrative pronoun (deictic, §5).
  - «**muri iyo ntara**» {both} 'in that district' (R20)
  - «**iryo bomba**» {Rundi} 'that pump' (R23)
  - «**icyo gihugu**» {Rwanda} 'that country' (R10)
  - /uwo muúnsi/ {both} 'that day' (R29.8)
  - «**uwo mwavu**» {both} 'that fertilizer' (R35.2)
  - «**ya mbeba**» {both} 'that mouse' (R27.10)
- It appears after the negatives **ntaa** {both} or **ataa** {Rundi}.
  - «**nta cyizere**» {Rwanda} 'there was no hope' (R8.2)
  - «**nta mpanuka nk'iyi**» {both} 'no accident like this' (R16)
  - «**nta kibi bamubona ko**» {Rundi} 'there was nothing bad that they found about him' (R25.2)
  - «**ata ngorane**» {Rundi} 'no problem' (R33.1)
  - «**ata burenganzira**» {Rundi} 'has no right' (R33.4)
- Reduced forms come after the enumerative **-ndi** (§4.10.4).
  - «**akandi gatelefone**» {both} 'another telephone' (R7)
  - «**nta kindi kiyago**» {Rundi} 'no other (topic of) conversation' (R25.4)
  - «**nta bandi bagabo**» {both} 'no other witnesses' (R28.9)
  - «**mu zindi ngingo**» {both} 'in other joints' (R31.1)
  - «**undi mubyeyi**» {Rwanda} 'another parent' (R36.7)
- The shortened prefix is very common in vocative forms (see §3.6.5).
  - /bagábo/ {both} *n1-pl-voc* 'Oh men!'
  - /Øzuúba/ {both} *n3-sg-voc* 'Oh sun!' (R28.2,4)
  - /kibóondo/ {both} *n4-sg-voc* 'Oh infant!' (R36.2)
  - /Ømaána/ {both} *n5-sg-voc* 'Oh God!, Oh Lord!'
- After the derivational prefix **nya-**, nouns appear in their shortened form.
  - /umunyábuté/ {both} *n1-sg* 'lazybones, idler' < /**ubuté**/ {both} *n8-sg-abs* 'indifference, negligence, laziness'
  - /umunyáwooba/ {both} *n1-sg* 'coward, fearful person' < /**ubwóoba**/ {both} *n8-sg-abs* 'fear, cowardice'
  - /ikinyámakurú/ {both} *n4-sg* 'newspaper, journal, periodical' < /**amakurú**/ *n3-pl-ir* 'news'
- When the noun is used as a personal name it often loses its initial vowel.
  - /mugabo/ {both} *n1a-sg-pn* (male personal name) < /**umugabo**/ {both} *n1-sg* 'man'
  - /mwézi/ {both} *n1a-sg-pn* (male personal name) < /**umwézi**/ {both} *n2-sg* 'moonlight'
  - /gikeri/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-pn* (male personal name) < /**igikeri**/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg* 'frog, toad'
- Kin terms formed from nouns often use the reduced prefix.
  - /musáaza/ {both} *n1-sg-kin* 'brother (said by a sister)' < /**umusáaza**/ {both} *n1-sg* 'old man, elderly person'
  - /mukúru/ {both} *n1-sg-kin* 'elder sibling (brother or sister of the same sex)' < /**umukurú**/ {both} *n1-sg* 'elder, old person, senior citizen; venerable person, respectable person; sage'

- When the noun is the second element in a compound it appears in reduced form.  
*/umuváandimwé/* {both} *n1-sg-cmp-kin* 'blood relative of the same generation (close, but unspecified)' < */-va/* {both} 'come from' + */inda/* {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'belly, womb' + */imwé/* {both} *num-n5-sg* 'one'  
*/umucáamaanza/* {both} *n1-sg-cmp* 'judge, magistrate' < */-cá/* {both} *v-mono-tr* 'cut' + */imaanza/* {both} *n6-pl-ir* 'disputes, litigations, lawsuits'  
*/igipfáamatwí/* {both} *n4-sg-cmp* 'deaf person' < */-pfá/* {both} *v-mono-st* 'die' + */amatwí/* *n9-pl* {both} 'ears'  
*/ikigeendajuru/* {both} *n4-sg-cmp* 'rocket, spacecraft' < */-geenda/* {both} *v-intr* 'go (away), leave, depart; move (along)' + */ijuru/* {both} *n3-sg* 'sky; heaven'  
*/akaraangamuuntu/* {Rundi} *n7-sg-cmp*, */indaangamuuntu/* {Rwanda} *n5-sg-cmp* 'identification' < */-raanga/* {both} *v-tr* 'show, identify' + */umuuntu/* *n1-sg* 'person'  
*/uburéengaanzirá/* {both} *n8-sg-cmp* 'authorization, approval, consent; privilege, (exclusive) right' < */-réenga/* {both} *v-tr* 'cross; jump, step or walk over; exceed, overtake' + */inzira/* {both} *n5-sg-ir* 'road, street, path, way'

### 3.5. Irregular Nouns

Although the vast majority of nouns follow the class system to which each belongs, there are several that (1) have some irregularity in their formation, (2) do not have a corresponding plural – (3) or singular – form, or (4) "jump" from one class to another. Note that there are recurring patterns in most instances, so that such words can be learned in smallish groups or sets.

#### 3.5.1. Irregular in Formation

- /nyirá-/* {Rwanda}, */nyené-/* {Rundi} *n1a-sg*, */beéne-/* {both} *n1a-pl* 'proprietor, master of, owner of' [marker of proprietary nouns or male personal names]  
*/iryíinyo – améenyoy/* {both} *n3* 'tooth; [pl] teeth' [archaic prefix *iry-* instead of simplified *i-*]  
*/jjiísho – amáaso/* {both} *n3* 'eye' [archaic prefix *iji-* instead of simplified *i-*; change of *s > sh*]  
*/ijaambo – amagaambo/* {Rwanda} *n3* 'word' [irregular change of *g > j*;<sup>256</sup> note the consistency in Rundi */amajaambo/* where the root of both singular and plural is */-jaambo/*]  
*/ijana – amagana/* {Rwanda} *num-n3* 'hundred' [irregular change of *g > j*; note Rundi */amajana/*]

#### 3.5.2. No Plural

Abstract or collective nouns in any class do not generally have a plural. This applies broadly to group 8 (see §3.2.8.1), but also to the following:

- /umwíidegemvyo/* {Rundi} *n2-sg-abs* 'liberty, freedom'
- /icó/* {both} *n3-sg-abs* 'dirt, dirtiness; stain, taint; filthiness, squalor'
- /iragí/* {Rundi} *n3-sg-abs* 'inheritance, heritage, legacy; custom or behavior inherited from one's ancestors'<sup>257</sup>
- /igihogó/* {both} *n4-sg-abs* 'brown, reddish brown, russet color of livestock'
- /imvúra/* {both} *n5-sg-col* 'rain'
- /inkórorá/* {both} *n5-sg-col* 'cough, cold'
- /inzara/* {both} *n5-sg-abs* 'hunger, famine'
- /inyóota/* {both} *n5a-sg-abs* 'thirst'
- /isúkaári/* {both} *n5a-sg-col* 'sugar' < Arb
- /urudéende/* {Rundi} *n6-sg-abs* 'singular'
- /ubwaátsi/* [*n8-sg-col*] {both} 'grass (tall sp., used especially for building); pasture, prairie'
- /ukurí/* {both} *n11* 'truth'

<sup>256</sup> This is similar to the palatal sound changes discussed in §2.5.7, but is (a) irregular and (b) limited to Kinyarwanda.

<sup>257</sup> Rwanda */umuragé/* which derives from the same root, */-raga/* 'bequeath,' and covers the same meanings *does* have a plural */imiragé/*, illustrating how each dialect has its own idiom.

### 3.5.3. No Singular

Nouns designating certain liquids are in group 3 plural (see §3.2.3.1). There are also the following found only with a plural prefix:

- /amaganyá/ {both} *n3-pl* 'anxiety, grief'
- /amagará/ {both} *n3-pl* 'strength'
- /amajaambere/ {Rundi}, /amajyaambere/ {Rwanda} *n3-pl* 'progress'
- /amaakira/ {Rwanda} *n3-pl* 'rain (of short duration)'
- /amakúuka/ {both} *n3-pl* 'mid-afternoon (from about 2 to 3 p.m., when the cows leave the pasture to go to a watering place)'
- /amapfá/ {both} *n3-pl-mass* 'famine, drought'
- /ibirori/ {both} *n4-pl* 'ceremonies, (public) festivities'
- /ibitaro/ {both} *n4-pl* 'hospital'
- /ibyiriingiro/ {Rwanda} *n4-pl-col* 'hope, trust, confidence'
- /udutá/ {both} *n7-pl* 'a little milk'
- /utúuzi/ {both} *n7-pl* 'a little water'

### 3.5.4. Jumping of Classes

- 3-5 (Group 3 singular, but Group 5 plural)
  - /isóni – isóni/ {both} *n3-sg-ir* 'modesty, decency; shyness, (sense of) shame; respect'
  - /iyígiisha – iyígiisha/ {both} *n3-sg-ir* 'teaching, instruction, education; doctrine'
- 5-3 (Group 5 singular, but Group 3 plural)
  - /ibáhashá – amabáhashá/ {both} *n5a* 'envelope'
  - /ibaánki/ {Rundi} *n5a*, /baánki/ {Rwanda} *n5b* – /amabaánki/ {both} 'bank' < French
  - /ibáruwá – amabáruwá/ {Rwanda} *n5a* 'letter, writing; Scripture'
  - /iboombo – amaboombo/ {both} *n5a* 'faucet, tap, pump-well (source of flowing water)' < Swahili
  - /ibutura – amabutura/ {both} *n5a* 'shorts' < Swahili *-butulia* 'cut off'
  - /idólaari – amadólaari/ {both} *n5a* 'dollar' < English / French *dollar*
  - /ifí – amafí/ {both} *n5a* 'fish'
  - /ifu – amafu/ {both} *n5a* 'flour, powder'
  - /ikaanzu – amakaanzu/ {both} *n5a* 'dress (clothing), robe, cassock'
  - /inkurú – amakurú/ {both} *n5* 'news'
  - /inzira – amayira/ {both} *n5* 'road, path, way'
  - /inzu – amazu/ {both} *n5* 'house, residence'
  - /isábuné – amasábuné/ {Rwanda} *n5a*, /isábuní – amasábuní/ *n5a* {Rundi} 'soap' < Arabic
  - /isaáke – amasaáke/ {both} *n5a* 'rooster, cock'
  - /ishá – amashá/ {both} *n5a* 'gazelle'
  - /ishu – amashu/ {both} *n5a* 'cabbage' < French
  - /ishuúre – amashuúre/ {Rundi} 'school'
  - /isuka – amasúka/ {both} 'pick-axe, hoe'
- 6-3 (Group 6 singular, but Group 3 plural)
  - «urujya n'uruza – amajya n'amaza» {Rwanda} 'comings and goings'
  - /urura – amara/ {both} 'intestine, entrail'
  - /urushí – amashí/ {Rundi}, /urushyí – amashyí/ {Rwanda} 'palm, interior part of the hand (including the fingers)'
- 6-8 (Group 6 singular, but Group 8a plural)
  - /uruhivú – ubuhivú/ {Rwanda} 'raffia fiber (made from the leaves and used for mats, baskets, etc.)'
  - /ururó – uburó/ {both} 'millet, eleusine (grass sp. with spikelets)'
  - /ururábyo – uburábyo/ {Rwanda} 'flower'
  - /urwoóya – ubwoóya/ {both} 'wool, fur, body hair'

### 3.6. Noun Cases

Broadly speaking, case is the system that each language has for identifying the role of nouns within a sentence. Some languages (like Latin, German, Russian, or Greek) have special markers (such as suffixes) for each case. Other languages (like English or Bantu) primarily use word order to identify who is doing what to whom. However, there are also mixed systems where some cases do receive morphological marking (such as the English LOCATIVE *to, from, into* or POSSESSIVE *'s, of*). For an overview of noun cases, see §1.8.5 and Table 22.

#### 3.6.1. Subject (Nominative<sup>258</sup>)

Linguists sometimes describe languages in terms of the typical order of parts within a sentence. Both English and Kinyarwanda-Kirundi are called SVO (subject – verb – object) languages, because within a standard sentence, the subject comes first. This is not always the case (see §16), but it is usually so. More importantly, the subject and the verb share an intimate relationship called AGREEMENT. In Bantu languages the verb has a special marker that echoes the CLASS and NUMBER of the subject.<sup>259</sup> A full table of all such prefixes is found in the next chapter (§4.2) under SUBJECT PRONOUN AGREEMENT. The following examples illustrate the role of NOUN SUBJECTS across several noun classes.

- «Nyirahakizimana afite imyaka 38» {Rwanda} *n1-sg-subj* 'Nyirahakizimana is 38 years old' (R34.1)  
 «abana b'abakobwa baracari bake mu mashure» {Rundi} *n1-pl-subj* 'Girls in schools are few' (R39.2)  
 «umwijima ubona impyisi» {both} *n2-sg-subj* 'the darkness found a hyena' (R28.3)  
 «Iyo myumbati kugira ngo ibashe kuribwa» {both} *n2-pl-subj* 'So that those cassavas can be eaten' (R20)  
 «itabi riza kwamamazwa» {both} *n3-sg-subj* 'tobacco came to be popular' (R26)  
 «Amabasha azokwugururwa mu nama» {Rundi} *n3-pl-subj* 'the envelopes will be opened at the meeting' (R9)  
 «igihugu gishobore gutera imbere» {both} *n4-sg-subj* 'a country should be capable of making progress' (R29.6)  
 «ibiyobyabwenge birimo imigabane ibiri» {Rwanda} *n4-pl-subj* 'drugs are in two categories' (R26)  
 «impanuka ya bisi ihitana abantu 39» {both} *n5-sg-subj* 'the bus accident kill(ed) 39 people' (R16)  
 «inyama ... zamara guhindura ibara» {both} *n5-pl-subj* 'the meats have changed color' (R18)  
 «Ururimi rwawe rugaba ituze» {Rwanda} *n6-sg-subj* 'Your words bestow tranquility' (R36.6)

#### 3.6.2. Object (Accusative<sup>260</sup>)

In English and in most Bantu languages, objects are the "other end" of verbs (SVO), that to which the verb is directed. In Kinyarwanda-Kirundi one must distinguish between an EXTERNAL as opposed to an INTERNAL OBJECT. An object pronoun may occur on the verb<sup>261</sup> [INTERNAL], whereas a full noun will appear in the sentence after the verb [EXTERNAL]. However, the two cannot co-occur; one cannot have the same internal and external object in a single sentence.

- «umwijima ubona impyisi» {both} *n5-sg-obj* 'the darkness found a hyena' (R28.3)  
 «umwijima urayibona» {both} *n5-sg-pro-obj* 'the darkness found it'

<sup>258</sup> NOMINATIVE is the name of the case identifying the subject of a finite or copulative verb in Latin; it has been applied broadly to the grammar of other languages.

<sup>259</sup> Whereas in English the subject agrees with the PERSON and NUMBER of the head noun, e.g., *I am going*, *you are earning*, *he finds a solution*, etc. Note that if -s PLURAL does not occur on the subject, -s marking the PRESENT TENSE will appear on the verb: *the boy works*, *the boys work*. Hence, -s alternates with ZERO in English.

<sup>260</sup> ACCUSATIVE is the name of the case identifying the direct object of a verb or some prepositions in Latin; it has been applied broadly to the grammar of other languages.

<sup>261</sup> In such cases, the verb has the structure: SUBJ-(ASPECT)-OBJ-Δ-TENSE.

## Chapter 3: Nouns

Note that <sup>x</sup>«**umwijima urayibona impyisi**» is totally unacceptable.

When a noun is first introduced, it usually appears after the verb as an external object. In subsequent sentences, it would then appear as an internal pronoun. This is similar to English where we introduce an object into our discussion (*I visited my friend **John***) and then refer to him, her or it with a pronoun (*I invited **him** to a movie*). A full table of all internal affixes or INFIXES is found in the next chapter (§4.3) under OBJECT PRONOUN AGREEMENT. The following examples illustrate the role of noun objects across several noun classes.

- «**Umugabo yabwiye umwana wiwe**» {Rundi} *n1-sg-obj* 'A man told his son' (R1)  
 «**impanuka ya bisi ihitana abantu 39**» {both} *n1-pl-obj* 'The bus accident kill(ed) 39 people' (R16)  
 «**ahubwo nababereye umutwaro**» {both} *n2-sg-obj* 'instead I have become a burden for them' (R34.5)  
 «**Mu gikonjo Gisabo yambara imiringa ibiri y'isenga**» {Rundi} *n2-pl-obj* 'On his wrist Gisabo wore two amulets' (R5)  
 «**Ururimi rwawe rugaba ituze**» {Rwanda} *n3-sg-obj* 'Your words bestow tranquility' (R36.6)  
 «**yarirukanye ibitero vy'Abarabu**» {Rundi} *n4-pl-obj* 'He pursued the Arab troops' (R3)  
 «... **igihugu gishobore gutera imbere**» {both} *n5-sg-obj* '... a country should be capable of making progress' (R29.6)  
 «**Banki nkuru y'igihugu yatangiye gutanga inoti nshyashya z'amafaranga**» {Rwanda} *n5-pl-obj* 'The Central Bank started issuing brand new francs' (R2)  
 «**Niko gufata akandi gatelefone ka mugenzi we**» {both} *n7-sg-obj* 'So he borrowed another cell phone from his friend.'  
 «**Mwezi yari umwami yagerageje kubungabunga ubumwe bw'Uburundi**» {both} *n8-sg-obj* 'Mwezi was the king who tried to safeguard the unity of Burundi.' (R3)

**Table 48. Possessive or Noun Phrase Agreement Markers**

the following word starts with a consonant and is	a vowel			
part of speech	NOUN	PRO or NUM	n/a	INF or LOC
class of head				
n1-sg	<b>wa</b>	<b>waa</b>	<b>w'</b>	<b>wó</b>
n1-pl	<b>baa</b>		<b>b'</b>	<b>bó</b>
n2-sg	<b>wa</b>	<b>waa</b>	<b>w'</b>	<b>wó</b>
n2-pl	<b>ya</b>	<b>yaa</b>	<b>y'</b>	<b>yó</b>
n3-sg	<b>ryaa</b>		<b>ry'</b>	<b>ryó</b>
n3-pl	<b>ya</b>	<b>yaa</b>	<b>y'</b>	<b>yó</b>
n4-sg	<b>caa</b> {Rundi}		<b>c'</b>	<b>có</b>
	<b>cyaa</b> {Rwanda}		<b>cy'</b>	<b>cyó</b>
n4-pl	<b>vyaa</b> {Rundi}		<b>vy'</b>	<b>vyó</b>
	<b>byaa</b> {Rwanda}		<b>by'</b>	<b>byó</b>
n5-sg	<b>ya</b>	<b>yaa</b>	<b>y'</b>	<b>yó</b>
n5-pl	<b>zaa</b>		<b>z'</b>	<b>zó</b>
n6-sg	<b>rwaa</b>		<b>rw'</b>	<b>rwó</b>
n6-pl	<b>zaa</b>		<b>z'</b>	<b>zó</b>
n7-sg	<b>kaa</b>		<b>k'</b>	<b>kó</b>
n7-pl	<b>twaa</b>		<b>tw'</b>	<b>twó</b>
n8-sg	<b>bwaa</b>		<b>bw'</b>	<b>bwó</b>
n8-pl	<b>ya</b>	<b>yaa</b>	<b>y'</b>	<b>yó</b>
n9-sg	<b>kwaa</b>		<b>kw'</b>	<b>kó</b>
n9-pl	<b>ya</b>	<b>yaa</b>	<b>y'</b>	<b>yó</b>
n10-loc	<b>haa</b>		<b>h'</b>	<b>hó</b>
n11-adv	<b>kwaa</b>		<b>kw'</b>	<b>kwó</b>
n12-loc	<b>mwaa</b>		<b>mw'</b>	<b>mwó</b>
n13-loc	<b>ya</b>	<b>yaa</b>	<b>y'</b>	<b>yó</b>



### 3.6.3. Possessive or Attributive (Genitive) - Noun Phrase Agreement Markers

Unlike the subject and object cases, which are indicated by word order or context, the possessive case does have a special series of markers. These are composed of the thematic consonant for each noun class and one of three connectives, /-a/, /-aa/, and /-ó/, depending on the type of word that follows (see Table 48). If a pronoun or numeral follows, the long /aa/ will appear; if a verbal noun or locative<sup>262</sup> follows, the high-toned /ó/ will appear; otherwise, the short /a/ is used on weak forms. However, if the following word begins with a vowel, both the short /a/ and long /aa/ will drop.

/umwiígiisha wáanyu/ {both} 'your teacher'  
 /umwiígiishwa waa káne/ {both} 'the fourth student'  
 /umwiígiisha w'úmugabo/ {both} 'a male teacher'  
 /umwiígiisha wa yóhaáni/ {both} 'John's teacher'  
 /abiígiisha baa yóhaáni/ {both} 'John's teachers'  
 /umwiishwa wa mugabo/ {Rundi}, /umwiishywa wa mugabo/ {Rwanda} 'Mugabo's nephew'  
 /umugabo wó mu baantu/ {Rwanda} 'a witness among humans' (R28.8)

#### 3.6.3.1. The Tonality of Possessive Constructions

The tone pattern of possessives depends upon the shape of the agreement marker and whether the following word begins with a consonant or a vowel.

Possessives in -ó are the most straightforward, tonally speaking. There always is a high tone on the final /ó/ and the tonality of accompanying nouns is not influenced, each noun keeps whatever tonality it has.

/umuuntu wó ku karwa/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg-poss-loc-n7sg* 'a person from the little island'  
 /abanyaambo bó mu rwaanda/ {both} *n1-sg-poss-loc-n6-geog* 'the Nyambo people of Rwanda' (R38.11)  
 /abanyághúgu bó mu ntáará/ {Rundi} *n1-pl-poss-loc-n5-sg* 'the citizens of the district' (R39.4)  
 /igituúntu có mu mahahá/ {Rundi} *n4-sg-poss-loc-n3-pl* 'tuberculosis of the lungs' (R31)  
 /saa ziné zó mu gitóondo/ {Rundi} *n5-pl-poss-loc-n4-sg* 'ten o'clock in the morning' (R9)  
 "Innocenti" /hó mu butariyaáni/ *n10-loc-poss-loc-n8-geog* {Rwanda} 'Innocenti in Italy' (R6)

If the word which follows a possessive in -a begins with a vowel (i.e., usually a noun group marker), the -a of the agreement marker drops (indicated in writing by an apostrophe) and the remaining vowel acquires high tone [H rule].

/umwiígiisha w'úmugabo/ {both} *n1-sg-poss-n1-sg* 'a male teacher'  
 /ku gitúgu c'iburyó/ {Rundi} *n4-sg-poss-n13-loc* 'on (his) right shoulder' (R5)  
 /ibikorwá by'úbutabaazi/ {Rwanda} *n4-pl-poss-n8-sg* 'rescue efforts' [lit. 'actions of rescue'] (R8)

Furthermore, if the vowel in the immediately following syllable (i.e., the next mora) has high tone, then the initial high vowel becomes long (see §2.2.2.3). This is one mechanism for allowing each of two consecutive high tones to remain (see §2.4.25).

/imití y'úubwóoko bwóose/ {Rwanda} *n2-pl-poss-n8-sg* 'medicines of all kinds'  
 /hagatí y'úumwáaka/ {both} *n10-loc/n13-poss-n2-sg* 'the middle of the year'

If the word which follows a possessive in -a begins with a consonant and if a high tone occurs anywhere within the word, the first syllable following the agreement marker will acquire a high tone.

/umuheto wa dáatá/ {both} 'my father's bow'  
 /akáana kaa kábaáre/ {both} 'a small child from Kabare'

<sup>262</sup> Usually of noun groups 10-12.

However, if the word does not have any high tone, then the entire possessive phrase will be low-toned.

/umwáana wa perezida/ {both} *n1-sg-poss-n1a-sg* 'the president's child'  
/imití ya mugiga/ {both} *n2-pl-poss-n5b-sg* 'medicines for meningitis'

These observations apply to noun constructions only; possessive pronouns have different tone rules as we shall see in the next chapter.

### 3.6.3.2. The Meaning or Use of Possessive Constructions

The construction NOUN – AGREEMENT MARKER – NOUN is not merely used to mark possession. It connects two nouns together and can serve to mark a whole range of relationships, including attribution. Since Bantu languages have a very small number of true adjectives (see §6), the linking of two nouns can allow the second to modify or describe the first in a variety of ways discussed below. Note that each such construction involves a two-way noun class agreement, uniting the noun group of the possessor with that of the possessed.

- Possessive Relationship

The most common use of these noun phrase agreement markers is to link a POSSESSOR and a thing POSSESSED.

«umunyamabanga w'ishirahamwe» {Rundi} *n1-sg-poss-n3-sg* 'the secretary of the association' (R9)  
«imigenzo y'ikirundi» {both} *n2-pl-poss-n4-sg* 'Rundi traditions' (R11)  
«icyemezo cy'Innocenti» {Rwanda} *n4-sg-poss-n5b-sg* 'a resolution in Innocenti (Italy)' (R6)  
«ibitero vy'Abarabu» {Rundi} *n4-pl-poss-n1-pl* 'Arab troops' (R3)  
«inkomoko y'umwana» {both} *n5-sg-poss-n1-sg* 'the parentage of a child' (R13)  
«intambara y'i Burundi» {both} *n5-sg-poss-loc-n8-sg* 'the war in Burundi' (R10)  
«isuku y'ifi» {Rwanda} *n5a-sg-poss-n5a-sg* 'the cleanliness of the stingray' (R12)  
«banki nkuru y'igihugu» {both} *n5b-sg-poss-n4-sg* 'the Central Bank' [lit. 'the major bank of the country' (R2)  
«leta y'u Burundi» {both} *n5b-sg-poss-n8-sg* 'the Burundi government' (R10)  
«ubuyobozi bw'ishirahamwe» {Rundi} *n8-sg-poss-n3-sg* 'the management of the association' (R9)  
/ubumwé bw'úburuúndi/ {both} *n8-sg-poss-n8-sg* 'the unity of Burundi' (R3)  
/imbere h'inzu/ {Rwanda} *n13-loc-poss-n10+n5-sg* 'the front side of the house'

- Simple Apposition or Linking

Sometimes nouns are linked together in a way that appears redundant in English, but is required in Kinyarwanda or Kirundi to SPECIFY THE NOUN because such a meaning does not exist as a single word, e.g., child LINK male = boy, person LINK female = woman. In such simple apposition, the class of both the possessor and the possessed is often the same, although it can differ, as illustrated in the last example below.

«umwana w'umuhungu w'umunyambo» {both} *n1-sg-poss-n1-sg-poss-n1-sg* 'a Nyambo boy' (R38)  
«abana b'abahungu» {both} *n1-pl-poss-n1-pl* 'boys' [lit. 'young male children'] (R38)  
«abana b'abakobwa» {both} *n1-pl-poss-n1-pl* 'girls' [lit. 'female children'] (R39)  
/umuuntu w'úmusáaza yambwiiy' ikinyarwaanda sínuumva/ {both} 'An old man spoke to me in Rwanda, but I did not understand' (Overdulve 1975:291)  
/har'uumuntu w'úmuğor' úsháak'umutí/ {Rwanda} 'There is a woman who is looking for medication' (Overdulve 1975:291)  
«ingwara y'igituntu» {Rundi} *n5-sg-poss-n4-sg* 'tuberculosis' [lit. 'the disease of tuberculosis'] (R31)

- Attribution or Modifier Describing a Noun

Very often the second noun in a possessive construction can be used ATTRIBUTIVELY to modify or describe the first, taking on a role similar to adjectives in English.

- /umuuntu w'úmutúunzi/ {both} *n1-sg-poss-n1-sg* 'a wealthy person' [lit. 'a person of rich man']  
 «umusomyi w'akagwa» {Rwanda} *n1-sg-poss-n7-sg* 'a heavy drinker' [lit. 'a drinker of some banana beer'] (R4)  
 /uríiya n'úumuuntu wó kuryá nó<sup>263</sup> kunywá/ {both} *n1-sg-poss-v-inf* 'That is a man given to eating and drinking' (Overdulse 1975:267)  
 «umuceri w'ipirawu» {both} *n2-sg-poss-n5a-sg* 'rice pilaf' [lit. 'rice of pilaf'] (R18)  
 /amavúta y'úbutó/ {both} *n3-pl-mass-poss-n8-sg* 'vegetable oil' (R18)  
 «ku gitugu c'uburyo» {Rundi} *n4-sg-poss-n8-sg* 'on (his) right shoulder' (R5)  
 «inama y'icese» {Rundi} *n5-sg-poss-n4-sg* 'public meeting' [lit. 'a meeting of openness'] (R9)  
 «Afurika y'epfo» {both} *n5b-sg-poss-n13-loc* 'South Africa' (R8)  
 «urupapuro rw'umutsindo» {Rundi} *n6-sg-poss-n2-sg* 'diploma' [lit. 'paper of success'] (R17.3)

- Partitive Genitive

Some possessive constructions are formed in such a way that the first noun is a part of what is stated by the second noun. Note how Rwanda-Rundi parallel English in this PART-WHOLE relationship.

- «igipande c'impuzu» {Rundi} *n4-sg-poss-n5-sg* 'a piece of cloth' (R5)  
 «impapuro z'igitabo» {both} *n5-pl-poss-n4-sg* 'the pages of the book'  
 /uruhaánde rw'íinká/ {both} *n6-sg-poss-n5-sg* 'half of the slaughtered cow' (Rodegem 1970:141)  
 /ibisaté by'úmugaati bibiri/ {Rwanda} *n4-pl-poss-n2-sg* 'two slices of bread' (Jacob Vol.3:39)  
 /igicé cyaa káriindwi cy'ícyo gitabo/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg-poss-num-ord-poss-deic2-n4-sg* 'the seventh chapter of that book' (Jacob Vol.1:176)  
 /igicé cy'íkijumba/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg-poss-n4-sg* 'a slice of sweet potato' (Jacob Vol.1:176)

- Material Of Which Something Is Made

Some possessive constructions indicate the MATERIAL FROM WHICH the head noun is made.

- «impuzu y'igiti y'ubuyonga» {Rundi} *n5-sg-poss-n4-sg-poss-n8-sg* 'cloth from twisted fig bark' (R5)  
 «akagundu k'umushatsi» {Rundi} *n7-sg-poss-n2-sg* 'a tuft of hair' (R5)  
 «inzoga y'ibitoke» {both} *n5-sg-poss-n4-pl* 'banana beer' (R15)  
 «akuko k'igiti» {Rwanda} *n7-sg-poss-n4-sg* 'wooden spoon' (R18)  
 /inkweeto z'úruhu/ {both} *n5-pl-poss-n6-sg* 'leather shoes'  
 «inzu y'amabuye» {both} *n5-sg-poss-n3-pl* 'stone house'  
 «inzu y'ibyatsi» {Rwanda} *n5-sg-poss-n4-pl* 'grass house'

- Content

Some possessive constructions serve to indicate CONTENT, i.e., what the head noun contains.

- /umufúko w'úmuceri/ {Rundi} (JN), /umufuka w'úmuceri/ {Rwanda} *n2-sg-poss-n2-sg* 'a sack of rice'  
 /umuziinga w'íinzúki/ {both} *n2-sg-poss-n6-pl* 'a hive of bees'  
 /imitibá iné y'ámasaká/ {Rwanda} *n2-pl-poss-n3-pl-mass* 'four silos of kaffir corn' (Jacob Vol.3:340)  
 «ikiro cy'umuceri» {Rwanda} *n4-sg-poss-n2-sg* 'a kilo of rice' (R18)  
 «igitebo cy'ibijumba» {Rwanda} *n4-sg-poss-n4-pl* 'a basket of yams'  
 «inshuro eshatu z'amazi» {Rwanda} *n5-pl-poss-n3-pl-mass* 'three times the water' (R18)  
 /inguunguru z'amamesa/ {Rwanda} *n5-pl-poss-n3-pl-mass* 'barrels of palm oil' (Jacob Vol.1:405)  
 «itoni 12 z'imbuto ya soya» {Rundi} *n5a-pl-poss-n5-sg-poss-n5b-sg* '12 tons of soy seeds' (R9)

<sup>263</sup> Note that subsequent infinitives are marked by /nó/ 'and of.'

## Chapter 3: Nouns

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- Use or Purpose

Some possessive constructions serve to indicate the USE or PURPOSE of the head noun.

- «**imikino y'ijonjora**» {Rwanda} *n2-pl-poss-n3-sg* 'trial games' [lit. 'games of selection'] (R30)
- «**amafaranga yo gutura**» {both} *n3-pl-poss-v-inf* 'collection, offering (in church)' [lit. 'money for offering']
- «**amavuta yo kwisiga**» {both} *n3-mass-poss-v-inf* 'body lotion' [lit. 'oil for smearing on oneself']
- /ikibiíndi cy'urwáagwá/** {Rwanda} *n4-sg-poss-n6-sg* 'wine jug' [lit. 'a pitcher for banana beer or wine']
- /inkóno y'ítaábi/** {both} *n5-sg-poss-n3-sg* 'tobacco pipe'
- «**inzu y'ibitabo**» {both} *n5-sg-poss-n4-pl* 'library' [lit. 'house of books']
- «**inzu yo gutambiramwo**» {Rundi} *n5-sg-poss-v-inf+post* 'nightclub' [lit. 'house for dancing in'] (R7)
- «**inkwi zo kwitekera**» {both} *n5-sg-poss-v-inf* 'firewood (for a stove)' [lit. 'wood for cooking'] (R34#4)

- Ordinal Numeral Describing A Noun

Ordinal numbers are typically linked to the head noun by a possessive marker appropriate to their noun group.

- /umusózi wa kábiri/** {both} *n2-sg-poss* 'the second hill'
- /igicé cyaa káriindwi/** {Rwanda} *n4-sg-pos* 'the seventh chapter' (Jacob Vol.1:176)
- /urupaapuro rwaa káne/** {both} *n6-sg-poss* 'fourth page' (Rodegem 1967:27)
- /ukwézi kwaa mbere/** {both} *n9-sg-poss* 'January' [lit. 'the month of first']
- /ahaantu h-íicúmi/** {Rundi} *n10-loc-poss* 'the tenth place' (Cristini 2000:118)

- Linker of Locative or Infinitive Constructions to a Head Noun

Locative or infinitive constructions are linked to a head noun with the high-toned /-ó/ derivations.

- /umuhuúngu wó mu gítí/** {both} *n1-sg-poss-loc-n4-sg* 'a boy in a tree' [Overdulse 1975:267]
- /abaámi bó kw'isí/** {both} *n1-pl-poss-loc-n5-sg* 'kings of the world' (Rodegem 1967:27)
- /umugabo wó gufásha abarwáayi/** {both} *n1-sg-poss-inf+obj* 'a man who helps the sick' [Overdulse 1975:267]
- /ibiintu byó muu nzu/** {Rwanda} *n4-pl-poss-loc-n5-sg* 'things that are found in the house' [Overdulse 1975:267], **/ibiintu vyó muu nzu/** {Rundi}
- «**Lycée yo mw'Ijenda**» {both} *n5b-sg-poss-loc-pn-geog* 'the Ijenda High School' (R17)

### 3.6.3.3. Nominalized Possessive Constructions

There is a special construction available that turns a possessive into a noun. It is formed by adding the thematic vowel of a noun group before the possessive marker. These are given in Table 49. As with possessive markers and other prefixes, the final vowel drops before another vowel. The same tonal rules and changes discussed in §3.6.3.1 apply.

- /uwo ní uwaa mbere/** {both} *n1-sg-nom-poss-n1-sg* 'That is the first (witness).' (R28.4)
- /uw'intoóre cyaane avamó ati .../** {Rwanda} *n1-sg-nom-poss-n5-sg* 'one of the brightest (guests) announces ...' (R14)
- /ab'ímuhirá/** {both} *n1-pl-nom-poss-n2-sg-loc* 'the ones at home' (R34.3)
- /niíbwiiraga kó ab'ímuhiráa barí buburáare/** {Rwanda} *n1-pl-nom-poss-n2-sg-loc* 'I assumed that my family would most surely go to bed hungry.' (R34.3)
- /ab'íiwaányu/** {both} *n1-pl-nom-poss-n13-loc* 'your family' [lit. 'those of your place']
- /iryaa bábirí/** {both} *n3-sg-nom-poss-num-n1-pl* 'just between two' [cf. **/ijaambo/** *n3-sg* 'discussion']
- /iry'úmuhoondo risiguura gukúunda ibikorwá/** {Rundi} *n3-sg-nom-poss-n2-sg* 'yellow [lit. the one of yellow] signifies the love of work.' (R29.6)
- /icyúumwéeru/** {Rwanda} *n4-sg-nom-poss-n2-sg-time* 'week'
- /icy'íibáanzé ngo twiiháatire gusoma/** {Rwanda} *n4-sg-nom-poss-n3-sg* 'The most important thing is that we should make an effort to read.' (R4)
- /icókuryá – ivyókuryá/** {Rundi}, **/icyókuryá – ibyókuryá/** {Rwanda} *n4-sg-nom-poss-v-inf* 'food' [lit. 'something to eat']

/ivy'ikirééré/ {Rundi}, /iby'ikirééré/ {Rwanda} *n4-pl-nom-poss-n4-sg* 'those relating to the atmosphere'  
 /iy'úinda/ {both} *n2-pl-nom-poss-n5-sg* '(promises) of the belly,' i.e., self-interest [cf: /imihigo/ *n2-pl*  
 'promises']  
 /iz'úumwáana/ {both} *n5-pl-nom-poss-n1-sg* 'those (clothes) of the child' (Rodegem 1967:30)  
 /iz'úbuzima busaanzwé/ {both} *n5-pl-nom-poss-n8-sg* '(causes relating) to typical health'  
 /ak'ímuhana kaaza imvúra ihíse/ {both} *n7-sg-nom-poss-n2-sg-loc* 'better not count on others'  
 [/ak'ímuhana/ lit. 'that which concerns someone's place']

Table 49. Nominalized Possessive Constructions

the following word starts with a consonant and is		a vowel		
part of speech	NOUN	PRO or NUM	n/a	INF or LOC
class of head				
n1-sg	<b>uwa</b>	<b>uwaa</b>	<b>uw'</b>	<b>uwó</b>
n1-pl	<b>abaa</b>		<b>ab'</b>	<b>abó</b>
n2-sg	<b>uwa</b>	<b>uwaa</b>	<b>uw'</b>	<b>uwó</b>
n2-pl	<b>iya</b>	<b>iyaa</b>	<b>iy'</b>	<b>iyó</b>
n3-sg	<b>iryaa</b>		<b>iry'</b>	<b>iryó</b>
n3-pl	<b>aya</b>	<b>ayaa</b>	<b>ay'</b>	<b>ayó</b>
n4-sg {Rundi}	<b>icaa</b>		<b>ic'</b>	<b>icó</b>
{Rwanda}	<b>icyaa</b>		<b>icy'</b>	<b>icyó</b>
n4-pl {Rundi}	<b>ivyaa</b>		<b>ivy'</b>	<b>ivyó</b>
{Rwanda}	<b>ibyaa</b>		<b>iby'</b>	<b>ibyó</b>
n5-sg	<b>iya</b>	<b>iyaa</b>	<b>iy'</b>	<b>iyó</b>
n5-pl	<b>izaa</b>		<b>iz'</b>	<b>izó</b>
n6-sg	<b>urwaa</b>		<b>urw'</b>	<b>urwó</b>
n6-pl	<b>izaa</b>		<b>iz'</b>	<b>izó</b>
n7-sg	<b>akaa</b>		<b>ak'</b>	<b>akó</b>
n7-pl	<b>utwaa</b>		<b>utw'</b>	<b>utwó</b>
n8-sg	<b>ubwaa</b>		<b>ubw'</b>	<b>ubwó</b>
n8-pl	<b>aya</b>	<b>ayaa</b>	<b>ay'</b>	<b>ayó</b>
n9-sg	<b>ukwaa</b>		<b>ukw'</b>	<b>ukó</b>
n9-pl	<b>aya</b>	<b>ayaa</b>	<b>ay'</b>	<b>ayó</b>
n10-loc	<b>ahaa</b>		<b>ah'</b>	<b>ahó</b> <sup>264</sup>
n11-adv	<b>ukwaa</b>		<b>ukw'</b>	<b>ukwó</b>
n12-loc	<b>umwaa</b>		<b>umw'</b>	<b>umwó</b>
n13-loc	<b>iya</b>	<b>iyaa</b>	<b>iy'</b>	<b>iyó</b>

It should be noted that the names of the days of the week (**uwa gátatu** 'Wednesday' with **umuúnsi** *n2* 'day' understood) and the months of the year (**ukwaa gátatu** 'March' with **ukwéezi** *n9* 'month' understood) are all nominalized possessives formed with numerals (see §7.4, Table 98 – months, Table 99 – days of the week).

### 3.6.4. Locative

The category of locative expresses the PLACE OF AN ACTION. In English, a wide variety of prepositions locate a predicate *in*, *at*, *to*, *into*, *towards*, *around*, *between*, *through*, etc. Broadly speaking, Bantu languages have a number of ways of indicating the concept of {LOCATIVE}.<sup>265</sup>

<sup>264</sup> Overdulse 1975:181 suggests that the conjunctive /ahó/ 'rather than, instead of' used with infinitives, e.g., /ahó kuvúga/ 'instead of speaking,' is a nominalized possessive, in which case it is amazingly parallel to English *in place of* or French *au lieu de*.

## Chapter 3: Nouns

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With specific NOUN GROUPS (*n10-n13*) that are locative in nature (see §3.2.10–13).

With PREPOSITIONS: **i**, **kwa**, **ku**, **mu** {both} that precede nouns (see discussion below).

With POSTPOSITIONS: **-hó** {both}, **-kó** {both}, **-mó** {Rwanda}, **-mwó** {Rundi}, **-yó** {both} that are attached at the end of verbs (see §8 #11, Table 101, Table 102).

With verb prefixes or AUGMENTS: **-ir-** or **-er-** {both} that incorporate a LOCATIONAL or BENEFACTIVE role (see §8.14.1).

Since only the four PREPOSITIONS are associated with nouns, they will be treated here. However, when nouns indicate placement in space or time, they are also functioning as ADVERBS (see §11.1–2) and therefore overlap with that part of speech. The bulk of our exemplification will be found in this section, but other examples can be found in later chapters, where appropriate. In discussing the role of locatives with verbs or other parts of speech, there will also be several cross-references to this present section.

The prepositions of Kinyarwanda and Kirundi have very broad spatial connotations. A more precise indication of a specific location is expressed either within the meaning of the verb or by an extended noun phrase such as a possessive construction.<sup>266</sup>

*/baraja muu nzu/* {Rundi}, */barajya muu nzu/* {Rwanda} 'They are going into the house.'  
*/baraja kuu nzu/* {Rundi}, */barajya kuu nzu/* {Rwanda} 'They are going towards the house.'  
*/bari mwivuuriro/* {both} 'They are in the clinic.' (i.e., as patients)  
*/bari kwivuuriro/* {both} 'They are at the clinic.' (i.e., as visitors)  
*/va mu buriri/* {both} 'Get out of bed!'  
*/va ku buriri/* {both} 'Get away from the bed!'  
*/baraj' i bugáandá/* {Rundi}, */barajy' i bugáandá/* {Rwanda} 'They are going to Uganda.'  
*/bakor' i bugáandá/* {both} 'They work in Uganda.'  
*/barav' i bugáandá/* {both} 'They are coming from Uganda.'  
*/imbere y'inzu/* {both} 'in front of the house'  
*/imbere muu nzu/* {both} 'inside the house'  
*/mu wa kábiri/* {both} 'in the second grade'  
*/ku wa kábiri/* {both} 'on Tuesday'

None of the prepositions are used when a locative noun, e.g., *n10*, *n13*, or a form agreeing with *n10*, appears.

*/turaj' aheezá/* {Rundi}, */turajy' aheezá/* {Rwanda} 'We are going to a pleasant place.' [n10]  
*/azooz' aha/* {Rundi}, */azaaz' aha/* {Rwanda} 'He will come to this place' [n10]  
*/muj' imbere/* {Rundi}, */mujy' imbere/* {Rwanda} 'Go on ahead' [n13]

Locative phrases, i.e., those which have a preposition followed by a noun, are linked to a head noun with the high-toned marker */ó/* (see §3.6.3.2).

«*Abantu 24 bo ku karwa kitwa Ijwi*» {Rwanda} *n11-loc-n7-sg* '24 people of the small island called Ijwi' (R20)  
*/igihe c'isahá ziné zó mu gitóondo/* {Rundi} *n12-loc-n4-sg* 'at ten o'clock in the morning' (R9)

### 3.6.4.1. The Preposition **i**

The preposition **i** is directly related to *n13*. Note that it can only be used before words that begin with a consonant.<sup>267</sup> It has a generic or basic LOCATIVE sense (as opposed to **mu** or **ku**). It is most

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<sup>265</sup> As Kimenyi (1980:33) puts it: "Locative NPs are marked by either the prepositions **i**, **ku**, **mu**, the suffix **-ir-** and/or the verb suffixes **-ho** or **-mo**."

<sup>266</sup> Here is how some other authors describe this phenomenon. "The meanings of the prepositions are derived from the meaning of the verb itself" (Kimenyi 1980:33). "The locatives express place (interior space or proximity), but they do not express direction; direction is expressed by verbs" (Overdulve 1975:79). "As with the other locatives, the intended notion is made clear by the context" (Hands 1952:31).

often used with geographic names (countries, cities, towns, villages, communes, etc.), which are usually in *n5b* or *n8*. However, there are a number of fixed expressions that use this construction cutting across many of the noun groups.

- /i wábavyéeyi/<sup>268</sup> {Rundi} *n13-loc-n2-sg-poss-n1-pl* 'at one's parents' place' (Rodegem 1970:552)  
 /imuhana/ {both} *n13-loc-n2-sg* 'at someone's place'  
 /imusózi/ {Rwanda} *n13-loc-n2-sg* 'on dry land, at the shore'  
 /imuhirá/ {both} *n13-loc-n2-sg* 'at home, homewards' (R34#3)  
 /ikáamberé/ {Rwanda} *n13-loc-n5b-sg* 'in the main house, in their principle residence'  
 /i kibúungo/ {both} 'in Kibungo province' (R8.1)  
 /i kigáandá/ {both} *n13-loc-n5b-geog* 'in Kiganda' (R5)  
 /iruhaánde/ {both} *n13-loc-n6-sg* 'aside, on the side (of)'  
 /ikaága/ {Rwanda} *n13-loc-n7-sg* 'in a worse situation'  
 /ibumosó/ {both} *n13-loc-n8-sg* 'to the left', on the left  
 /ibuunyina/ {Rundi} *n13-loc-n8-sg* 'at his mother's (parents') place' (R13)  
 /intaambara y'i buruúndi/ *n5-sg-poss-n13-loc-n8-sg* {both} 'the war in Burundi' (R10)  
 /iburyó/ {both} *n13-loc-n8-sg* 'on the right, to the right'  
 /ibutwaáre/ {both} *n13-loc-n8-sg* 'to the chief's house' (R27.4)  
 /ibwaámi/ (both) *n13-loc-n8-sg* 'at the royal court; at the supreme court' (R27.5)  
 /ikuzimú/ {both} *n13-loc-n9-sg* 'in the depths of the earth' (R37.2)  
 /ihéeru/ {Rwanda} *n13-loc* 'elevated area, high place'  
 /ikwéeru/ {Rwanda} *n13-loc* 'in the main house; at the principle residence'  
 /ibugúibwa/ {Rwanda} *n13-loc-vn-imm-pass* 'at a hangout, to a place one usually frequents'  
 /ibutágeendwá/ {Rwanda} *n13-loc-vn-neg-imm-pass* 'place where one does not (dare to) go'

This association of **i** with geographic names is very strong and can help disambiguate possible homonyms.

- /i ngoma/ {Rwanda} *n13-loc-n5b-pn-geog* 'in Ngoma (commune in Butare)'  
 /kuu ngoma/ {both} *n11-loc-n5-sg* 'during the reign (of); on (top of) a drum'

Sometimes **i** and **mu** are used interchangeably. Kimenyi points out that "[n]o generalization can be made in this instance, since its use seems to be arbitrary." (1980:34)

- /mariyá ari i buruúndi/ {Rundi} (JN), /mariyá aba i buruúndi/ {Rwanda} (Kimenyi 1980:34) 'Maria is in Burundi.'  
 /mariyá ari mu buruúndi/ {Rundi} (JN), /mariyá aba mu buruúndi/ {Rwanda} (Kimenyi 1980:34) 'Maria is in Burundi.'  
 /mariyá ari i bugáandá/ {Rundi} (JN), /mariyá aba i bugáandá/ {Rwanda} (Kimenyi 1980:34) 'Maria is in Uganda.'  
 /mariyá ari mu bugáandá/ {Rundi} (JN), /mariyá aba mu bugáandá/ {Rwanda} (Kimenyi 1980:34) 'Maria is in Uganda.'

There are several exceptions to the **i** rule.<sup>269</sup>

- /mu rwáankéri/ {Rwanda} 'in Rwankeri' (Hands 1952:31)  
 /mu cibitooke/ {Rundi} 'in Chibitoke' (Ntahokaja 1994:195)  
 /mu gaseényi/ {Rundi} 'in Gasenyi' (Ntahokaja 1994:194)

<sup>267</sup> If the following word starts with a vowel, **murí** is used, e.g., /atuuye mur' áameriká/ 'He lives in America,' /yohaáni aturuka mur' áangola/ 'John comes from Angola.' See Kimenyi 1980:35 and section §3.6.4.2 below.

<sup>268</sup> The possessive **wa** here relates to /umuhirá/ *n2-sg* 'dwelling, domicile' (see Cristini 2000:301).

<sup>269</sup> Hands offers explanations that do not always apply to similarly named places. For Rwankeri and Ruhengeri, he suggests that **mu** is used "because it is situated in a plain surrounded by mountains," and for Gisenyi, **ku** is used "because it is located on the shore of a lake." (1952:31) It is safest to just consider certain place names exceptions and memorize their locative counterparts.

/ku giseényi/ {Rwanda} 'in Gisenyi' (Hands 1952:31)  
/ku kibuye/ {Rwanda} 'in Kibuye' (LN)  
/ku muyira/ {Rundi} 'in Muyira' (Ntahokaja 1994:195) [however /i muyira/ {Rwanda}]

We shall see in later chapters that this locative marker is also used with possessive pronouns (§4.6) to indicate a place owned by that person, e.g., /iwaánje/ {Rundi}, /iwaánjye/ {Rwanda} 'at my place,' /iwaábo/ {both} 'at their place,' and with a special class of demonstratives (see *n13* entries in tables throughout §5), e.g., /inó/ {both} 'hereabouts,' /iyo/ {both} 'thereabouts.'

### 3.6.4.2. The Preposition *mu* (*muu*, *mw'*, *murí*)

The preposition **mu** is directly related to group 12. It expresses INSIDENESS, an interior location in space or in time.<sup>270</sup> It can be translated by a range of English prepositions such as *in*, *into*, *inside*, *within*, *from*, *among*, or *between*. Its exact sense usually depends on the meaning of the verb.

The locative **mu** is always followed by a reduced noun form, i.e., without the thematic vowel (also called an augment or an article).

/mu mwoobo/ {both} *n12-loc-n2-sg* 'inside the pit'  
/mu muriro udaherá/ {Rundi}, /mu muriro udashirá/ {Rwanda} 'into eternal fire'  
/mu mwáaka uhezé/ {Rundi} (R39.2), /mu mwáaka ushizé/ {Rwanda} *n12-loc-n2-sg+v-rel* 'last year'  
/mu migeenzo y'ikiruúndi/ {both} *n12-loc-n2-pl+poss-n4-sg* 'in Rundi traditions' (R11)  
/mu miryaango/ {both} *n12-loc-n2-pl* 'from families' (R20)  
/bíciye mu matégeko/ {both} *v-part + n12-loc-n3-pl* 'it being (done) under the law' (R13)  
/mu gihúgu/ {both} *n12-loc-n4-sg* 'in the country' (R3)  
/mu kanwa/ {both} *n12-loc-n7-sg* 'into the mouth' (R15)  
/mu bushínwa/ {Rundi}, /mu bushinwá/ *n12-loc-n8-sg* {Rwanda} 'to China'  
/mu bwáana/ {both} *n12-loc-n8-sg* 'in (one's) youth'  
/mu bwaámi bwáayo/ {both} *n12-loc-n8-sg* 'in his (God's) kingdom' (R17.8)  
/rimwé mu kwézi/ {Rwanda} *n12-loc-n9-sg* 'once a month' (R8.1)

It is also used with several place names that do not take the preposition **i** (see 3.6.4.1).

/mu ruheengeri/ {Rwanda} *n12-loc-pn-geog* 'in Ruhengeri' (Hands 1952:31)  
/mu rutana/ {Rundi} *n12-loc-pn-geog* 'in Rutana province' (Ntahokaja 1994:195)

It has a long vowel, i.e., /**muu**/, before a singular or plural noun of group 5, or the plural of group 6, when the class prefix (**n** or **m**) is followed by a root beginning with a consonant. Long consonants beget long vowels (see §2.2.2.5). Although the sequence **n+n**, **n+m**, or **m+m** is not represented in the orthography, the preceding vowel will be lengthened.

/muu ncutí/ {both} *n12-loc-n5-pl* 'among friends'  
/muu nzu/ {both} *n12-loc-n5-sg* 'in a house' (R7, R37.3)  
/muu nzira/ {both} *n12-loc-n5-sg* 'in the street'  
/muu náama/ {both} *n12-loc-n5-sg* 'in the meeting' (R4, R9) [mu nnáama > muu nŃáama]  
/muu nkokó/ {both} *n12-loc-n5-sg* 'at the crow of the rooster, i.e., at dawn'

Before singular nouns of *n3* or *n5a*, the class prefix **i-** is not lost, so this preposition appears as **mw-**, and the following vowel is lengthened to /**ii**/.

/mw'iibéenderá/ {both} *n12-loc-n3-sg* 'in the flag' (R29.6)  
/mw'iihónnyabwóoko/ {Rundi} *n12-loc-n3-sg* 'in the genocide' (R29.5)  
/mw'iijoro/ {both} *n12-loc-n3-sg* 'at night'

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<sup>270</sup> See Cristini 2000:298–302, Overdulse 1975:76, Kimenyi 1980:35, and Hands 1952:24 ("within known limits").



/mw'iipaataro/ {both} (R7), /mw'iipaantaro/ {both alt} (JN) *n12-loc-n5a-sg* 'in (his) trousers'  
 /mw'iitóorero/ {Rwanda} *n12-loc-n3-sg* 'into the church'

There are a few exceptions where some very common nouns of *n3* do lose the prefix and behave like all the other noun groups. Contrast the following with the examples below in 3.6.4.3.

/mu jíisho/ {both} *n12-loc-n3-sg* 'in the eye'  
 /mu zúiko/ {both} *n12-loc-n3-sg* 'in the fire'  
 /mu zúuba/ {both} *n12-loc-n3-sg* 'in the sunlight'  
 /mu zúuru/ {both} *n12-loc-n3-sg* 'in the nose'

The form **murí** is used with some geographic names NOT in *n8* (**bu-**), several idiomatic expressions, and always before pronouns and demonstratives.<sup>271</sup>

/murí koóngo/ *n12-loc-pn-geog* 'in the Congo'  
 «**muri Malawi**» {both} *n12-loc-pn-geog* 'in Malawi' (R30)  
 /murí kameré y'úmuuntu/ {both} *n12-loc-n5b-sg+poss-n1-sg* 'in the nature of man'  
 «**muri Stade Amahoro y'i Kigali**» {both} *n12-loc-n5b-cmp-sg-poss-n13-loc-n5b-pn-geog* 'in the Peace Stadium of Kigali' (R29#1)  
 /murí rusaánge/ {Rwanda} *n12-loc-n6-sg* 'in general'  
 «**Muri Rusama 1989**» {Rundi} *n12-loc-n9b-sg* 'in May 1989' (R17.6)

Before geographic names starting with vowels (consonant forms usually have the preposition **i**, as discussed in 3.6.4.1), it is pronounced **mur'**, the following vowel becomes long and has tone on its first mora. Note that it is usually spelled in full, i.e., «**muri**».<sup>272</sup>

/mur' áaziya/ {both} *n12-loc-pn-geog* 'to Asia'  
 «**muri Amerika**» {both} *n12-loc-pn-geog* 'in America' (R26.2)  
 /mur' áafurika/ {both} *n12-loc-pn-geog* 'in Africa' (R26.2)  
 «**Mu mugí Cap muri Afurika y'epfo**» {Rwanda} *n12-loc-pn-geog* 'in Capetown, South Africa' (R8.2)  
 «**muri ico gihugu**» {Rundi} (R29.9), «**muri icyo gihugu**» {Rwanda} (R10) *n12-loc+deic-n4-sg* 'in that country'  
 /mur' íyo ntáará/ {both} *n12-loc+deic-n5-sg* 'in that region' (R20)

### 3.6.4.3. The preposition **ku** (**kuu**, **kw'**, **k'**, **kurí**)

The preposition **ku** is directly related to group 11. It expresses OUTSIDENESS or PROXIMITY in space or in time.<sup>273</sup> It can be translated by a range of English prepositions such as *on*, *at*, *in*, *during*, *by*, *next to* or *over at*. The exact sense usually depends on the meaning of the verb.

The locative **ku** is always followed by a reduced noun form, i.e., without the thematic vowel (also called an augment or an article).

/ku mutwaáre/ {both} *n11-loc-n1-sg* 'at the chief's'  
 /ku mugezi/ {both} *n11-loc-n2-sg* 'at the river'  
 /ku mugórooba/ {both} *n11-loc-n2-sg* 'in the evening'  
 /ku muriro/ {both} *n11-loc-n2-sg* 'by the fire'  
 /ku mwéezi/ {both} *n11-loc-n2-sg* 'in the moonlight, when the moon is full'  
 /ku manywá/ {both} *n11-loc-n3-pl* 'during the day'  
 /umwáana avuutsé ku kizíra/ {Rundi} *n11-loc-auto-n4* 'a child born from incest' (R13)

<sup>271</sup> These will be treated in the next two chapters, e.g., /murí mweebwé/ {both} 'among you' and /murí icyi gitabo/ 'in this book.'

<sup>272</sup> When the following vowel is an **i**, this orthographic convention winds up reflecting the long vowel that does appear, e.g., «**muri iki gihe**» = /muríiki gihe/ {both} 'at this time' (R35.1).

<sup>273</sup> See Cristini 2000:298–302, Overdulse 1975:77, Kimenyi 1980:35f, and Hands 1952:24.

## Chapter 3: Nouns

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/ku karwa kiitwá ijwí/ {Rwanda} *n11-loc-n7-sg* 'from the small island called Ijwi' (R20)  
/ku busá/ {both} *n11-loc-n8-sg* 'in vain'  
/ku bwaámi bwíiwé/ {Rundi}, /ku bwaámi bwé/ {Rwanda} *n11-loc-n8-sg* 'during his reign'  
/ku kwéezi/ {both} *n11-loc-n9-sg* 'on the moon'

It is used with a few place names that do not take the preposition **i** (see 3.6.4.1).

/ku kivú/ {Rwanda} *n11-loc-pn-geog* 'to Lake Kivu'  
/ku muyebé/ {Rundi} *n11-loc-pn-geog* 'in Muyebe' (Ntahokaja 1994:195)

It has a long vowel, i.e., /kuu/, before a singular or plural noun of group 5, or the plural of group 6, when the class prefix (**n** or **m**) is followed by a root beginning with a consonant. Long consonants beget long vowels (see §2.2.2.5). Although the sequence **n+n**, **n+m**, or **m+m** is not represented in the orthography, the preceding vowel will be lengthened.

/kuu máana/ {both} *n11-loc-n5-sg* 'to God; [intj] adieu, so long' [ku nmáana > kuu Ømáana/  
/kuu ncutí/ {both} *n11-loc-n5-pl* 'to friends'  
/kuu nzira/ {both} *n11-loc-n5-sg* 'by the road'  
/kuu ntébe/ {both} *n11-loc-n5-sg* 'on the chair'

Before singular nouns of *n3* or *n5a*, the class prefix **i-** is not lost, so this preposition appears as **kw-**, and the following vowel is lengthened to /ii/.

/kw'iiboomba/ {Rundi} *n11-loc-n3-sg* 'at the pump' (R23)  
/kw'iijana/ {both} *n11-loc-n3-sg* 'percent' (R32, R39.2)  
«Hari kw'igenekerezo rya 31 Kigarama 2001» {Rundi} *n11-loc-n3-sg* 'it was on the 31st of December 2001' (R29.2)  
/abáana baja kw'iishuúre/ {Rundi} (R39.5), /abáana bajya kw'iishuúri/ {Rwanda} *n11-loc-n3-sg* 'the children go to school'  
/kw'iibáhashá/ {both} *n11-loc-n5a-sg* 'on the envelope'  
/kw'iisáhaáni/ {Rundi}, /kw'iisahaani/ {Rwanda} *n11-loc-n5a-sg* 'on the plate'  
/kw'iisi/ {both} *n11-loc-n5a-sg* 'on earth' (R29.3)

There are a few exceptions where some very common nouns of *n3* do lose the prefix and behave like all the other noun groups. Contrast the following with the examples above in 3.6.4.2.

/ku jíisho/ {both} *n11-loc-n3-sg* 'on the eye'  
/ku zíiko/ {both} *n11-loc-n3-sg* 'by the fire'  
/ku zúuba/ {both} *n11-loc-n3-sg* 'from the sun(light)'  
/ku zúuru/ {both} *n11-loc-n3-sg* 'on the nose'

The form **k'** is used before the vowel /u/.

«umwana adakomoka k'uwumureze» {Rundi} *n11-loc-auto-n1-sg* 'A child who does not originate from the one who raises him' (R13)  
/bituruka k'ugutiinya/ {both} *n11-loc-v-inf* 'It comes from being afraid.'  
/bituruka k'uguheemanirakó/ {Rundi} *n11-loc-v-inf* 'It comes from breathing on each other.' (R31.3)  
/k'ukutáryá/ {both} *n11-loc-v-inf-neg* 'from not eating'

The form **kurí** is used with some geographic names NOT in *n8* (**bu-**), several idiomatic expressions, and always before pronouns and demonstratives.<sup>274</sup> It is pronounced **kur'** if another vowel follows; that vowel becomes long and has high tone on its first mora.

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<sup>274</sup> These will be treated in the next two chapters, e.g., /kurí mweebwé/ {both} 'to you' and /kurí iyi sí/ {both} 'on this earth.'

- /kuva kuri giháanga/ {Rwanda} *n11-loc-n1a-sg-pn* 'starting from (the reign of) Gihanga' (R40.3)  
 /kuri bageenzi baawe/ {Rwanda} *n11-loc-n1a-pl* 'to your comrades'  
 «kuri Village Urugwiro» {both} *n11-loc-pn* 'at Urugwiro Village' (R29.8)  
 /kuri iyo sahá nyéne/ {Rundi} *n11-loc+deic-n5-sg* 'at exactly that time' (R9)  
 «kuri Radiyo Mpuzamahanga y'Abafaransa» {Rwanda} *n11-loc-n5b-sg* 'on French Radio International' (R20)  
 /kuri penariti/ 4-3 {Rwanda} *n11-loc-n5b-sg* '(they won) with a penalty (kick) 4-3' (R30.1)  
 «kuri za ordinateurs» {both} *n11-loc-n5b-pl* 'through computers' (R37.3)

#### 3.6.4.4. The Preposition kwaa

This preposition is limited in use to people nouns, kinship terms, and personal names (*n1* and *n1a*). It probably derives from the possessive form of *n11* but has a decidedly locative connotation.

- /nakáangutse ndí kwaa mugaanga/ {Rwanda} *n11-loc/poss-n1-sg* 'I woke up in a hospital' (R34.5)  
 /kwaa havyaarimána/ {Rundi}, /kwaa habyaarimána/ {Rwanda} *n11-loc/poss-n1a-pn* 'at Habyarimana's place'  
 /kwaa peetéro/ {Rundi}, /kwaa peetero/ {Rwanda} *n11-loc/poss-n1a-pn* 'at Peter's place'  
 /kwaa daatá/ {both} *n11-loc/poss-n1a-kin* 'at my father's place'  
 /abagoré báágye kwáirega kwaa paatíri/ {Rundi} *n11-loc/poss-n1a-sg* 'when women went to confess to a priest' (R23)

#### 3.6.5. Vocative<sup>275</sup>

The VOCATIVE is used for calling, addressing, or attracting someone's attention. While most vocatives involve people, in folktales and in poetry any animal or entity may be addressed. Nouns used vocatively are often treated as INTERJECTIONS. Indeed, they are both, just as infinitives or autonomes are truly verbs and truly nouns. They are here treated as a special case form of the noun, but will be cross-referenced in the chapter on interjections (§14).

##### 3.6.5.1. Truncated Noun Vocatives

One form of the vocative involves shortening of the word or TRUNCATION (see §2.5.15). In most instances, it is formed by dropping the initial or thematic vowel of the full noun prefix (if any) and the final syllable of the root, moving any HIGH TONE to the final vowel (the LAST MORA) [Erule]. If there is no high tone in the word, then high tone will appear on the second mora [Vrule].<sup>276</sup> While truncation does affect the vocative of some very basic nouns, it mostly applies to PERSONAL NAMES.

HIGH TONE ON LAST MORA = Erule

- /baá/ {both} *n1-pl-voc* 'Oh children!' </(a)báa(na)/ (Kimenyi 1980:15)  
 /bagó/ {both} *n1-pl-voc* 'Oh women!' </(a)bago(ré)/  
 /hiitimá/ {both} *n1a-pn-voc* 'Oh Hitimana!' </hiitimá(ana)/  
 /minaá/ {both} *n1a-pn-voc* 'Oh Nyaminani!' </(nya)mínaá(ni)/ (male personal name for the eighth child)  
 /nseengiyúú/ {Rwanda} *n1a-pn-voc* 'Oh Nsengiyumva!' </nseengiyúú(mva)/

HIGH TONE ON SECOND MORA = Vrule

- /maá/ {Rwanda} *n1a-pn-voc* 'Oh Manzi!' </maa(nzi)/  
 /musóne/ {Rwanda} *n1a-pn-voc* 'Oh Musonera!' </musone(ra)/  
 /mwaámbara/ {Rwanda} *n1a-pn-voc* 'Oh Mwambarangwe!' </mwaambara(ngwe)

<sup>275</sup> This section has profited much from the discussion in Bizimana 1998:117, Kimenyi 2002:109–12, and Overdulse 1975:252f. These authors, however, do not always agree among themselves, and we have done our best to reconcile the differences based on the data we have available.

<sup>276</sup> As with low-toned reduced vocative nouns discussed immediately below. Examples here are drawn from Overdulse & Jacob 1998:310f.

3.6.5.2. Reduced Noun Vocatives

The other type of vocative construction involves REDUCED NOUN FORMS (§3.4). The tonality of such forms depends on four factors: ROOT TONALITY (whether the CITATION FORM of the noun is a low-tone or high-tone root), VOWEL LENGTH (whether the vowels are short or long), WORD LENGTH (how many syllables), and on what mora any original high tone falls. Altogether there are five tone rules that affect vocatives [V *voc*, R *stet*, J *jump right*, M *move left*, D *reverse*]. Note that only one is exclusively related to vocative constructions, all other tone patterns are found on other parts of speech.

LOW TONE ROOTS, no matter how long, have HIGH TONE ON THE SECOND MORA of the vocative form [Vrule, §2.4.7]. Forming vocatives from low toned roots is simple and straightforward.<sup>277</sup>

- /umugaanga/ {both} 'doctor' > /mugáanga/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh doctor!'
- /umugabo – abagabo/ {both} 'man, adult male' > /mugábo/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh man!,' /bagábo/ {both} *n1-pl-voc* 'Oh men!' (R27)
- /umugeenzi – abageenzi/ {Rundi} *n1*, /mugeenzi – bageenzi/ {Rwanda} *n1a* 'friend' > /mugéenzi/ {both} *n1(a)-sg-voc* 'Oh friend!,' /bageenzi/ {both} *n1(a)-pl-voc* 'Oh friends!'
- /umurezi/ {both} 'caretaker' > /murézi/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh caretaker!' (R36.5)
- /umutaama/ {Rundi} 'old man' > /mutáama/ *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh old man!' (Ntahokaja 1994:43)
- /abaantu/ {both} 'people' > /baántu/ {both} *n1-pl-voc* 'Oh people!'
- /daatabuja/ {Rundi} 'boss' > /daátabuja/<sup>278</sup> {both} *n1a-sg-voc* 'Oh boss!'
- /nyagasani/ {Rwanda} 'lord (title of a king)' > /nyagásani/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-voc* 'Oh Lord!' (R28.10)
- /isheengero/ {Rundi} 'shepherd' > /sheéngero/ {Rundi} *n3-sg-voc* 'Oh shepherd!'
- /ikiboondo/ {both} 'baby, infant' > /kibóondo/ {both} *n4-sg-voc* 'Oh infant!' (R36.2)
- /ibirenge/ {both} 'feet' > /biréenge/ {both} *n4-pl-voc* 'Oh feet!'
- /intaambwe/ {Rundi} 'lion' > /ntaámbwe/ {Rundi} *n5-sg-voc* 'Oh lion!' (R27)
- /inyoni/ {both} 'bird' > /nyoní/ {both} *n5-sg-voc* 'Oh bird!' (R28.5)
- /impuunzi/ {both} 'refugees' > /mpuúnzi/ {both} *n5-pl-voc* 'Oh refugees!' (Kimenyi 2002:110)
- /urutoke/ {both} 'finger' > /rutóke/ {both} *n6-sg-voc* 'Oh finger!'
- /akaziraruguma/ {Rwanda} 'shrub sp. (used to heal wounds)' > /kazíraruguma/ *n7-sg-voc* 'Oh shrub!'

With high tone roots that have long vowels, where tone is already on the second mora, or with polysyllabic words, where high tone is anywhere from the third through the final syllable, the original tone stays put [Rrule, §2.4.1 = *stet*]. Compound nouns with two tones tend to follow this pattern, although there are a few exceptions.

- /abakené/ {both} 'poor people' > /bakené/ {both} *n1-pl-voc* 'Oh poor people'
- /umuhebereyi/ {Rwanda} 'Hebrew, Jew' > /muhebereyi/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh Hebrew!'
- /umuhíndé/ {Rwanda} > /muhíndé/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh Indian!' (Kimenyi 2002:110)
- /umuhutú/ {both} 'Hutu' > /muhutú/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh Hutu!'
- /umukiré/ {both} 'rich man' > /mukiré/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh rich man!'
- /umukoóbwa – abakoóbwa/ {both} 'daughter' > /mukoóbwa/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh daughter!,' /bakoóbwa/ {both} *n1-pl-voc* 'Oh daughters!'
- /umukózi – abakózi/ {both} 'worker' > /bakózi/ {both} *n1-pl-voc* 'Oh workers!'
- /umutwaáre – abatwaáre/ {both} 'chief, ruler' > /mutwaáre/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh sir!' (R27.4), /batwaáre/ {both} *n1-pl-voc* 'Oh sirs!'
- /mwiígiisha/ {both} 'teacher, instructor' > /mwiígiisha/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh teacher!'
- /umwaámi – abaámi/ {both} 'king' > /mwaámi/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh king!' (R27.6), /baámi/ {both} *n1-pl-voc* 'Oh kings!'

<sup>277</sup> The placement of vocative tone on low-toned roots is MORAIIC, not SYLLABIC as implied by the statement "the vocative high tone is assigned on the second syllable of the word" (Kimenyi 2002:109).

<sup>278</sup> Rwanda /daatábuja/ winds up with the same vocative tone pattern based upon the Mrule, see §2.4.9 and below.

/umuhuúngu – abahuúngu/ {both} 'boy, son' > /muhuúngu/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh son!, Hey boy!',  
 /bahuúngu/ {both} *n1-pl-voc* 'Oh boys!, Hey guys!' (R14)  
 /baanyákugira imáana/ {both} *n1a-pl-cmp+n5-sg-obj* 'Oh you fortunate people!'  
 /iragí/ {Rundi} 'inheritance' > /ragí/ {Rundi} *n3-sg-voc* 'Oh inheritance, Oh legacy!' (R23)  
 /igicuungandimú/ {Rwanda} 'grapefruit' > /gicuungandimú/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg-voc* 'Oh grapefruit!'  
 /igisagára/ {Rwanda} 'big and strong person' > /gisagára/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg-voc* 'Oh big strong man!'  
 /igití/ {both} 'tree' > /gití/ {both} *n4-sg-voc* 'Oh tree!'  
 /impyisí/ {Rwanda} 'hyena' > /mpyisí/ *n5-sg-voc* 'Oh hyena!'  
 /intoóre/ {both} 'cadet' > /ntoóre/ {both} *n5-pl-voc* 'Oh cadets!'  
 /urugorí/ {both} 'crown' > /rugorí/ {both} *n6-sg-voc* 'Oh crown!' (R36.8)  
 /uburuúndi/ {both} 'Burundi' > /buruúndi/ {both} *n8-sg-voc* 'Oh Burundi!' (R21)

With many high tone roots of two or more syllables, especially where high tone appears on the first syllable of the root or on the first of a long vowel, tone will move or "jump" ONE MORA TO THE RIGHT [Jrule, §2.4.8].

/umubyéeyi/ {Rwanda}, /umuvyéeyi/ {Rundi} 'parent' > /mubyéeyi/ {Rwanda} (R36.6), /muvyéeyi/ {Rundi} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh parent!', /babyéeyi/ {Rwanda} *n1-pl-voc* 'Oh parents!'  
 /umukúunzi/ {both} 'friend' > /mukuúunzi/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh friend!'  
 /umusáaza – abasáaza/ {both} 'old man' > /musaáza/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh old man!', /basaáza/ *n1-pl-voc* {both} 'Oh old men!'  
 /umusóre/ {both} 'young man' > /musoré/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh young man!'  
 /umwáana/ {both} 'child' > /mwáana/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh child!, Hey kid!'  
 /umwiicanyi/ {both} 'murderer' > /mwiicanyi/ {both} *n1-sg-voc* 'Oh murderer!'  
 /sogókuru/ {both} 'my, our grandfather' > /sogokú/ {both} *n1a-sg-voc* 'Oh grandpa!' (R27)  
 /umutíma/ {both} 'heart' > /mutimá/ {both} *n2-sg-voc* 'Oh heart!' (R36.9)  
 /izúuba/ {both} 'sun' > /zuúba/ {both} *n3-sg-voc* 'Oh sun!' (R28.2.4)  
 /inkúbito/ {Rwanda} 'speed, energy' > /nkubító/ {Rwanda} *n5-sg-voc* 'Oh speed' (Bizimana 1998:117)  
 /imáana/ {both} 'God' > /maána/ {both} *n5a-sg-voc* 'Oh God!'  
 /kwiikuza/ {both} 'to boast' > /kwiikuza/ {both} *n9-vn-voc* 'Oh boaster!' (R28.5)

There are a number of words that have high tone on the final syllable or on the third of three or more morae where the high tone moves ONE MORA TO THE LEFT [Mrule, §2.4.9].<sup>279</sup>

/daatá/ {both} 'my father' > /daáta/ {both} *n1a-sg-voc* 'Dad!, Oh my father!'  
 /maamá/ {both} 'my mother' > /maáma/ *n1a-sg-voc* 'Mom!, Oh my mother!'  
 /ntuuzé/ {both} > /ntuúze/ {both} *n1a-sg-voc* 'Oh what's-your-name!'  
 /paadíri/ {Rwanda} > /paádiri/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-voc* 'Oh priest!'  
 /ubusá/ > /nyabúsa/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-voc* 'Oh my dear!'  
 /umwiiroongé/ {both} 'flute' > /mwiiroónge/<sup>280</sup> {both} *2-sg-voc* 'Oh flute!'

<sup>279</sup> Kimenyi (2002:110) offers an alternate interpretation of several of these forms based on their initial long vowels: /maamá > maáma/ 'mother,' /daatá > daáta/ 'father,' and /paadíri > paádiri/ 'priest.' "If there is a long vowel in the noun's first syllable, tone neutralization takes place and the vocative tone is put on the coda." This analysis subsumes roots with initial long vowels where we suggest tone changes involving the *V*, *R*, *J*, and *M* rules based upon original tone placement rather than vowel length per se.

<sup>280</sup> Overdulse (1975:253) gives a long and complex rule to account for a handful of words: "the morphotoneme is placed on the fourth mora of the interpellative substantive if the first two syllables of the word are long and if it has two high morphotonemes in the presence of the augment" (translation S. Harrell). The word /umwiiroongé/ *n2* > /mwiiroónge/ 'Oh flute!' loses its first tone [Lrule] and the final high tone shifts leftwards [Mrule], whereas /urwiiruúngu/ *n6* > /rwiiruúngu/ 'Oh ash gray!' loses its first tone [Lrule] but keeps its second [Rrule]. The loss of one of two high tones appears to be exceptional, since both tones are preserved in vocatives like Rundi /bashíingantaáhe, bapfáasóni/ *n1-pl* 'ladies and gentlemen/' and Rwanda /bagáandé/ *n1-pl* 'Oh People of Uganda!'

## Chapter 3: Nouns

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There is a Rundi construction involving the compounding of a vocative pronoun (**waa** or **mwaa**) and either a truncated or reduced noun which exhibits TONE REVERSAL [Drule, §2.4.10]. If the noun has high tone, the pronoun will be low-toned; if the noun has low tone, the pronoun will be high-toned.

- /waa mwá/* {Rundi} *pro-2sg+n1-sg-voc* 'hey, kid!' [truncated, cf: */umwáana/*]
- /waá muga/* {Rundi} *pro-2sg+n1-sg-voc* 'Oh mister!' [truncated, cf: */umugabo/*]
- /mwaa báana/* {Rundi} *pro-2pl+n1-pl-voc* 'hey kids!' [reduced; cf: */abáana/*]
- /mwaá baantu/* {Rundi} *pro-2pl+n1-pl-voc* 'Oh people!' [reduced; cf: */abaantu/*]

There is another construction where two forms of second person pronouns serve as a circumfix around a reduced noun that retains its standard accent pattern. This will be discussed in the next chapter (§4.7). The structure differs between the two dialects: Rundi uses a circumfix composed of two vocative pronouns with D tonality, while Rwanda uses a vocative pronoun and the pronoun root with R tonality. Note that if a high toned root is involved the two renditions overlap.

- Rundi: *pro-voc* [Drule] + *n-red* + *pro-voc*
- Rwanda: *pro-voc* + *n-red* [Rrule] + *pro-root*.
- /waá mugabo weé/* Drule {Rundi} *pro-2sg-voc+n1-sg-red+pro-2sg-voc* 'hey you, fellow!' (Cristini 2000:151)
- /waa mugabo we/* Rrule {Rwanda} *pro-2sg-voc+n1-sg-red+pro-2sg-root* 'hey you, fellow!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:309)
- /waa mpyisi we/* Rrule {Rwanda} 'hey you, hyena!' (R28.3)
- /mwaa báana mwe/* Drule = Rrule {both} *pro-2pl-voc+n1-pl-red+pro-2pl* 'hey you children!' (Bizimana 1998:156, Cristini 2000:151)
- /mwaá baantu mwe/* Drule {Rundi} *pro-2sg-voc+n1-sg-red+pro-2sg-voc* 'hey you people!' (Rodegem 1967:105)
- /mwaa bakózi mwe/* Drule = Rrule {both} *pro-2pl-voc+n1-pl-red+pro-2pl* 'hey you workers!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:309)
- /mwaa batuúrage mwe/* Rrule {Rwanda} *pro-2pl-voc+n1-pl-red+pro-2pl-root* 'hey you neighbors!' (Overdulve 1975:254)

Finally, the interjection */mbée/* {Rundi} or */mbeé/* {Rwanda} in front of a truncated noun (which loses any high tonality) is used to get someone's attention.

- /mbée ntu/* {Rundi} 'hey people!' (Ntahokaja 1976:32)
- /mbeé bago/* {Rwanda} 'hey ladies!' (Overdulve 1975:253)

### 3.6.6. Agentive (Passive Agent)

The DOER of the action in a passive sentence, equivalent to *by* in English, is marked by **na** before a consonant and reduced to **n'** before a vowel. This same construction is homographic with conjunction-like constructions meaning *and* or *also*, and with comitative constructions meaning *with*. Thus */n'ábagoré/* {both}, depending on its context, can mean: *by wives*, *and wives*, *wives also*, and *with wives*. Here we are examining its use marking the doer or agent of passive verbs.

- /twaábitaangaarijwe na Kómaanda/* {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-agent* 'we were informed about it by the Commandant' (R24)
- /ukagaragazwa n'úumwíjímá/* {both} *n2-sg-agent* 'and it is revealed by Darkness' (R28.10)
- /ubwízá bugaragazwa n'íizúuba/* {both} *n3-sg-agent* 'beauty is revealed by Sun' (R28.10)
- /rwaáangwa n'ámacáakubíri/* {Rundi} *n3-pl-agent* 'it was characterized by ethnic divisions' (R29#4)
- /bátabiheérewé uburéengaanzirá n'úbutégetsi/* {both} *n8-sg-agent* 'without getting the authority's approval' (R8a)

Each of the tables dealing with the individual noun groups earlier in this chapter had examples for this construction.

## 4. PRONOUNS

Pronouns are words that stand for nouns. In both English and Rwanda-Rundi, they refer to PERSON (first, second, third) and to NUMBER (singular and plural). The discussion of person (§1.8.1) illustrated how this linguistic feature is incorporated in kinship terms (Table 16). Thus /**daatá**/ {both} means 'my father' – no element within this word refers to the first person *my*, it is bundled up as part of its meaning. When an English speaker refers to himself or herself, (the FIRST PERSON) he or she uses *I* in the singular and *we* in the plural. When referring to the person to whom he or she is speaking, *you* is used for the SECOND PERSON – there is no distinction in modern English between singular and plural.<sup>281</sup> Similarly, in English, GENDER comes into play when the SINGULAR THIRD PERSON forms *he*, *she*, *it* are used, although this is lost in the PLURAL with *they*. In Kinyarwanda and Kirundi, GRAMMATICAL CLASS is paramount in pronoun agreement. It is difficult for a native speaker of English to imagine how one cannot express a difference between *he* and *she*, *him* and *her*, *his* and *hers*, but such gender distinctions are totally irrelevant in Bantu languages. Conversely, English cannot begin to capture the differences implied by NOUN CLASSES, which is why some understanding of grammar becomes required since there are no literal or translational equivalents that begin to grasp this fundamental element of Bantu languages.

Unlike English where pronouns differ drastically from one case to another, e.g., SUBJECT *I*, OBJECT *me*, POSSESSIVE *my*, or SUBJECT *he*, OBJECT *him*, POSSESSIVE *his*, Rwanda and Rundi use a consistent series of roots that vary little from one grammatical case to another. So while coping with the various classes may present some difficulty to the English learner, the derivation of the various case forms will be far more straightforward. Each language has areas of difficulty, but each also has areas of regularity and simplicity.

PRONOUN ROOTS (Table 50) are all of one syllable (MONOSYLLABIC). The personal forms have low tone while the class forms have high tone. They generally occur after specific grammatical markers. A short form may occur sentence initially if it is followed directly by the verb.

«**Je mbona iryo bomba worikoresha**» {Rundi} 'As for me, I think that you should repair that faucet.'  
(R23)

Authors do not always write a space between the marker and the pronoun root, i.e., some write CONJUNCTIVELY «**sibo**» (R39.4), while others write DISJUNCTIVELY «**si bo**» 'it isn't them' (R38.11).<sup>282</sup>

- LOCATIVE MARKERS **kurí**, **murí**  
/kurí je/ {Rundi}, /kurí jye/ {Rwanda} 'toward me'  
/murí bo/ {both} 'among them' [Note: a following high tone is lost after **kurí** and **murí**; Xrule]
- COPULATIVE AFFIRMATIVE **ni**- [See full paradigm in Table 51.]  
/ikinéezereje **ní** ukó .../ {Rundi} 'what makes me happy is because...' (R1)  
/nijyé wiizize rwóose/ {Rwanda} 'It was my own fault' (R34.5)
- COPULATIVE NEGATIVE **si**- [See full paradigm in §9.4, Table 110.]  
«**Si jye ubacanira indaro**» {Rwanda} 'Am I not the reason they light a fire in their homes?' (R28.2)  
«**Ibiri bibiri si vyo vyotuma umuntu yerekana akarangamuntu**» {Rundi} 'Two kilograms are not reason enough to make a person show an ID!' (R33.5)  
«**Si uku navutse**» {both} 'This is not how I was born' (R34.2)  
«**kandi nayo si bo bayituyemo bonyine**» {Rwanda} 'however, they are not the only ones who live there' (R38.11)

<sup>281</sup> Old English maintained a distinction still reflected in religious texts: *thou* vs. *you*, *thy* vs. *your*, *thine* vs. *yours*.

<sup>282</sup> See §1.2.2 for a discussion of CONJUNCTIVE vs. DISJUNCTIVE WRITING.

## Chapter 4: Pronouns

«Abanyakirundo **sibo** bakenye ugereranije n'abanyagihugu bo mu ntara za Mugamba-Bututsi» {Rundi} 'Kirundonians are not poorer than citizens of the Mugamba and Bututsi districts' (R39.4)

- PREDICATIVE NEGATIVE **nta-** {both}, **ata** {Rundi} [not used in first or second person]  
/ntaa bwo/ {both} 'never; not at all' (R36.5&8, R40)  
/ata co/ {Rundi} 'that it is nothing' (R23)  
/'nta co/ {Rundi} 'nothing, not anything; there is nothing; [expr] It's nothing!' (R33.6)

The ASSOCIATIVE (**na-**) and COMPARATIVE (**nka-**) paradigms are presented in the last two sections of this chapter (§4.11 and §4.12).

**Table 50. Pronoun Roots**

FORM	Rundi–Rwanda		English
pro-1sg	<b>je</b>	<b>jye</b>	I, me
pro-1pl		<b>twe</b>	we, us
pro-2sg		<b>we</b>	you; your, thy
pro-2pl		<b>mwe</b>	you, ye
pro-n1-sg		<b>wé</b>	he, she; him, her
pro-n1-pl		<b>bó</b>	they, them
pro-n2-sg		<b>wó</b>	it
pro-n2-pl		<b>yó</b>	they; them
pro-n3-sg		<b>ryó</b>	it
pro-n3-pl		<b>yó</b>	they; them
pro-n4-sg	<b>có</b>	<b>cyó</b>	he, she, it; him, her
pro-n4-pl	<b>vyó</b>	<b>byó</b>	they, them
pro-n5-sg		<b>yó</b>	he, she, it; him, her, it
pro-n5-pl		<b>zó</b>	they, them
pro-n6-sg		<b>rwó</b>	he, she, it
pro-n6-pl		<b>zó</b>	they, them
pro-n7-sg		<b>kó</b>	he, she, it; him, her, it
pro-n7-pl		<b>twó</b>	they; them
pro-n8-sg		<b>bwó</b>	it
pro-n8-pl		<b>yó</b>	they; them
pro-n9-sg		<b>kwó / kó</b>	it
pro-n9-pl		<b>yó</b>	they; them
pro-n10-sg		<b>hó</b>	it (the place)
pro-n10-pl			they (the places)
pro-n11-sg		<b>kó</b>	it (the manner)
pro-n11-pl			they (the manners)
pro-n12-sg	<b>mwó</b>	<b>mwó / mó</b>	it (the place)
pro-n12-pl			they (the places)



Table 51. Pronoun Roots with Copulative ni

FORM	Rundi–Rwanda		English
pro-1sg	ni je	ni jye	it is me
pro-1pl		ni twe	it is us
pro-2sg	ni wewé	ni wowé	it is you
pro-2pl		ni mwe	it is you
pro-n1-sg		ni wé	it is him, her
pro-n1-pl		ni bó	they are them
pro-n2-sg		ni wó	it is it
pro-n2-pl		ni yó	it is them
pro-n3-sg		ni ryó	it is it
pro-n3-pl		ni yó	they are them
pro-n4-sg	ni có	ni cyó	it is it; it is him, it is her
pro-n4-pl	ni vyó	ni byó	it is them
pro-n5-sg		ni yó	it is it; it is him, it is her
pro-n5-pl		ni zó	they are them
pro-n6-sg		ni rwó	it is it, it is him, it is her
pro-n6-pl		ni zó	they are them
pro-n7-sg		ni kó	it is him, her, it
pro-n7-pl		ni twó	they are them
pro-n8-sg		ni bwó	it is it
pro-n8-pl		ni yó	they are them
pro-n9-sg	ni kwó	ni kó	it is it
pro-n9-pl		ni yó	they are them
pro-n10-sg		ni hó	it is it (the place, time, situation)
pro-n10-pl		ni hó	they are them (the places, situations)
pro-n11-sg		ni kó	it is it (the manner or place)
pro-n11-pl		ni kó	they are them (the manners or places)
pro-n12-sg	ni mwó	ni mwó / ni mó	it is there (in the place)
pro-n12-pl	ni mwó	ni mwó / ni mó	they are there (in the places)

#### 4.1. Emphatic or Long Form Pronouns

While the pronoun roots do not normally occur in isolation, there are derivations that can be used for contrastive emphasis. Both dialects add the suffix **-wé** to pronoun roots to form one set of EMPHATIC PERSONAL PRONOUNS, *as for me, as for you*, etc. Both also use the postpositional or enclitic suffix **-hó** to introduce contrast or opposition. However, Rwanda compounds **-hó** with the **-we** forms (i.e., **-wéhó**), whereas Rundi uses **-hó** as an alternate to **-wé**. Rundi also has a full set of emphatic forms that relate to each of the noun classes which is an ECHO or REDUPLICATED form with vowel lengthening, i.e., **wé+e-wé, bó+o-bó**, etc. Rwanda does not have an equivalent set.

/jyeewé ndakwáanga/ {Rwanda} *pro-1sg-emph* 'As for me, I hate you!' (R28.2)

«barondeye uwo batuma ijambo barabura, none batumye jewe» {Rundi} *pro-1sg-emph* 'They looked for someone to speak on their behalf, but they couldn't find anyone, so they sent me.' (R11)

/jehó sinduhuka/ {Rundi} *pro-1sg-emph* 'As for me, I never rest.' (R19)

/nahó wowé, ngukuundira .../ {Rwanda} *pro-2sg-emph* 'But you I like because ...' (R28.6)

/arí wowé ubwáawé wiikúunda/ {Rwanda} *pro-2sg-emph* 'that you're the only one who loves you' (R28.7)

/wówéhó ní uguhúguura/ {Rwanda} *pro-2sg-emph* 'As far as you are concerned, you only need a refresher course.' (R4)

/wewé ntugeendá/ {Rundi} *pro-2sg-emph* 'As for you, you're not going'

/wéewé yavúze ati/ {Rundi} *pro-n1-sg-emph* 'so he said' (R11)

/wéewé ntageendá/ {Rundi} *pro-n1-sg-emph* 'As for him, he is not going'

Table 52. Emphatic or Long Form Pronouns

PRONOUNS	Rundi	Rwanda	English
pro-1sg	<b>jeewé</b> <b>jehó</b>	<b>jyeewé</b> <b>jyeewéhó</b>	I myself; as for me
pro-1pl	<b>tweebwé</b> <b>twehó</b>	<b>tweebwé</b> <b>tweebwéhó</b>	we ourselves; as for us
pro-2sg	<b>wewé</b> <b>wehó</b>	<b>wowé</b> <b>wowéhó</b>	you yourself; as for you
pro-2pl	<b>mweebwé</b> <b>mwehó</b>	<b>mweebwé</b> <b>mweebwéhó</b>	you yourselves; as for you
NOUN CLASSES	Rundi	Rwanda	English
pro-n1-sg	<b>wéewé</b>	equivalent class-specific forms are not found	he, she; as for him, her
pro-n1-pl	<b>bóobó</b>		they; as for them
pro-n2-sg	<b>wóowó</b>		it; as for it
pro-n2-pl	<b>yóoyó</b>		they; as for them
pro-n3-sg	<b>ryóoryó</b>		it; as for it
pro-n3-pl	<b>yóoyó</b>		they; as for them
pro-n4-sg	<b>cóocó</b>		he, she, it; as for him, her, it
pro-n4-pl	<b>vjóovjó</b>		they; as for them
pro-n5-sg	<b>yóoyó</b>		he, she, it; as for him, her, it
pro-n5-pl	<b>zóozó</b>		they; as for them
pro-n6-sg	<b>rwóorwó</b>		it; as for it
pro-n6-pl	<b>zóozó</b>		they; as for them
pro-n7-sg	<b>kóokó</b>		he, she, it; as for him, her, it
pro-n7-pl	<b>twóotwó</b>	they; as for them	
pro-n8-sg	<b>bwóobwó</b>	it; as for it	
pro-n8-pl	<b>yóoyó</b>	they; as for them	
pro-n9-sg	<b>kwóokwó</b>	it; as for it	
pro-n9-pl	<b>yóoyó</b>	they; as for them	
pro-n10-loc-sg/pl	<b>hóohó</b>	there; as for that place as for those places	
pro-n11-loc-sg/pl	<b>kóokó</b>	thus; as for that way as for those ways	
pro-n12-loc	does not occur		
pro-n13-loc	does not occur		

There is a special long set which is the compound of a second person deictic (§5.4) and a pronoun root (Table 53) shared by both dialects.<sup>283</sup>

/uwo wé ntageendá/ {both} *deic-2+pro-emph-n1-sg* 'As for that one, she is not going.'

/abo bó barataaha/ {both} *deic-2+pro-emph-n1-pl* 'As for those people, they will go home.'

/izo zó zirataaha/ {both} *deic-2+pro-emph-n5-pl* 'As for those cattle, they will return to the corral.'

<sup>283</sup> The only author to recognize these pronouns in print to our knowledge is Hands (1952:171). We have received independent confirmation of the set in Kinyarwanda from Prof. Alexandre Kimenyi (email 16 Aug 2004) and in Kirundi from Dr. Jeanine Ntuhirageza (email 15 Nov 2004) and from Prof. Juvenal Ndayiragije (email 10 Dec 2004).

Table 53. Emphatic Deictic + Pronoun Combinations

FORM	Rundi - Rwanda		English
pro-n1-sg	<b>uwo wé</b>		as for that one
pro-n1-pl	<b>abo bó</b>		as for those
pro-n2-sg	<b>uwo wó</b>		as for that one
pro-n2-pl	<b>iyo yó</b>		as for those
pro-n3-sg	<b>iryó ryó</b>		as for that one
pro-n3-pl	<b>ayo yó</b>		as for those
pro-n4-sg	<b>ico có</b>	<b>icyo cyó</b>	as for that one
pro-n4-pl	<b>ivyo vyó</b>	<b>ibyo byó</b>	as for those
pro-n5-sg	<b>iyo yó</b>		as for that one
pro-n5-pl	<b>izo zó</b>		as for those
pro-n6-sg	<b>urwo rwó</b>		as for that one
pro-n6-pl	<b>izo zó</b>		as for those
pro-n7-sg	<b>ako kó</b>		as for that one
pro-n7-pl	<b>utwo twó</b>		as for those
pro-n8-sg	<b>ubwo bwó</b>		as for that one
pro-n8-pl	<b>ayo yó</b>		as for those
pro-n9-sg	<b>ukwo kwó</b>		as for that one
pro-n9-pl	<b>ayo yó</b>		as for those
pro-n10-sg pro-n10-pl	<b>aho hó</b>		as for that place as for those places
pro-n11-sg pro-n11-pl	<b>ukwo kwó</b>		as for that way as for those ways
pro-n12	<b>umwo mwó</b> {Rwanda only}		as for in that area
pro-n13	<b>iyo yó</b>		as for there

## 4.2. Subject Pronouns

As we have seen, the use of free-standing pronoun forms is the exception rather than the rule in Kirundi and Kinyarwanda; when such a form appears, it serves to highlight the subject (meaning not just *he*, but *as for him*). The usual form of expressing the subject of a sentence is with a series of SUBJECT AGREEMENT PREFIXES, which come first on the verb (except that they follow the negative **nti-** or hypothetical **ni-**, Table 101). There are at least two forms of subject marking depending on whether a consonant or vowel follows. For those noun groups having consonants subject to Dahl's law (*n4*, *n7*, *n9*, see §2.5.1) there is also "consonant flip-flop," creating a third set (see Table 54). With the negative prefix **nti-**, subject forms that consist of a vowel have a special set of markers and the first person singular **sin-** is completely different (SUPPLETIVE).<sup>284</sup> Note that these subject markers are not limited to indicative verb forms; they occur on participial and relative verbs as well. However, there are different tone patterns for the latter constructions.

**Table 54. Subject Pronoun Prefixes**

PRONOUNS	voiced consonant	voiceless consonant	vowel	voiced consonant	voiceless consonant	vowel
	AFFIRMATIVE STATEMENTS			NEGATIVE STATEMENTS		
pro-1sg	<b>n-</b>	<b>m-</b> [labial]	<b>n-</b>	<b>sin-</b> / <b>siin-</b>	<b>sim-</b> [labial]	<b>sin-</b>
pro-1pl	<b>tu-</b>	<b>du-</b>	<b>tw-</b>	<b>ntitu-</b>	<b>ntidu-</b>	<b>ntitw-</b>
pro-2sg	<b>u-</b>		<b>w-</b>	<b>ntuu-</b>		<b>ntiw-</b>
pro-2pl	<b>mu-</b>		<b>mw-</b>	<b>ntimu-</b>		<b>ntimw-</b>
NOUNS						
n1-sg	<b>a-</b>		<b>y-</b>	<b>ntaa-</b>		
n1-pl	<b>ba-</b>		<b>b-</b>	<b>ntiba-</b>		<b>ntib-</b>
n2-sg	<b>u-</b>		<b>w-</b>	<b>ntuu-</b>		<b>ntiw-</b>
n2-pl	<b>i-</b>		<b>y-</b>	<b>ntii-</b>		<b>ntiy-</b>
n3-sg	<b>ri-</b>		<b>ry-</b>	<b>ntiri-</b>		<b>ntiry-</b>
n3-pl	<b>a-</b>		<b>y-</b>	<b>ntaa-</b>		<b>ntiy-</b>
n4-sg	<b>ki-</b>	<b>gi-</b>	<b>c-</b> {Rundi} <b>cy-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ntiki-</b>	<b>ntigi-</b>	<b>ntic-</b> <b>nticy-</b>
n4-pl	<b>bi-</b>		<b>vy-</b> {Rundi} <b>by-</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ntibi-</b>		<b>ntivy-</b> <b>ntiby-</b>
n5-sg	<b>i-</b>		<b>y-</b>	<b>ntii-</b>		<b>ntiy-</b>
n5-pl	<b>zi-</b>		<b>z-</b>	<b>ntizi-</b>		<b>ntiz-</b>
n6-sg	<b>ru-</b>		<b>rw-</b>	<b>ntiru-</b>		<b>ntirw-</b>
n6-pl	<b>zi-</b>		<b>z-</b>	<b>ntizi-</b>		<b>ntiz-</b>
n7-sg	<b>ka-</b>	<b>ga-</b>	<b>k-</b>	<b>ntika-</b>	<b>ntiga-</b>	<b>ntik-</b>
n7-pl	<b>tu-</b>	<b>du-</b>	<b>tw-</b>	<b>ntitu-</b>	<b>ntidu-</b>	<b>ntitw-</b>
n8-sg	<b>bu-</b>		<b>bw-</b>	<b>ntibu-</b>		<b>ntibw-</b>
n8-pl	<b>a-</b>		<b>y-</b>	<b>ntaa-</b>		<b>ntiy-</b>
n9-sg	<b>ku-</b>	<b>gu-</b>	<b>kw-</b>	<b>ntiku-</b>	<b>ntigu-</b>	<b>ntikw-</b>
n9-pl	<b>a-</b>		<b>y-</b>	<b>ntaa-</b>		<b>ntiy-</b>
n10-loc	<b>ha-</b>		<b>h-</b>	<b>ntiha-</b>		<b>ntih-</b>
n11-adv	<b>ku-</b>	<b>gu-</b>	<b>kw-</b>	<b>ntiku-</b>	<b>ntigu-</b>	<b>ntikw-</b>
n12-loc	(does not occur)					
n13-loc	(does not occur)					

<sup>284</sup> The vowel is long /**siin-**/ in Kinyarwanda if followed by a consonant /**siinkuundá**/ {Rwanda} but /**sinkuundá**/ {Rundi} 'I do not love' or /**siinduhúuka**/ {Rwanda} but /**sinduhúuka**/ {Rundi} 'I do not rest'; the vowel is long in both Kinyarwanda and Kirundi if followed by a monosyllabic root /**siinzí**/ {both} 'I do not know.'

- «**je mbona iryo bomba worikoesha**» {Rundi} *pro-1sg-subj* 'I really think you should repair that pump.' (R23)  
 /**nookora ibi**/ {Rundi} (JN), /**naakora ibi**/ {Rwanda} (R32) *pro-1sg-subj* '...then I would do this.'  
 /**sinayikuunze**/ {both} *neg-pro-1sg-subj* 'I did not like it.' (R1)  
 /**ntitúyibone**/ {both} *neg-pro-1pl-subj* '...and yet we could not find it.' (R33.2)  
 /**nsaanze dúhuuje**/ {both} *pro-1pl-part* 'I see we agree.' (R1)  
 /**mwéembí mugira akamaro**/ {Rwanda} *pro-2pl-subj* 'You are both important.' (R28.10)  
 /**aramúsubiza**/ {both} *n1-sg-subj* 'He answers him.' (R1)  
 /**bacecekera rimwé**/ {both} *n1-pl-subj* 'They grew silent at once.' (R14)  
 /**umwaavu w'íkizuúngu uvá haanzé**/ {Rundi} *n2-sg-part* 'fertilizer coming from overseas' (R35.3)  
 /**izúuba ryaáhuuye n'úumwíjímá riti**/ {both} *n3-sg-subj* 'Sun met Darkness and said...' (R28.1)  
 /**amakurú anyúranye**/ {Rwanda} *n3-pl-subj-rel* 'news briefs' [lit. the news which are various] (R12)  
 /**igituúntu kiri kubiri**/ {both} *n4-sg-subj* 'There are two kinds of tuberculosis.' (R31.1)  
 «**igicro kizwi cashinzwe na Leta cangana**» {Rundi} *n4-sg-subj* 'The recognized price established by the government was equal to...' (R35.2)  
 /**agacúramá kati**/ {Rwanda} *n7-sg-subj* 'Bat said...' (R28.8)  
 «**ubuzima bwabo bwarahindutse**» {both} *n8-sg-subj* 'Their life has changed.' (R34)  
 «**I Cyangugu habereye impanuka ya bisi**» {Rwanda} *n10-indef-subj* 'In Cyangugu, there was a bus accident.' (R16)

### 4.3. Object Pronouns

A series of markers, sometimes called INFIXES, cross-reference the class of the object within the verb itself. The process involved is similar to when we use *it* in English for a noun like *money* (*I found it on the floor*) or *meat* (*I cooked it with onions*). The infix comes immediately before the verb stem and, in certain moods and tenses,<sup>285</sup> can draw the tonality of the verb to or towards itself (see §2.4.11 and §2.4.12). There are at least two forms for marking the object depending on whether a consonant or vowel follows. For those noun groups having consonants subject to Dahl's law (*n4*, *n7*, *n9*, see §2.5.1) there is also "consonant flip-flop," creating a third set (see Table 55).

- /**utubwiire**/ {both} *v-sub-imm+pro-1pl-obj* 'you should tell us' (R28.10)  
 /**akuboónye**/ {both} *v-rel-imm-perf+pro-2sg-obj* 'that she sees you'  
 /**tubamenyéeshe**/ {both} *v-sub-imm+pro-2pl-obj* 'we should inform you' (R30.2)  
 /**aramúbwiira**/ {both} *v-ind-imm-dis+n1-sg-obj* 'he tells him' (R23)  
 /**ndayágutúura**/ {both} *v-ditr-imm+n3-pl-obj+pro-2sg-obj* 'I give them to you'  
 /**bayiguriísha**/ {both} *v-rel-imm+n5-sg-obj* 'that they sell it' (R33.7)  
 /**babukoreésha**/ {both} *v-rel-imm+n8-sg-obj* 'that they use it' (R39.4)  
 /**ndaháazi**/ {both} *v-ind-imm+n10-loc-obj* 'I know it (the place)'  
 /**ntahaázi**/ {both} *v-ind-neg-imm+n10-loc-obj* 'he doesn't know it (the place)'

In Rwanda, the second person object pronoun forms (**-ku-**, **-ba-**) have a special RAPPORT function in a conversation or story, equivalent to *so*, *you see* in English, where the speaker brings the addressee directly into the topic.<sup>286</sup>

- /**narákugeendeye**/ {Rwanda} *v-ind-pret-perf+rapport* '... so, you [sg] see, I just proceeded...' (R34.4)  
 /**narábageendeye**/ {Rwanda} *v-ind-pret-perf+rapport* '... so, you [pl] see, I just proceeded...'

<sup>285</sup> Such as the affirmative immediate disjunct: /**ndabíizi**/ {both} *n4-pl-obj* 'I know it' or /**aramúbwiira**/ *n1-sg-obj* 'he tells him.' For the first person pronoun object (*me*), any high tone moves to the immediately preceding vowel: /**kuúmpa**/ {both} *v-inf+pro-1sg-obj* 'to give me' or /**araántiinya**/ {both} *v-ind-aff-imm-dis+pro-1sg-obj* 'he is afraid of me.' When a verb in the IMMEDIATE NEGATIVE has an object, tone obligatorily appears on the first syllable of the root [Trule]: /**ntibadukúunda**/ *v-ind-neg-imm+pro-1pl-obj* 'they don't like us' [rw: **-kúunda**] or /**ntibagahéeka**/ *v-ind-neg-imm+n7-sg-obj* 'they do not carry it (the baby) on their shoulders' [rw: **-héeka**].

<sup>286</sup> See Bizimana 1998:341.

Table 55. Object Pronoun Infixes

PERSONAL PRONOUNS	VOICED CONSONANT	VOICELESS CONSONANT	VOWEL
pro-1-sg	-n-	-m- [after a LABIAL]	-ny-
pro-1-pl	-tu-	-du-	-tw-
pro-2-sg	-ku-	-gu-	-kw-
pro-2-pl	-ba-		-b-
NOUNS			
n1-sg	-mu-		-mw-
n1-pl	-ba-		-b-
n2-sg	-wu-		-w-
n2-pl	-yi-		-y-
n3-sg	-ri-		-ry-
n3-pl	-ya-		-y-
n4-sg	-ki-	-gi-	-c- {Rundi} -cy- {Rwanda}
n4-pl	-bi-		-vy- {Rundi} -by- {Rwanda}
n5-sg	-yi-		-y-
n5-pl	-zi-		-z-
n6-sg	-ru-		-rw-
n6-pl	-zi-		-z-
n7-sg	-ka-	-ga-	-k-
n7-pl	-tu-	-du-	-tw-
n8-sg	-bu-		-bw-
n8-pl	-ya-		-y-
n9-sg	-ku-	-gu-	-kw-
n9-pl	-ya-		-y-
n10-loc	-ha-	-pa- [after a NASAL]	-h-

With multiple objects several infixes can cooccur. As a rule of thumb, infixes are placed in the opposite order of the object nouns they replace.<sup>287</sup> It should be noted that examples of three or more objects that are sometimes found in textbooks are contrived. While they are grammatically possible, they are awkward to native speakers and very unlikely to occur in the "real world." For example, there are approximately 270 verbs with embedded objects in the *Newspaper Reader* (Nibagwire & Zorc 2002), but only five verbs had two objects. None had more.

*/azanira umwiigiisha igitabo/* 'He is taking a book to the teacher.' > */arakimuuzanira/* {both} *n4-sg-obj+n1-sg-obj* 'He is taking it to him.'

*/ndatúura maamá amarirá yaanj(y)e/* 'I am offering my mother my tears.' > */ndayámutúura/* {both} *n3-pl-obj+n1-sg-obj* 'I am offering them to her.'

*/imána yakúduháaye/* {both} *pro-2sg-obj+pro-1pl-obj* 'God who gave you to us...' (R21.4)

*/ikudútuungire/* {both} *pro-2sg-obj+pro-1pl-obj* 'He should take care of you on our behalf.' (R21.4)

*/ndayígutésha/* {both} *n2-pl-obj+pro-2sg-obj* 'I cause you to abandon them (*imirimo* 'tasks').' (R36.2)

*/ndayígukwíza/* {both} *n2-pl-obj+pro-2sg-obj* 'I extend them (*imiruho* 'troubles') out to you.' (R36.2)

The following summarizes the ORDER OF INFIXES when more than one object appears.

- The conjunctive **-na-** 'even, moreover' is treated as if it were an object infix and always comes first. Although this affix is reasonably common in Kinyarwanda, it is rarely used in Kirundi.
  - «*inzara ikanahitana abantu?*» {Rwanda} *v-seq+conj-infix* '...and hunger even kills people' (R32)
  - /baranábikóra/* {Rwanda} *conj-infix+n4-pl-obj* '... and they do it' (Overdulve 1975:264)

<sup>287</sup> See Overdulve 1975:264.

- /umeengo n'íkíruúndi kiranámutsiúnda/** {Rundi} *conj-infix+n1-sg-obj* 'It seems that he does not pick up the Rundi language easily.' (Rodegem 1970:272)
- The placement of the *n10* locative **-ha-** is somewhat optional: it may come first before all other infixes, or it can follow objects in most other classes (except those designating humans).
 

**/baraháyamúhiingira/** {Rwanda} *n10-loc-obj+n3-pl-obj+n1-sg-obj* 'They cultivate it there for him.' (Overdulve 1975:264)

**/ndahábimúshiirira/** {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:156), **/ndahábimúshyiirira/** {Rwanda} *n10-loc-obj+n4-pl-obj+n1-sg-obj* 'I will remit it to him there.'

**/ndabíhamúshiirira/** {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:157), **/ndabíhamúshyiirira/** {Rwanda} *n4-pl-obj+n10-loc-obj+n1-sg-obj* 'I will remit it to him there.'

**/baranábihámukórerera/** {both} *conj-infix+n4-pl-obj+n10-loc-obj+n1-sg-obj* 'And they are going to do it for him there.' (Bizimana 1998:145)
  - Infixes referring to humans follow those of other classes.
 

**/ndayágutúura/** {both} *n3-pl-obj+pro-2sg-obj* 'I give them (**amarira** 'tears') to you.' (R36.2)

**/barahámumwéerekerera/** {both} *n10-loc-obj+n1-sg-obj+n1-sg-obj* 'They will show him it (the place) on his behalf.' (Rodegem 1967:141)
  - A first person singular object is the last of all infixes (except for the reflexive<sup>288</sup>). In line with the statistics cited above from the *Newspaper Reader*, of the 43 instances of *pro-1sg-obj* in Nibagwire & Zorc 2002, only one involved **-n-** 'me' as a second imbedded object.
 

**/núukuumpáhó/** {Rwanda} *pro-2sg-obj+pro-1sg-obj* 'If he gives me to you...' (R28.8)

**/arayímuúshyiirira/** {Rundi} *n5-sg-obj+n1-sg-obj+pro-1sg-obj* 'He will bring it to him on my behalf.' (Rodegem 1967:141)

**/aran'yíisábira/** {Rwanda} *pro-1sg-obj+refl* 'He asks me for himself.' (Overdulve 1975:264)

#### 4.4. Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns present an incredibly rich and complex matrix. Besides those relating to the personal pronouns, there are all those that refer the noun of one class to that of another. All in all, there are 460 primary forms<sup>289</sup> in the tables below. Adding to this complexity is the fact that there are many homophones.<sup>290</sup>

In structure, possessives are always composed of two elements: an appropriate noun group possessive marker (**wa-**, **ya-**, **rwa-**, **za-**, etc.) and a pronoun or noun-class stem (**-nje** {Rundi}, **-njye** {Rwanda} *pro-1sg* 'my,' **-cu** *pro-1pl* 'our,' **-nyu** *pro-2pl* 'your,' **-bo** *n1-pl* 'their,' etc.). One must bear in mind that possession involves both a POSSESSOR and a thing POSSESSED (see also §3.6.3.2). In the following examples, our grammatical explanation refers first to the PRONOUN ROOT and then to the POSSESSIVE MARKER, e.g., **/bwáazo/** is a *n5-pl pronoun (zo) possessed by a n8-sg head (bwáa)*. While this is the opposite of the order in which these elements appear, it is the manner in which all possessive pronouns are presented in Tables 56-59.<sup>291</sup>

<sup>288</sup> The REFLEXIVE **ii-** is treated as the final infix by some authors. No matter what it is considered to be, it always comes immediately before the verb root, stripping it of any high tone and shortening any long initial vowel (§8.13).

<sup>289</sup> These figures are based on the group system, where, for example, *n3-pl*, *n8-pl*, and *n9-pl* are identical in form. The table in Overdulve (1975:306f) has 378 forms arranged by the Meinhof noun class system.

<sup>290</sup> There are 25 separate functions for **/yáayo/**, 10 each for **/záayo/**, **/yáazo/**, **/wáayo/**, and 5 each for **/yáawo/**, **/yáatwo/**, **/yáaryo/**, **/yáakwo/**, **/ryáayo/**, **/bwáayo/** and several others.

<sup>291</sup> This treatment may appear awkward for these short possessive pronouns, but is the only way to maintain consistency where the bulk of a word clearly belongs to a given noun group, such as **/z'úwiishe/** {both} *auto-n1-sg-recent-poss-n6-pl* 'of the one who killed' (R40.4). Looking at the entire word **/z'úwiishe/**, one is struck that its primary analysis or group membership is to be found in *n1*. Similarly with the ambiguity built into the

## Chapter 4: Pronouns

- /umwáanzi waanjye/ {Rwanda} (R28.6), /umwáansi waanje/ {Rundi} *n1-sg + pro-1sg-poss-n1-sg* 'my enemy'  
/igihúgu cáacu/ {Rundi} (R37.6), /igihúgu cyáacu/ *n4-sg + pro-1pl-poss-n4-sg* {Rwanda} 'our country'  
/icyoókeere cyaawe/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg + pro-2sg-poss-n4-sg* 'your intense heat' (R28.3)  
/inézá yaawe / {both} *n5a-sg + pro-2sg-poss-n5-sg* 'your goodness' (R36.9)  
/imyeénda yáabo/ {both} *n2-pl + pro-n1-pl-poss-n2-pl* 'their clothes' (R38.8)  
/amatúuro yáabo/ {both} *n3-pl + pro-n1-pl-poss-n3-pl* 'their contributions' (R40.3)  
/imbwá záabo/ {both} *n5-pl + pro-n1-pl-poss-n5-pl* 'their dogs' (R38.1)  
/ubuzima bwáabo/ {both} *n8-pl + pro-n1-pl-poss-n8-sg* 'their lives' (R34.0, R38.1)  
/inshutí záawo/ {Rwanda} *n5-pl + pro-n2-sg-poss-n5-pl* 'its friends' (**umwíjímá** 'darkness') (R28.8)  
/ingárúká záabyo/ {Rwanda} *n5-pl + pro-n4-pl-poss-n5-pl* 'their effects' (R26)  
/abaantu báayo/ {both} *n1-pl + pro-n5-sg-poss-n1-pl* 'its people' (leta, i.e., of the US government) (R37.4)  
/igifú cyáayo/ {Rwanda} *n4-sg + pro-n5-sg-poss-n4-sg* 'its (the stringray's) stomach' (R12)  
/mu bwaámi bwáayo/ {both} *n8-sg-loc + pro-n5-sg-poss-n8-sg* 'in His kingdom' (**imána** 'God') (R17.8)  
/ubuzima bwáazo/ {both} *n8-sg + pro-n5-pl-poss-n8-sg* 'their maintenance' (R16.8)

Rundi has a special INALIENABLE POSSESSIVE construction based on *n6-sg* (**rw-**) with the sense of 'very own.' These are INVARIABLE, inflecting for person, but not for noun class. Grammars exemplify these as occurring after the copulatives **ni** or **si**, but it can be used alone. Depending on context, Rwanda uses standard or nominalized possessive pronouns, or in special circumstances the emphatic /**bwiité**/.

- /uyu mugoré ní rwaanjé/ {Rundi} *n1-sg + pro-1sg-poss-invar* 'this woman is rightfully mine' (Rodegem 1967:33) Rwanda: /uyu mugoré n'úuwaanjye/  
/imirimá ní rwaabó/ {Rundi} *n2-pl + pro-n1-pl-poss-invar* 'the fields are theirs' (Ntahokaja 1994:92)  
[Rwanda: /iyi mirimá n'úyaabó bwiité/ 'these fields are their very own']  
/ijaambo ní rwiwé/ {Rundi} *n3-sg + pro-1pl-poss-invar* 'the thought is his' (Ntahokaja 1994:92, Cristini 2000:111) [Rwanda: /ijaambo n'úrye/  
«G.S.M. rwanje» {Rundi} *n5b-sg + pro-1sg-poss-invar* 'my cell phone' (R7) [Rwanda /mobiil yaanjye/]

In the following tables when there are two forms within a single cell, the first is Rundi and the second is Rwanda.

possessor in a form like /yaanje/ {Rundi}, /yaanjye/ {Rwanda}, *n2-pl*, *n3-pl*, or *n5-sg*, there is no doubt that its root and reference point is *pro-1sg* 'my.'



Table 56. Possessive Personal Pronouns

group	my	our	your [sg]	your [pl]
n1-sg	<b>waanje</b> <b>waanjye</b>	<b>wáacu</b>	<b>waawe</b>	<b>wáanyu</b>
n1-pl	<b>baanje</b> <b>baanjye</b>	<b>báacu</b>	<b>baawe</b>	<b>báanyu</b>
n2-sg	<b>waanje</b> <b>waanjye</b>	<b>wáacu</b>	<b>waawe</b>	<b>wáanyu</b>
n2-pl	<b>yaanje</b> <b>yaanjye</b>	<b>yáacu</b>	<b>yaawe</b>	<b>yáanyu</b>
n3-sg	<b>ryaanje</b> <b>ryaanjye</b>	<b>ryáacu</b>	<b>ryaawe</b>	<b>ryáanyu</b>
n3-pl	<b>yaanje</b> <b>yaanjye</b>	<b>yáacu</b>	<b>yaawe</b>	<b>yáanyu</b>
n4-sg	<b>caanje</b> <b>cyaanjye</b>	<b>cáacu</b> <b>cyáacu</b>	<b>caawe</b> <b>cyaawe</b>	<b>cáanyu</b> <b>cyáanyu</b>
n4-pl	<b>vyaanje</b> <b>byaanjye</b>	<b>vyáacu</b> <b>byáacu</b>	<b>vyaawe</b> <b>byaawe</b>	<b>vyáanyu</b> <b>byáanyu</b>
n5-sg	<b>yaanje</b> <b>yaanjye</b>	<b>yáacu</b>	<b>yaawe</b>	<b>yáanyu</b>
n5-pl	<b>zaanje</b> <b>zaanjye</b>	<b>záacu</b>	<b>zaawe</b>	<b>záanyu</b>
n6-sg	<b>rwaanje</b> <b>rwaanjye</b>	<b>rwáacu</b>	<b>rwaawe</b>	<b>rwáanyu</b>
n6-pl	<b>zaanje</b> <b>zaanjye</b>	<b>záacu</b>	<b>zaawe</b>	<b>záanyu</b>
n7-sg	<b>kaanje</b> <b>kaanjye</b>	<b>káacu</b>	<b>kaawe</b>	<b>káanyu</b>
n7-pl	<b>twaanje</b> <b>twaanjye</b>	<b>twáacu</b>	<b>twaawe</b>	<b>twáanyu</b>
n8-sg	<b>bwaanje</b> <b>bwaanjye</b>	<b>bwáacu</b>	<b>bwaawe</b>	<b>bwáanyu</b>
n8-pl	<b>yaanje</b> <b>yaanjye</b>	<b>yáacu</b>	<b>yaawe</b>	<b>yáanyu</b>
n9-sg	<b>kwaanje</b> <b>kwaanjye</b>	<b>kwáacu</b>	<b>kwawe</b>	<b>kwáanyu</b>
n9-pl	<b>yaanje</b> <b>yaanjye</b>	<b>yáacu</b>	<b>yawe</b>	<b>yáanyu</b>
n10-sg	<b>haanje</b>	<b>háacu</b>	<b>hawe</b>	<b>háanyu</b>
n10-pl	<b>haanje</b>			
n11-sg	<b>kwaanje</b>	<b>kwáacu</b>	<b>kwaawe</b>	<b>kwáanyu</b>
n11-pl	<b>kwaanje</b>			

Table 57. Possessive Pronouns Groups 1-3

group	n1-sg	n1-pl	n2-sg	n2-pl	n3-sg	n3-pl
n1-sg	wíiwé wé	wáabo	wáawo	wáayo	wáaryo	wáayo
n1-pl	bíiwé bé	báabo	báawo	báayo	báaryo	báayo
n2-sg	wíiwé wé	wáabo	wáawo	wáayo	wáaryo	wáayo
n2-pl	yíiwé yé	yáabo	yáawo	yáayo	yáaryo	yáayo
n3-sg	ryíiwé ryé	ryáabo	ryáawo	ryáayo	ryáaryo	ryáayo
n3-pl	yíiwé yé	yáabo	yáawo	yáayo	yáaryo	yáayo
n4-sg	cíiwé cyé	cáabo cyáabo	cáawo cyáawo	cáayo cyáayo	cáaryo cyáaryo	cáayo cyáayo
n4-pl	vyíiwé byé	vyáabo byáabo	vyáawo byáawo	vyáayo byáayo	vyáaryo byáaryo	vyáayo byáayo
n5-sg	yíiwé yé	yáabo	yáawo	yáayo	yáaryo	yáayo
n5-pl	zíiwé zé	záabo	záawo	záayo	záaryo	záayo
n6-sg	rwíiwé rwé	rwáabo	rwáawo	rwáayo	rwáaryo	rwáayo
n6-pl	zíiwé zé	záabo	záawo	záayo	záaryo	záayo
n7-sg	kíiwé ké	káabo	káawo	káayo	káaryo	káayo
n7-pl	twíiwé twé	twáabo	twáawo	twáayo	twáaryo	twáayo
n8-sg	bwíiwé bwé	bwáabo	bwáawo	bwáayo	bwáaryo	bwáayo
n8-pl	yíiwé yé	yáabo	yáawo	yáayo	yáaryo	yáayo
n9-sg	kwíiwé kwé	kwáabo	kwáawo	kwáayo	kwáaryo	kwáayo
n9-pl	yíiwé yé	yáabo	yáawo	yáayo	yáaryo	yáayo
n10-sg/pl	híiwé hé	háabo	háawo	háayo	háaryo	háayo
n11-sg/pl	kwíiwé kwé	kwáabo	kwáawo	kwáayo	kwáaryo	kwáayo

Table 58. Possessive Pronouns Groups 4-6

group	n4-sg	n4-pl	n5-sg	n5-pl	n6-sg	n6-pl
n1-sg	wáaco wáacyo	wáavyo wáabyo	wáayo	wáazo	wáarwo	wáazo
n1-pl	báaco báacyo	báavyo báabyo	báayo	báazo	báarwo	báazo
n2-sg	wáaco wáacyo	wáavyo wáabyo	wáayo	wáazo	wáarwo	wáazo
n2-pl	yáaco yáacyo	yáavyo yáabyo	yáayo	yáazo	yáarwo	yáazo
n3-sg	ryáaco ryáacyo	ryáavyo ryáabyo	ryáayo	ryáazo	ryáarwo	ryáazo
n3-pl	yáaco yáacyo	yáavyo yáabyo	yáayo	yáazo	yáarwo	yáazo
n4-sg	cáaco cyáacyo	cáavyo cyáabyo	cáayo cyáayo	cáazo cyáazo	cáarwo cyáarwo	cáazo cyáazo
n4-pl	vyáaco byáacyo	vyáavyo byáabyo	vyáayo byáayo	vyáazo byáazo	vyáarwo byáarwo	vyáazo byáazo
n5-sg	yáaco yáacyo	yáavyo yáabyo	yáayo	yáazo	yáarwo	yáazo
n5-pl	záaco záacyo	záavyo záabyo	záayo	záazo	záarwo	záazo
n6-sg	rwáaco rwáacyo	rwáavyo rwáabyo	rwáayo	rwáazo	rwáarwo	rwáazo
n6-pl	záaco záacyo	záavyo záabyo	záayo	záazo	záarwo	záazo
n7-sg	káaco káacyo	káavyo káabyo	káayo	káazo	káarwo	káazo
n7-pl	twáaco twáacyo	twáavyo twáabyo	twáayo	twáazo	twáarwo	twáazo
n8-sg	bwáaco bwáacyo	bwáavyo bwáabyo	bwáayo	bwáazo	bwáarwo	bwáazo
n8-pl	yáaco yáacyo	yáavyo yáabyo	yáayo	yáazo	yáarwo	yáazo
n9-sg	kwáaco kwáacyo	kwáavyo kwáabyo	kwáayo	kwáazo	kwáarwo	kwáazo
n9-pl	yáaco yáacyo	yáavyo yáabyo	yáayo	yáazo	yáarwo	yáazo
n10-sg/pl	háaco háacyo	háavyo háabyo	háayo	háazo	háarwo	háazo
n11-sg/pl	kwáaco kwáacyo	kwáavyo kwáabyo	kwáayo	kwáazo	kwáarwo	kwáazo

Table 59. Possessive Pronouns Groups 7-11

group	n7-sg	n7-pl	n8-sg	n8-pl & n9-pl	n9-sg	n10-loc
n1-sg	wáako	wáatwo	wáabwo	wáayo	wáakwo	wáaho
n1-pl	báako	báatwo	báabwo	báayo	báakwo	báaho
n2-sg	wáako	wáatwo	wáabwo	wáayo	wáakwo	wáaho
n2-pl	yáako	yáatwo	yáabwo	yáayo	yáakwo	yáaho
n3-sg	ryáako	ryáatwo	ryáabwo	ryáayo	ryáakwo	ryáaho
n3-pl	yáako	yáatwo	yáabwo	yáayo	yáakwo	yáaho
n4-sg	cáako cyáako	cáatwo cyáatwo	cáabwo cyáabwo	cáayo cyáayo	cáakwo cyáakwo	cáaho cyáaho
n4-pl	vyáako byáako	vyáatwo byáatwo	vyáabwo byáabwo	vyáayo byáayo	vyáakwo byáakwo	vyáaho byáaho
n5-sg	yáako	yáatwo	yáabwo	yáayo	yáakwo	yáaho
n5-pl	záako	záatwo	záabwo	záayo	záakwo	záaho
n6-sg	rwáako	rwáatwo	rwáabwo	rwáayo	rwáakwo	rwáaho
n6-pl	záako	záatwo	záabwo	záayo	záakwo	záaho
n7-sg	káako	káatwo	káabwo	káayo	káakwo	káaho
n7-pl	twáako	twáatwo	twáabwo	twáayo	twáakwo	twáaho
n8-sg	bwáako	bwáatwo	bwáabwo	bwáayo	bwáakwo	bwáaho
n8-pl	yáako	yáatwo	yáabwo	yáayo	yáakwo	yáaho
n9-sg	kwáako	kwáatwo	kwáabwo	kwáayo	kwáakwo	kwáaho
n9-pl	yáako	yáatwo	yáabwo	yáayo	yáakwo	yáaho
n10-sg/pl	háako	háatwo	háabwo	háayo	háakwo	háaho
n11-sg/pl	kwáako	kwáatwo	kwáabwo	kwáayo	kwáakwo	kwáaho

#### 4.4.1. Nominalized Possessive Pronouns

Just as possessive noun constructions can themselves be nominalized (§3.6.3.3), so can the possessive pronouns (compare the following with other forms in Tables 56 and 60).

/aya n'ámáfaraanga yáacu/ {Rundi}, /aya n'áamáfaraanga yáacu/ {Rwanda} 'this is our money'

/aya máfaraanga n'áyaácu/ {Rundi}, /aya máfaraanga n'áayaácu/ {Rwanda} 'this money is ours'

A thematic vowel appropriate to each noun group is added to a possessive pronoun, e.g., **u+waanj(y)e** *n1-sg, n2-sg, a+báacu n1-pl, i+yáanyu n2-pl, n3-pl, n5-sg*, etc. There are also tone changes. With possessive forms that already have high tone, the tone moves one mora to the right: **báacu** > **abaácu** [A2rule, see §2.4.17]. With low tone possessive forms, two high tones are introduced, one immediately after the prefix and the other on the final syllable, i.e., the ROOT: **waanj(y)e** > **uwáanj(y)é** [Hrule (§2.4.18) + Erule (§2.4.22)].<sup>292</sup>

A sampling of these are found in Table 60 representing the personal pronouns and nouns of group 1. Any of the possessive pronouns in groups 2-11 found in Tables 57-59 can be nominalized and follow the same pattern as the forms in Table 60.

<sup>292</sup> Meeussen (1959:89) maintains that there is a length and tone difference in Kirundi forms referencing the third person, i.e., /iyabó/ instead of /iyaábo/ *pro-n1-pl-nom-poss-n5-sg* 'theirs.' No other author presents such alternatives since vowel length appears to be a hallmark of possessive and nominalized possessive forms.

Table 60. Nominalized Possessive Pronouns

	1st Person		2nd Person		3rd Person (group 1)	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
n1-sg	<b>uwáanjé</b> <b>uwáanjyé</b>	<b>uwaácu</b>	<b>uwáawé</b>	<b>uwaányu</b>	<b>uwíiwé</b> <b>uwé</b>	<b>uwaábo</b>
n1-pl	<b>abáanjé</b> <b>abáanjyé</b>	<b>abaácu</b>	<b>abáawé</b>	<b>abaányu</b>	<b>abíiwé</b> <b>abé</b>	<b>abaábo</b>
n2-sg	<b>uwáanjé</b> <b>uwáanjyé</b>	<b>uwaácu</b>	<b>uwáawé</b>	<b>uwaányu</b>	<b>uwíiwé</b> <b>uwé</b>	<b>uwaábo</b>
n2-pl	<b>iyáanjé</b> <b>iyáanjyé</b>	<b>iyaácu</b>	<b>iyáawé</b>	<b>iyaányu</b>	<b>iyíiwé</b> <b>iyé</b>	<b>iyaábo</b>
n3-sg	<b>iryáanjé</b> <b>iryáanjyé</b>	<b>iryaácu</b>	<b>iryáawé</b>	<b>iryaányu</b>	<b>iryíiwé</b> <b>iryé</b>	<b>iryaábo</b>
n3-pl	<b>ayáanjé</b> <b>ayáanjyé</b>	<b>ayaácu</b>	<b>ayáawé</b>	<b>ayaányu</b>	<b>ayíiwé</b> <b>ayé</b>	<b>ayaábo</b>
n4-sg	<b>icáanjé</b> <b>icyáanjyé</b>	<b>icaácu</b> <b>icyaácu</b>	<b>icáawé</b> <b>icyáawé</b>	<b>icaányu</b> <b>icyaányu</b>	<b>icíiwé</b> <b>icyé</b>	<b>icaábo</b> <b>icyaábo</b>
n4-pl	<b>ivyáanjé</b> <b>ibyáanjyé</b>	<b>ivyaácu</b> <b>ibyaácu</b>	<b>ivyáawé</b> <b>ibyáawé</b>	<b>ivyaányu</b> <b>ibyaányu</b>	<b>ivyíiwé</b> <b>ibyé</b>	<b>ivyaábo</b> <b>ibyaábo</b>
n5-sg	<b>iyáanjé</b> <b>iyáanjyé</b>	<b>iyaácu</b>	<b>iyáawé</b>	<b>iyaányu</b>	<b>iyíiwé</b> <b>iyé</b>	<b>iyaábo</b>
n5-pl	<b>izáanjé</b> <b>izáanjyé</b>	<b>izaácu</b>	<b>izáawé</b>	<b>izaányu</b>	<b>iziíiwé</b> <b>izé</b>	<b>izaábo</b>
n6-sg	<b>urwáanjé</b> <b>urwáanjyé</b>	<b>urwaácu</b>	<b>urwáawé</b>	<b>urwaányu</b>	<b>urwíiwé</b> <b>urwé</b>	<b>urwaábo</b>
n6-pl	<b>izáanjé</b> <b>izáanjyé</b>	<b>izaácu</b>	<b>izáawé</b>	<b>izaányu</b>	<b>iziíiwé</b> <b>izé</b>	<b>izaábo</b>
n7-sg	<b>akáanjé</b> <b>akáanjyé</b>	<b>akaácu</b>	<b>akáawé</b>	<b>akaányu</b>	<b>akíiwé</b> <b>aké</b>	<b>akaábo</b>
n7-pl	<b>utwáanjé</b> <b>utwáanjyé</b>	<b>utwaácu</b>	<b>utwáawé</b>	<b>utwaányu</b>	<b>utwíiwé</b> <b>utwé</b>	<b>utwaábo</b>
n8-sg <sup>293</sup>	<b>ubwáanjé</b> <b>ubwáanjyé</b>	<b>ubwaácu</b>	<b>ubwáawé</b>	<b>ubwaányu</b>	<b>ubwíiwé</b> <b>ubwé</b>	<b>ubwaábo</b>
n8-pl	<b>ayáanjé</b> <b>ayáanjyé</b>	<b>ayaácu</b>	<b>ayáawé</b>	<b>ayaányu</b>	<b>ayíiwé</b> <b>ayé</b>	<b>ayaábo</b>
n9-sg	<b>ukwáanjé</b> <b>ukwáanjyé</b>	<b>ukwaácu</b>	<b>ukwáawé</b>	<b>ukwaányu</b>	<b>ukwíiwé</b> <b>ukwé</b>	<b>ukwaábo</b>
n9-pl	<b>ayáanjé</b> <b>ayáanjyé</b>	<b>ayaácu</b>	<b>ayáawé</b>	<b>ayaányu</b>	<b>ayíiwé</b> <b>ayé</b>	<b>ayaábo</b>
n10-sg/pl	<b>aháanjé</b> <b>aháanjyé</b>	<b>ahaácu</b>	<b>aháawé</b>	<b>ahaányu</b>	<b>ahíiwé</b> <b>ahé</b>	<b>ahaábo</b>
n11-sg/pl <sup>294</sup>	<b>ukwáanjé</b> <b>ukwáanjyé</b>	<b>ukwaácu</b>	<b>ukwáawé</b>	<b>ukwaányu</b>	<b>ukwíiwé</b> <b>ukwé</b>	<b>ukwaábo</b>

<sup>293</sup> When **ubwaa** is followed by a pronoun root, it means 'of one's own will, spontaneously, personally' (Overdulve 1975:181). This is the closest Kinyarwanda and Kirundi get to having a REFLEXIVE PRONOUN.

<sup>294</sup> When **ukwaa** is followed by a pronoun root, it means 'in the manner of' (Overdulve 1975:181).

## Chapter 4: Pronouns

- /siinkigira icyó maríra **abáanjyé**/ {Rwanda} *pro-1sg-nom-poss-n1-pl* 'I am no longer of any use to my family' (R34.5)  
/izáanjyé ní nyiinshi **izáawé** ní nkéeyá/ {Rwanda} *pro-1sg-nom-poss-n5-pl + pro-2sg-nom-poss-n5-pl* 'Mine /ihené goats/ are numerous and yours are few.' (Hurel 1952:56)  
/háabwa impuúndu n'**áabáawé**/ {both} *pro-2sg-nom-poss-n1-pl-agent* 'be given acclaim by your own people' (R21.2)  
/nk'úukó wuumvá abazuúngu bábwiira **izaábo**/ {both} *pro-n1-pl-nom-poss-n5-pl* 'just as you hear white people talking to theirs /imbwá dogs/' (R38.1)  
/ukwáanjye/ {Rwanda} 'my way' (Overdulve 1975:181)

The equivalent of REFLEXIVE PRONOMINALIZATION *self* or *oneself* is the use of *n8* (abstract) nominalized possessives with /**ubwaa**/ {both}

- /arí wowé **ubwáawé wiikúunda**/ {both} 'you being the only one who loves yourself' (R28.7)  
/kaándi n'ábanyaameriká **ubwáabo ikaba yábasizemwó imvuné**/ {both} 'moreover (the Vietnam War) had left a wound among Americans themselves' (R37.4)  
/ubwáanjé/ {Rundi}, /**ubwáanjyé**/ {Rwanda} 'by myself, of my own will, me personally'

### 4.5. Relative Pronouns

There are no special relative agreement pronouns in either Kinyarwanda or Kirundi equivalent to English *who* or *which*. Subject forms are used (Table 54 and §4.2), with a change of intonation on the verb (§8.1.4).

- /bareenga 270/ {both} *n1-pl-subj + v-ind-imm* 'they exceed 270'  
/abageenzi bareengá 270/ {Rwanda} *n1-pl-subj + v-rel-imm* 'passengers who exceed 270' (R8b)  
/abaantu bareengá imiliyoóni ijana/ {Rundi} *n1-pl-subj + v-rel-imm* 'people who exceed 100 million' (R37.4)

However, there is a set of OBJECT RELATIVE FORMS (also called PRECESSIVE PRONOUNS<sup>295</sup>), which are similar to the second person deictics (§5.4), except that they have high tone on the final syllable (see Table 61). These are used when the referent is understood and are usually followed by a verb in the relative mood or by an infinitive construction. Some are used invariably as conjunctions with specific functions and meanings and will be revisited in Chapter 12.

- /baábuze **uwó batumá**/ {both} *rel-obj-pro-n1-sg* 'They didn't have anyone to send.' (R11)  
/abó wíbyaariye tukuraáte/ {Rwanda} *rel-obj-pro-n1-pl* 'Let those of us whom you brought into the world praise you!'  
/murúumva reeró kó **ayó ngoowé**/ {Rundi} *rel-obj-pro-n3-pl* 'So now you understand what (amagóorwa 'adversities) I am enduring.' (R19)  
/udufaraanga twó kugura **icyó kunywá**/ {Rwanda} *rel-obj-pro-n4-sg+v-inf* 'a little bit of money to buy something (alcoholic) to drink' (R38.4)  
/uyo mupáatiri agaca aménya **ivyó ari vyó**/ {Rundi} *rel-obj-pro-n4-pl* 'Right away the priest understood what was going on.' (R23) [Rwanda: /ibyó ari byó/ 'what it is all about']  
/ukuurahó **izó urí buteeké ukwaázo**/ {Rwanda} *rel-obj-pro-n5-pl* 'Set some aside.' [lit. 'You take out some (inyama 'meat') which you will cook by itself.'] (R18)  
/utwó aroonsé twóóse ní **twó yatwáara**/ {Rundi} *rel-obj-pro-n7-pl* 'He'd take whatever he could get.' [lit. 'Everything that he could get that is what he took.'] (R25.3)  
/daatá arabípukuura **ahó yabítaritse**/ {Rundi} *rel-obj-pro-n10-loc* 'My father uncovers them where he let them ripen.' (R15)  
/ikinezereje **ní ukó nsaanzé dúhuuje**/ {both} *rel-obj-pro-n11-adv* 'What makes me happy is that I see we agree.' (R1)  
/kaándi ajé aragíteerera ku rutúgu **ukó ashaatsé**/ {Rundi} *rel-obj-pro-n11-adv* 'So he could throw it over his shoulder as he pleased.' (R5)  
/ukó bukeeyé, **ukó bwijé**/ {both} *rel-obj-pro-n11-time* 'day and night' [lit. 'as it dawns, as it gets dark'] (R25.3)

<sup>295</sup> French *précessif* (Overdulve 1975:185, Cristini 2000:13).

Table 61. Object Relative (Precessive) Pronouns

PERSONAL PRONOUNS	BEFORE A CONSONANT	BEFORE A VOWEL		
pro-1-sg	(do not occur; use appropriate noun class agreement)			
pro-1-pl				
pro-2-sg				
pro-2-pl				
NOUNS	Rundi – Rwanda		Rundi – Rwanda	
n1-sg	<b>uwó</b>		<b>uw'</b>	
n1-pl	<b>abó</b>		<b>ab'</b>	
n2-sg	<b>uwó</b>		<b>uw'</b>	
n2-pl	<b>iyó</b>		<b>iy'</b>	
n3-sg	<b>iryó</b>		<b>iry'</b>	
n3-pl	<b>ayó</b>		<b>ay'</b>	
n4-sg	<b>icó</b>	<b>icyó</b>	<b>ic'</b>	<b>icy'</b>
n4-pl	<b>ivyó</b>	<b>ibyó</b>	<b>ivy'</b>	<b>iby'</b>
n5-sg	<b>iyó</b>		<b>iy'</b>	
n5-pl	<b>izó</b>		<b>iz'</b>	
n6-sg	<b>urwó</b>		<b>urw'</b>	
n6-pl	<b>izó</b>		<b>iz'</b>	
n7-sg	<b>akó</b>		<b>ak'</b>	
n7-pl	<b>utwó</b>		<b>utw'</b>	
n8-sg	<b>ubwó</b>		<b>ubw'</b>	
n8-pl	<b>ayó</b>		<b>ay'</b>	
n9-sg	<b>ukó / ukwó</b>		<b>ukw'</b>	
n9-pl	<b>ayó</b>		<b>ay'</b>	
n10-loc	<b>ahó</b>		<b>ahw'</b>	
n11-adv	<b>ukó</b>		<b>uk'</b>	
n12-loc	(does not occur)			
n13-loc	<b>iyó</b>		<b>iy'</b>	

#### 4.6. Locative Pronouns

Possessive pronouns of  $n2^{296}$  can be marked by the *n13 locative* (i-) yielding a special set of locative expressions, e.g., **i+waanj(y)e**. Tone changes for the pronominal forms including *n1* for the third person are identical to those discussed for nominalized possessives (§4.4.1). With possessive forms that already have high tone, the tone moves one mora to the right: **wáacu** > **iwaácu** [A2rule, see §2.4.17]. With low tone possessive forms, two high tones are introduced, one immediately after the prefix and the other on the final syllable, i.e., the ROOT: **waanj(y)e** > **iwáanj(y)é** [Hrule (§2.4.18) + Erule (§2.4.22)]. In Rwanda these forms are generally limited to pronouns and humans or animate creatures which can be thought of as **/imuhirá/** 'at home.' However, Rundi has a different paradigm in all groups above *n1*: there is no long penult vowel and high tone falls on the final syllable (i.e., the pronoun root).<sup>297</sup>

**/iwaácu/** {both} *pro-1pl-poss-n2-sg+n13-loc* 'at our place' (R15)

**/iwaácu duhora tógana ibitooke/** {Rundi} 'At home, we always mash bananas.' (R15)

<sup>296</sup> Agreeing with **/umuhirá/** {Rundi only} *n2-sg* 'dwelling, domicile, home,' which also occurs in reduced form in the locative expression **/imuhirá/** {both} *n13-loc-n2-sg* 'home, at home, homewards.'

<sup>297</sup> Cristini (2000:301) gives examples illustrating the length and tone difference in Kirundi forms in groups above *n1*, i.e., **/iwayó/** instead of **/iwaáyo/** *pro-n5-sg-poss-n2-sg+n13-loc* 'in his den' (**intáre** 'lion'). In an email (9 Dec 2004), Prof. Ndayiragije confirms these and even **/iwabó/** as an alternate for *n1-pl*. The Rundi forms in Table 62 are drawn from Cristini, except for the two marked with a dagger (†).

## Chapter 4: Pronouns

- /iwé/ {both} *pro-3sg-poss-n2-sg+n13-loc* 'at his, her place' (R14)  
 /umutwaáre yakóreesheje igitáramo iwé/ {Rwanda} 'A chief threw a party at his palace.' (R14)  
 /iwaányu/ {both} *pro-2pl-poss-n2-sg+n13-loc* 'at your place' (R28.7)  
 /ukava iwaányu mw'ijuru ngo uzanywe nó kunyíiraatahó/ {Rwanda} 'And you come from your place in the sky just to pretend you are better than me!' (R28.7)  
 /iwaábo/ {both} *pro-3pl-poss-n2-sg+n13-loc* 'at their place, in their home' (R13)  
 /nyina aba yáapfáakaye cáanké yáahukaanye agasubira iwaábo/ {Rundi} 'The mother is either widowed or divorced, and has gone back to her family.' (R13)  
 /intáre iri iwayó/ {Rundi} *pro-n5-sg-poss-n2-sg+n13-loc* 'The lion is in his den.' (Cristini 2000:301);  
 /intáre iri iwaáyo/ {Rwanda}  
 /ubwáato buri iwabwó/ {Rundi} *pro-n8-sg-poss-n2-sg+n13-loc* 'The canoe is in its dock.' (Cristini 2000:301)  
 /ubushíishi buri iwaábwo/ {Rwanda} *pro-n8-sg-poss-n2-sg+n13-loc* 'The ants are in their colony.'

**Table 62. Locative Pronouns**

pronoun	Rundi	Rwanda	English equivalents
1sg	<b>iwáanjé</b>	<b>iwáanjyé</b>	at my place, in my home
1pl	<b>iwaácu</b>		at home, at our place, in our home
2sg	<b>iwáawé</b>		at your place, in your home
2pl	<b>iwaányu</b>		at your place, in your home
3sg = n1-sg	<b>iwé</b>		at his, her place; in his, her home
3pl = n1-pl	<b>iwaábo</b> <b>iwabó</b>	<b>iwaábo</b>	at their place, in their home
n2-sg	(do not occur)		n/a (members of <i>n2</i> are never human)
n2-pl			
n3-sg	(do not occur; members of <i>n3</i> are never human)		n/a (members of <i>n3</i> are never human)
n3-pl			
n4-sg	<b>iwacó</b>	<b>iwaácyo</b>	at his, her place; in his, her area
n4-pl	<b>iwavyó</b>	<b>iwaábyo</b>	at their place; in their area
n5-sg	<b>iwayó</b>	<b>iwaáyo</b>	at his, her place; in his, her den
n5-pl	<b>iwazó</b>	<b>iwaázo</b>	at their place, in their den
n6-sg	<b>iwarwó</b>	<b>iwaárwo</b>	at his, her place; in his, her home
n6-pl	<b>iwazó</b>	<b>iwaázo</b>	at their place; in their home
n7-sg	† <b>iwakó</b>	<b>iwaáko</b>	at his, her place; in his, her home
n7-pl	† <b>iwatwó</b>	<b>iwaátwo</b>	at their place; in their home
n8-sg/pl	<b>iwabwó</b>	<b>iwaábwo</b>	at his, her, its place; in their area
n9-sg/pl	(do not occur)		n/a (members of <i>n9</i> are never human)
n10-loc	(does not occur)		n/a (members of <i>n10</i> are never human)
n11-adv	(does not occur)		n/a (members of <i>n11</i> are never human)

### 4.7. Vocative Pronouns

Pronouns used to call someone are limited to the SECOND PERSON (*you*) and come in pairs (SINGULAR and PLURAL). In most instances these forms are used together with either a reduced noun (following root tonality) or a vocative noun (following the tonalities described in §3.6.5.2); a few are used alone. Rundi has a greater variety of such vocative pronouns than does Rwanda.

One pair shared by Kinyarwanda and Kirundi is formed with the interjection /yeé/ followed by the second person pronoun root, i.e., /yeéwe/ and /yeémwe/, generally equivalent to English 'hey you!' These forms may be used alone or may be followed by a vocative noun.

- /yeéwe/ {both} *pro-2sg-voc* 'hey you!'  
 /yeéwe, haguruka tugeendé/ {both} 'hey you, get up and let's go!' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:311)  
 /yeémwe/ {both} *pro-2pl-voc* 'hey you all!'



/yeémwe bagábo/ {both} 'hey you guys!' (Jacob 1987:532)  
 /yeémwe tugeendé/ {both} 'Hey you all, let's go!' (Overdulse 1975:254)

Kirundi alone has alternate forms of the latter without the *y-*, /eéwe/ *pro-2sg-voc* and /eémwe/ *pro-2pl-voc*, which are also used with vocative nouns.

/eéwe ga mwáana, itoonde/ {Rundi} *pro-2sg-voc + n1-sg-voc* 'hey you, child, be quiet!' (Cristini 2000:151)  
 /eéwe mugéenzi/ {Rundi} *pro-2sg-voc + n1-sg-voc* 'hey you, friend!' (Rodegem 1967:105)  
 /eémwe bagábo, mukóre/ {Rundi} *pro-2pl-voc + n1-pl-voc* 'hey, you guys, you should work' (Cristini 2000:151)

Two Kirundi forms exhibit vocative TONE REVERSAL, they have a long low vowel /waa, mwaa/ if followed by a reduced high tone noun and a final high vowel /waá, mwaá/ if followed by a reduced low tone noun.

/umutwaáre ati vuga naáwe waá ntaambwe/ {Rundi} 'The chief said, "OK, lion, you talk (now)!' (R27.4)  
 /urizwa n'íikí ga waa mwá/ {Rundi} 'Hey you, child, why are you crying?' (Ntahokaja 1994:89)  
 /mutiinya ikí ga mwaa bá/ {Rundi} 'Hey you, children, what are you afraid of?' (Ntahokaja 1994:89)  
 /mbeéga mwaá bagabo ni ibikí/ {Rundi} 'Hey, guys, what's up?' (R27.8)

Although Kinyarwanda does not have these forms, it does share with Kirundi a circumfix-like vocative construction /waa ... we/ and /mwaa ... mwe/. However, the Rwanda forms do not exhibit any tonal changes and are used with reduced nouns maintaining root tonality, whereas the Rundi forms continue to have vocative tone reversal and are used with a vocative noun.

/cyo waa mpyisi we ntuúbeere/ {Rwanda} 'hey you, hyena, be impartial' (R28#3)  
 /waa mugabo we/ {Rwanda} 'hey you, fellow!' (Overdulse 1975:253); /waá mugabo we/ {Rundi}  
 /mwaa baantu mwe/ {Rundi} 'Hey you, people!' (Rodegem 1967:105); /mwaa baantu mwe/ {Rwanda}  
 /mwaa bahiinzi mwe/ {Rwanda} 'hey you workers!' (Overdulse 1975:253); /mwaa bahiinzi mwe/ {Rundi}  
 /mwaa biigiisha mwe nímwiinjire/ 'hey you teachers, you should come in' {both} (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:309)  
 /mwaa banyéeshuúri mwe mwiiga nézáz/ {Rwanda} 'Hey you students, study hard!' (Overdulse 1975:254)  
 /mwaa bití mwe nzaabatema mbabaáze/ {Rwanda} 'Hey you trees, I will cut you and carve you' (Bizimana 1998:190)

Kinyarwanda alone has a construction where a vocative noun is followed by the pronoun root that has an additional high tone final vowel, /weé/ *pro-2sg-voc* and /mweé/ *pro-2pl-voc*.

/peétero weé/ 'Hey, Peter' {Rwanda} (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:309)  
 /bagábo mweé/ 'Hey, you guys' {Rwanda} (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:309)

#### 4.8. Indefinite Constructions

There are no true indefinite pronouns in Kinyarwanda or Kirundi, but there are forms that carry the sense of English INDEFINITES formed from *any-*, *some-*, *-one*, or *-ever*, as in *anything*, *anywhere*, *anyone*, *someone*, *something*, *somewhere*, *whatever*, *whichever*, *whoever*, *wherever*, *so-and-so*, *such-and-such*, etc. These concepts are translated by three different constructions.

Firstly the numeral root *-mwé* can be used pronominally in the sense of *a* or *an* in the singular, *some* or *several* in the plural. In Rundi it is usually reduplicated, i.e., /-mwée -mwé/, having vowel lengthening on the first part with high tone on the first and final morae. See Table 63.

/bamwé bavuga kó .../ {both} *pro-indef-n1-pl* 'Some (people) say that ...'  
 /nkúukó bamwé babiízi/ {both} *pro-indef-n1-pl* '...as some people are aware.' (R26.1)

## Chapter 4: Pronouns

- /báraabiye ku bumúga abáana b'abayápaáni **bamwéebamwé** bavuukána/ {Rundi} *pro-indef-n1-pl-redup* 'Looking at the infirmity some Japanese children are born with...' (R37.4)
- /b**amwéebamwé** barakóra, abaándi baranebwa/ {Rundi} *pro-indef-n1-pl-redup* 'Some are working, others are lazy.' (Cristini 2000:137)
- /usaanga hárimó imihigo itaandúkanye, **imwé** igániishaa ku majyaambere rusaánge/ {Rwanda} *pro-indef-n2-pl* 'You notice the promises are different, some aiming at general progress.' (R32)
- /b**imwé** mu bitabo byaábaanjirije iki/ {Rwanda} *pro-indef-n4-pl* 'Some of the books that preceded this one...' (Bizimana 1998:4)
- /inká **zimwéezimwé** ziravyibushe/ {Rundi} *pro-indef-n5-pl* 'Some cows are fat.' (Rodegem 1970:270)
- /uburó **bumwéebumwé** buréeze/ {Rundi} *pro-indef-n8-pl* 'Some millet fields are ready to harvest.' (Rodegem 1970:270)

**Table 63. Indefinite Pronouns**

indefinite	Rwanda & Rundi	Rundi	English
n1-sg	<b>umwé</b>	<b>umwúumwé</b>	some (person)
n1-pl	<b>bamwé</b>	<b>bamwéebamwé</b>	some (people)
n2-sg	<b>umwé</b>	<b>umwúumwé</b>	some (day)
n2-pl	<b>imwé</b>	<b>imwíimwé</b>	some (days)
n3-sg	<b>rimwé</b>	<b>rimwéerimwé</b>	some (word)
n3-pl	<b>amwé</b>	<b>amwáamwé</b>	some (words)
n4-sg	<b>kimwé</b>	<b>kimwéekimwé</b>	some (thing)
n4-pl	<b>bimwé</b>	<b>bimwéebimwé</b>	some (things)
n5-sg	<b>imwé</b>	<b>imwíimwé</b>	some (cow)
n5-pl	<b>zimwé</b>	<b>zimwéezimwé</b>	some (cows)
n6-sg	<b>rumwé</b>	<b>rumwéerumwé</b>	some (enclosure)
n6-pl	<b>zimwé</b>	<b>zimwéezimwé</b>	some (enclosures)
n7-sg	<b>kamwé</b>	<b>kamwéekamwé</b>	some (infant)
n7-pl	<b>tumwé</b>	<b>tumwéetumwé</b>	some (infants)
n8-sg/pl	<b>bumwé</b>	<b>bumwéebumwé</b>	some (canoe)
n8-pl	<b>amwé</b>	<b>amwáamwé</b>	some (canoes)
n9-sg	<b>kumwé</b>	<b>kumwéekumwé</b>	some (arm)
n9-pl	<b>amwé</b>	<b>amwáamwé</b>	some (arms)
n10-loc	<b>hamwé</b>	<b>hamwéehamwé</b>	some (place, places)
n11-adv	<b>kumwé</b>	<b>kumwéekumwé</b>	some (way, manner)
n12-loc	(does not occur)	(does not occur)	n/a
n13-loc	(does not occur)	(does not occur)	n/a

Secondly, a OBJECT RELATIVE PRONOUN (see §4.5 and Table 61) can be used with a verb in the relative mood and a corresponding ENUMERATIVE PRONOUN root **-se** (§4.10.3 and Table 66) to express *-ever*.

- «mumufashe ku **co** azogomba **cose**» {Rundi} *indef-n4-sg-pro* 'Help her in whatever she wants.' (Cox 1970:44)
- /i**vyó** wakóze **vyóóse** ní vyiizá/ {Rundi} *indef-n4-pl-pro* 'Whatever you did is good.' (Cristini 2000:130); /i**byó** wakóze **byóose** ní byiizá/ {Rwanda}
- /a**hó** yacá **hóóse** ntaa kíindi kiyaago atári bitaama/ {Rundi} *indef-n10-loc-pro* 'Wherever he went, there was no other topic of conversation except Bitama.' (R25.4)
- /akayisaanga **ahó** arihó **hóóse**/ {both} *indef-n10-loc-pro* '... and he can find it anywhere.' (R33.1)
- /nzoobikora **ukó** nshobóra **kwóóse**/ {Rundi} *indef-n11-loc-adv* 'I'll do it the very best I can.' [lit. 'however I am able.']. (Cox 1970:44); /nzaabikora **ukó** nshobóye **kóóse**/ {Rwanda}
- /ukó baanganá **kóóse**/ {Rwanda} (R38.11) *indef-n11-loc-adv* 'However (large) their number is...'; /ukó baanganá **kwóóse**/ {Rundi}

Thirdly, there are a series of INDEFINITE NOUNS used when the speaker has either forgotten a word (or a name), or would rather not reveal it.

- /ntuuzá/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-indef* 'so and so, what's his / her name' (used when one has forgotten the name)
- /naaká/ {both} *n1a-sg-indef* 'so-and-so, whoever' (used to hide the identity of the person)
- /kaanaaká/ {both} *n1a-sg-masc-indef* 'so-and-so, whoever, such a one, someone like that' (used to hide the identity of the man)
- /séenaaká/ {Rwanda} *n1a-sg-masc-indef* 'some man or other' (name not mentioned) [indefinite masculine reference]; {Rundi} *n1a-sg-masc* 'father of the family, the man of the house'
- /intúuzá/ {Rwanda} *n13-loc-indef* 'at what's its place, somewhere or other' (the name escapes me) [used when one has forgotten the location]

#### 4.9. Distributive Pronouns

There is no common distributive pronoun shared by Kinyarwanda and Kirundi. Each language translates this concept differently. Rwanda has the low-toned invariable form /buri/ 'each, every' which precedes a reduced noun of any group.<sup>298</sup>

- /ejó muzázé **buri wéese** yitwaaje amafaraanga ijana/ {Rwanda} *pro-dist + n1-sg-red* 'you should come tomorrow, each and everyone having 100 francs' (Jacob 1984:144)
- /buri muuntu/ {Rwanda} *pro-dist + n1-sg-red* 'each man'
- «**buri mugoré** bakamugenera bakurikije umubare w'abana be» {Rwanda} *pro-dist + n1-sg-red* 'and a portion is reserved for each wife based upon the number of her children' (R38.3)
- /buri mwáaka ugoomba gutáanga umusoro/ {Rwanda} *pro-dist + n2-sg-red* 'each year you have to pay tax' (DRJ1:144)
- «abasaza bagahurira aho ngaho **buri muúnsi** bakahaganirira» {Rwanda} *pro-dist + n2-sg-red* 'and the elders meet there every day and converse' (R40.2)
- /muri buri shuúri/ {Rwanda} *pro-dist + n3-sg-red* 'in each school'
- /buri gihe/ {Rwanda} *pro-dist + n4-sg-red* 'each moment'
- /buri nzu/ {Rwanda} *pro-dist + n5-sg* 'each house'
- /kurí buri rugó/ {Rwanda} *pro-dist + n6-sg-red* 'near each enclosure'

Kirundi expresses this concept with the reduplicated numeral /-mwée -mwé/, having vowel lengthening on the first part, e.g., /umwúumwé/. Note that this form is both homographic and homophonic with the adverbial /umwúumwé/ {both} 'one-by-one' and the indefinite pronoun (§4.8).

- /umwúumwé akeneye abaáandi/ {Rundi} *pro-dist-n1-sg-redup* 'Each person needs someone else.' (Rodegem 1970:270)
- /muhe akajuumpu **kamwéekamwé**/ {Rundi} *pro-dist-n7-sg-redup* 'Give him a small yam each time.' (Rodegem 1970:270)

#### 4.10. Enumerative Pronouns

There are several pronouns that share semantic features with numbers (§7) in that they imply some form of enumeration (*alone* = *one*, *both* = *two*, *all*), but which are inflected as pronouns.

##### 4.10.1. Singulative -'nyéne {Rundi}, -'nyiné {Rwanda} 'Alone, Only'

There is an enumerative pronoun that covers the sense of English 'alone, only, by oneself, no one else,' which some linguists call a SINGULATIVE pronoun. Each dialect has a different, but related paradigm formed from a reduced pronoun root, which has vowel-lengthening, and the respective singulative root. Rundi uses /-'nyéne/ with high tone immediately after the prefix and high tone on

<sup>298</sup> See Overdulse 1975:219.

## Chapter 4: Pronouns

the first syllable of the root, while Rwanda uses /-'nyiné/<sup>299</sup> with high tone immediately after the prefix and on the final syllable of the root. It may be used alone; if it does cooccur with a noun, the noun will precede it.

**Table 64. Singulative Pronouns**

agreement	Rundi	Rwanda	English senses
pro-1sg	<b>jéenyéne</b>	<b>jyéenyiné</b>	I alone, only me, by myself
pro-1pl	<b>twéenyéne</b>	<b>twéenyiné</b>	we alone, only us, by ourselves
pro-2sg	<b>wéenyéne</b>	<b>wéenyiné</b>	you alone, only you, by yourself
pro-2pl	<b>mwéenyéne</b>	<b>mwéenyiné</b>	you alone, only you, by yourselves
n1-sg	<b>wéenyéne</b>	<b>wéenyiné</b>	he, she alone; only him, her; by himself, herself
n1-pl	<b>bóonyéne</b>	<b>bóonyiné</b>	they alone, only them, by themselves
n2-sg	<b>wóonyéne</b>	<b>wóonyiné</b>	it alone, only it, by itself
n2-pl	<b>yóonyéne</b>	<b>yóonyiné</b>	they alone, only them, by themselves
n3-sg	<b>ryóonyéne</b>	<b>ryóonyiné</b>	it alone, only it, by itself
n3-pl	<b>yóonyéne</b>	<b>yóonyiné</b>	they alone, only them, by themselves
n4-sg	<b>cóonyéne</b>	<b>cyóonyiné</b>	it alone, only it, by itself
n4-pl	<b>vyóonyéne</b>	<b>byóonyiné</b>	they alone, only them, by themselves
n5-sg	<b>yóonyéne</b>	<b>yóonyiné</b>	he, she, it alone; only him, her, it; by himself, herself, itself
n5-pl	<b>zóonyéne</b>	<b>zóonyiné</b>	they alone, only them, by themselves
n6-sg	<b>rwóonyéne</b>	<b>rwóonyiné</b>	it alone, only it, by itself
n6-pl	<b>zóonyéne</b>	<b>zóonyiné</b>	they alone, only them, by themselves
n7-sg	<b>kóonyéne</b>	<b>kóonyiné</b>	it alone, only it, by itself
n7-pl	<b>twóonyéne</b>	<b>twóonyiné</b>	they alone, only them, by themselves
n8-sg	<b>bwóonyéne</b>	<b>bwóonyiné</b>	it alone, only it, by itself
n8-pl	<b>yóonyéne</b>	<b>yóonyiné</b>	they alone, only them, by themselves
n9-sg	<b>kóonyéne</b>	<b>kóonyiné</b> / <b>kwóonyiné</b>	it alone, only it, by itself
n9-pl	<b>yóonyéne</b>	<b>yóonyiné</b>	they alone, only them, by themselves
n10	<b>hóonyéne</b>	<b>hóonyiné</b>	that (situation) alone, only that place
n11	<b>kóonyéne</b>	<b>kóonyiné</b>	that manner alone; only that place

/siingeendá **jyéenyiné**/ {Rwanda} *pro-1sg-enum-sing* 'I will not go alone.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:246)

/ndi **jéenyéne**/ {Rundi} *pro-1sg-enum-sing* 'I am by myself.' or 'I am alone.' (Rodegem 1970:296); /ndi **jyéenyiné**/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:204)

/umugoré waawe **wéenyéne** amaze kunyerera kané kurí iryo boomba/ {Rundi} *pro-enum-sing-n1-sg* 'your wife, herself, has already slipped at that pump four times.' (R23)

/si bó bayituúyemó **bóonyiné**/ {Rwanda} *pro-enum-sing-n1-pl* 'They are not the only ones who live there.' (R38.11)

/kukí mwasizé inzu **yóonyiné**/ {Rwanda} 'Why did you leave the house by itself?' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:247)

/zana ibibiíndi **byóonyiné**/ {Rwanda} *pro-enum-sing-n4-pl* 'Bring only the pitchers!' (Overdulve 1975:204)

/naboonye inká **zóonyiné**/ {Rwanda} *pro-enum-sing-n5-pl* 'I saw only the cows.' (Overdulve 1975:204)

«ingwano ya mbere n'iya kabiri z'isi yose **zonyene** gusa zahitanye abantu barenga imiliyoni ijana» {Rundi} *pro-enum-sing-n5-pl* 'World Wars I and II alone killed more than a hundred million people.' (R37.4)

<sup>299</sup> This form differs tonally from Rundi /nyéne/ and Rwanda /nyíne/ which is an INVARIABLE ADVERB with the meaning 'same, precisely, really, the very...'

Textbooks<sup>300</sup> take great pains to distinguish this SINGULATIVE PRONOUN from **-sa** which is a LIMITING ENUMERATIVE ADJECTIVE (see §6.3) because of their overlap in meaning with English *alone* or French *seul(es)*. The differences are subtle and the problem is more apparent if translating from English or a European language to Rwanda-Rundi rather than vice versa. Firstly, there is the grammatical difference in inflection: /wéenyéne/ {Rundi} and /wéenyiné/ {Rwanda} are *n1-sg* PRONOUNS vs. /musa/ {both} which is *n1-sg* ADJECTIVE; compare Tables 64 and 83. Secondly, **-sa** forms are used with less frequency.<sup>301</sup> Thirdly, **-nyene** / **-nyine** stresses singularity or separation and tends to be OBJECTIVE, whereas **-sa** is exclusive (excluding all others) and tends to be SUBJECTIVE. Thus, if someone has a visitor and offers *just water* /amáazi yóonyéne/ {Rundi}, /amáazi yóonyiné/ {Rwanda}, the statement is interpreted objectively, i.e., as a fact, whereas if one states /amáazi masa/ {both} it has overtones, i.e., a soft drink or tea should have been served.

#### 4.10.2. Dual **-mpi** {Rundi}, **-mbi** {Rwanda} 'Both'

There is an enumerative pronoun that covers the sense of English 'both, two of,' expressing a DUAL meaning. Each dialect has a different, but related paradigm formed from the pronoun root with vowel lengthening (Table 50) and the respective dual root. Rundi uses /-mpi/ with high tone on the first and second morae of the derivation, while Rwanda uses /-mbí/ with high tone immediately after the prefix (i.e., on the first mora) and on the root /mbí/. Note that it is only used with forms that are semantically plural.

- /turarwáaye **twéempi**/ {Rwanda} *pro-1pl-enum-dual* 'both of us are sick' (Overdulve 1975:205);  
 /turagwáaye **twéempi**/ {Rundi}  
 /mwéempi mugira akamaro/ {Rwanda} *pro-2pl-enum-dual* 'both of you are important' (R28.10)  
 «umuntu yoba yarashitse ku masonga y'iyó migabane **yompi**» {Rundi} *pro-enum-dual-n2-pl*  
 'human kind should have reached extremes in both categories' (R37.1)  
 /inká zaanjye **zóombi** zaápfuuye ejó/ {Rwanda} *pro-enum-dual-n5-pl* 'both of my cows died yesterday'  
 (Overdulve 1975:205); /inká zaanje **zóombi** zaápfuuye ejó/ {Rundi}  
 /hari n'ábafite abagoré kuu mpaánde **zóombi**/ {Rwanda} *pro-enum-dual-n6-pl* 'there are even those  
 who have wives on both sides' (R38.9)  
 /amaguru **yóompi**/ {Rundi} *pro-enum-dual-n9-pl* 'both legs' (Ntahokaja 1994:102)

Table 65. Dual Pronouns

agreement	Rundi	Rwanda	English senses
pro-1pl	<b>twéempi</b>	<b>twéembí</b>	both of us, the two of us
pro-2pl	<b>mwéempi</b>	<b>mwéembí</b>	both of you, the two of you
n1-pl	<b>bóompi</b>	<b>bóombí</b>	both of them, the two of them
n2-pl	<b>yóompi</b>	<b>yóombí</b>	both of them, the two of them
n3-pl	<b>yóompi</b>	<b>yóombí</b>	both of them, the two of them
n4-pl	<b>vyóompi</b>	<b>byóombí</b>	both of them, the two of them
n5-pl	<b>zóompi</b>	<b>zóombí</b>	both of them, the two of them
n6-pl	<b>zóompi</b>	<b>zóombí</b>	both of them, the two of them
n7-pl	<b>twóompi</b>	<b>twóombí</b>	both of them, the two of them
n8-abs	<b>bwóompi</b>	<b>bwóombí</b>	both of them, the two of them
n8-pl	<b>yóompi</b>	<b>yóombí</b>	both of them, the two of them
n9-pl	<b>yóompi</b>	<b>yóombí</b>	both of them, the two of them
n10-pl	<b>hóompi</b>	<b>hóombí</b>	both of those places
n11-adv	<b>kóompi</b>	<b>kóombí</b>	both ways, the two ways

<sup>300</sup> See, for example, Hurel 1959:46 and Overdulve 1975:204f. The latter gives these two examples:  
 /aba nababoonye bóonyiné/ {Rwanda} 'I found them alone.' (i.e., there were no others)  
 /aba ní bó mboonye basa/ {Rwanda} 'These are the only ones I found.'

<sup>301</sup> Only the adverbial form /gusa/ {both} appeared in the *Newspaper Reader*, none of the class agreement forms, whereas for Rundi there was /wéenyéne/ *n1-sg* and /zóonyéne/ *n5-pl* and Rwanda had /bóonyiné/ *n1-pl*.

4.10.3. Total -se {both} 'All, Each, Every'

This set covers the ranges of English 'all, each, every, the whole of,' expressing TOTALITY or WHOLENESS. If it occurs with a noun, it will follow that noun. Note the difference in meaning when used with a singular as opposed to a plural noun:

- «bariye inka **yose**» {both} *pro-enum-n5-sg* 'They ate the whole cow.'
- «bariye inka **zose**» {both} *pro-enum-n5-pl* 'They ate all of the cows.'
- «yanyoye inzoga **yose**» {both} *pro-enum-n5-sg* 'He drank all the beer.'
- /ahaantu hóose/ {Rundi}, /ahaantu hóose/ {Rwanda} *pro-enum-n10-sg* 'the whole place, the entire area'
- /ahaantu hóose/ {Rundi}, /ahaantu hóose/ {Rwanda} *pro-enum-n10-pl* 'everywhere, all places'

This set is formed from the pronoun root with vowel lengthening and /-se/. The derivation receives a high tone on the first mora in Rwanda and on both the first and second morae in Rundi.

- /nkóramútima kurí **twéése**/ {Rundi} *pro-1pl-enum* 'beloved among all of us' (R21.4)
- «kugira ngo **umwe umwe wese** abone ko ikibazo c'indero y'abigeme ari rwiwe» {Rundi} *pro-dist-n1-sg-redup + pro-enum-n1-sg* '...so that girls' education be each and everyone's concern.' (R39.5)
- /ntuuzí kó **abaantu bóose** bakwaánga/ {Rwanda} *pro-enum-n1-pl* 'Don't you know that everyone hates you?' (R28.1)
- /haári hátimiwe **abaantu bóose**/ {Rundi} *pro-enum-n1-pl* 'Everybody was invited.' (R29.3)
- /ababá mu mihingo **yóóse** yó kwiisi/ {Rundi} *pro-enum-n2-pl* '... those who live in every corner of the world.' (R29.3)
- /azáakuriinde amakúba **yóose**/ {Rwanda} *pro-enum-n3-pl* 'May he protect you against every misfortune!' (R36.10)
- /ibyo nūbyó leeta zóose zirwaanyá/ {Rwanda} *pro-enum-n5-pl* 'Those are the ones that all governments oppose.' (R26.1)
- /utwó aroonsé **twóóse** ní twó yatwáara/ {Rundi} *pro-enum-n7-pl* 'He'd take everything he could get.' (R25.3)
- /ubupfáasóni **bwóóse** bumuva kó/ {Rundi} *pro-enum-n8-sg* 'He lost all his integrity.' (R25.4)
- /bitama yarákuundwa **hóóse**/ {Rundi} *pro-enum-n10-loc* 'Bitama was loved everywhere.' (R25.1)
- /nibwó rikwiirye **hóose** rigera nó muri afuriká/ {Rwanda} *pro-enum-n10-loc* 'Thereafter it spread everywhere, including to Africa.' (R26.2)

Table 66. Pronouns Expressing Totality (-se 'All')

agreement	Rundi	Rwanda	
pro-1pl	<b>twéése</b>	<b>twéese</b>	all of us
pro-2pl	<b>mwéése</b>	<b>mwéese</b>	all of you
n1-sg	<b>wéése</b>	<b>wéese</b>	each, every (person)
n1-pl	<b>bóóse</b>	<b>bóose</b>	all of them
n2-sg	<b>wóóse</b>	<b>wóose</b>	each, every
n2-pl	<b>yóóse</b>	<b>yóose</b>	all of them
n3-sg	<b>ryóóse</b>	<b>ryóose</b>	each, every
n3-pl	<b>yóóse</b>	<b>yóose</b>	all of them
n4-sg	<b>cóóse</b>	<b>cyóose</b>	each, every
n4-pl	<b>vyóóse</b>	<b>byóose</b>	all of them
n5-sg	<b>yóóse</b>	<b>yóose</b>	each, every
n5-pl	<b>zóóse</b>	<b>zóose</b>	all of them
n6-sg	<b>rwóóse</b>	<b>rwóose</b>	each, every
n6-pl	<b>zóóse</b>	<b>zóose</b>	all of them
n7-sg	<b>kóóse</b>	<b>kóose</b>	each, every
n7-pl	<b>twóóse</b>	<b>twóose</b>	all of them
n8-sg	<b>bwóóse</b>	<b>bwóose</b>	each, every

n8-pl	yóóse	yóose	all of them
n9-sg	kwóóse / kóóse	kwóose / kóose	each, every
n9-pl	yóóse	yóose	all of them
n10-sg n10-pl	hóóse	hóose	the entire area, the whole place everywhere, all places
n11-adv	kwóóse / kóóse	kóose	each way, every method

#### 4.10.4. 'Another' of the Same vs. Different Kind (-ndi)

There are actually four sets of pronouns with the root /-ndí/. They differ in FORM (full vs. reduced), in WORD ORDER (preceding or following the noun), and in TONALITY (high tone on the first mora /wúundi/, high tone on the second mora after the prefix /uwuúndi/, high tone on the final vowel /undí/, or low tone throughout /wuundi/). The meaning differences of each of these ranges from subtle (*another of the same kind* vs. *another of a different kind*) to highly contrastive (*like no other*). No grammar of either language has described all four sets, but collectively such coverage is available in the literature.

##### 4.10.4.1. High Tone on the Second Mora after the Prefix (Mrule)

The first set usually comes before the noun it modifies and refers to *another of the same kind*. Although it has the full noun prefix, after prepositions, negatives, and like expressions it can occur in a reduced form. Regardless, it always has high tone on the second vowel after the prefix; the high tone of the root /-ndí/ has moved one mora to the left (Mrule, §2.4.9).

- /uwuúndi nawé ngo/ {Rundi} *atr-n1-sg* '...and another person says...' (R19)
- /nagíiye ku wuúndi mugabo/ {both} *atr-n1-sg* 'I went to live with another man.' (Cristini 2000:134)
- /geenda waangé abo bagabo, uguhé abaáandi/ {Rwanda} *atr-n1-pl* 'Go, reject those witnesses!, he should give you others.' (R28.8)
- /abaáandi báahe/ {Rwanda} *atr-n1-pl* 'Who else?' (Kimenyi 2002:51)
- /yakorana néezá n'abaáandi/ {Rundi} *atr-n1-pl-conj* 'She worked well with others.' (R17.7)
- /navúukanye amaguru abiri nk'abaáandi/ {Rwanda} *atr-n1-pl-sim* 'I was born with two legs like other people.' (R34.2)
- /inká z'úwuúndi muryaango/ {both} *atr-n2-sg-poss* 'another family's cows' (R40.5)
- /twaájabutse rwáa rúuzi iminwe mu yiíndi/ {Rundi} *atr-n2-pl-loc* 'We crossed the river hand-in-hand.' [lit. 'hands in others'] (Cristini 2000:134)
- /ishuúri ryaawe riruta ayaáandi/ {Rwanda} *atr-n3-pl* 'Your teaching is greater than all others.' (R36.7)
- /ikiíndi giteeyé isóni/ {both} *atr-n4-sg* 'another humiliating thing...' (R33.3)
- /ntaa kiíndi kiyaago/ {Rundi} *atr-n4-sg-red* 'No other topic of conversation...' (R25.4)
- /n'ibiíndi/ {both} *atr-n4-pl-conj* 'etc., and so forth' [lit. '...and other things'] (R24, R37, R39.3, R40.6)
- /iziíndi nazó zikaba zááraróonse urukiingo/ {Rundi} *atr-n5-pl* '...and others (indwáara 'diseases') have obtained vaccine.' (R37.3)
- /bakaba inyamáaswa mu ziíndi/ {Rwanda} *atr-n5-pl-loc* '...and they become beasts among other beasts.' (R28.10)
- /ku ziíndi nyényeéri/ {Rundi} *atr-n6-pl-loc* 'on other planets' (R37.2)
- /akaáandi gatelefoóne/ {both} *atr-n7-sg* 'another cell phone' (R7)
- /n'útuúndi dupfuuyé náabi/ {both} *atr-n7-pl-conj* 'and other paltry items' (R19)
- /ejó buúndi/ {both} *atr-n8-adv-time-cmp* 'the day before yesterday; the day after tomorrow' [lit. 'the other day']
- /ahaáandi/ {both} *atr-n10-loc* 'elsewhere' (R8, R31)
- /ntaa kuúndi/ {both} *atr-n11-adv-red* 'There is no other way.' (R34.3)

Table 67. Pronouns Expressing 'Other' and 'Another'

AGREEMENT	Set 1 Mrule	Set 2 Arule	Set 3 Rrule	Set 4 Lrule
n1-sg	<b>uwuúndi</b>	<b>wúndi</b>	<b>wuundí, undí</b>	<b>wuundi</b>
n1-pl	<b>abaáandi</b>	<b>báandi</b>	<b>baandí</b>	<b>baandi</b>
n2-sg	<b>uwuúndi</b>	<b>wúndi</b>	<b>wuundí, undí</b>	<b>wuundi</b>
n2-pl	<b>iyiíndi</b>	<b>yíndi</b>	<b>yiindí, indí</b>	<b>yiindi</b>
n3-sg	<b>iriíndi</b>	<b>ríndi</b>	<b>riindí</b>	<b>riindi</b>
n3-pl	<b>ayaáandi</b>	<b>yáandi</b>	<b>yaandí, andí</b>	<b>yaandi</b>
n4-sg	<b>ikiíndi</b>	<b>kíndi</b>	<b>kiindí</b>	<b>kiindi</b>
n4-pl	<b>ibiíndi</b>	<b>bíndi</b>	<b>biindí</b>	<b>biindi</b>
n5-sg	<b>iyiíndi</b>	<b>yíndi</b>	<b>yiindí, indí</b>	<b>yiindi</b>
n5-pl	<b>iziíndi</b>	<b>zíndi</b>	<b>ziindí</b>	<b>ziindi</b>
n6-sg	<b>uruúndi</b>	<b>rúndi</b>	<b>ruundí</b>	<b>ruundi</b>
n6-pl	<b>iziíndi</b>	<b>zíndi</b>	<b>ziindí</b>	<b>ziindi</b>
n7-sg	<b>akaáandi</b>	<b>káandi</b>	<b>kaandí</b>	<b>kaandi</b>
n7-pl	<b>utuúndi</b>	<b>túndi</b>	<b>tuundí</b>	<b>tuundi</b>
n8-sg	<b>ubuúndi</b>	<b>búndi</b>	<b>buundí</b>	<b>buundi</b>
n8-pl	<b>ayaáandi</b>	<b>yáandi</b>	<b>yaandí, andí</b>	<b>yaandi</b>
n9-sg	<b>ukuúndi</b>	<b>kúndi</b>	<b>kuundí</b>	<b>kuundi</b>
n9-pl	<b>ayaáandi</b>	<b>yáandi</b>	<b>yaandí, andí</b>	<b>yaandi</b>
n10-sg/pl	<b>ahaáandi</b>	<b>háandi</b>	<b>haandí</b>	<b>haandi</b>
n11-sg/pl	<b>ukuúndi</b>	<b>kúndi</b>	<b>kuundí</b>	<b>kuundi</b>

#### 4.10.4.2. High Tone on the First Mora (Arule)

The second set usually comes after the noun it modifies and refers to *another of a different kind*. It is always in a reduced form (i.e., without the article or thematic vowel) and has high tone on the first of two identical vowels; the high tone of the root /-ndí/ is lost and appears on the first vowel after the prefix (Arule, §2.4.16).

/umuuntu **wúndi**/ {both} *atr-n1-sg* 'another person' (R34.2)

/abaáhe **báandi**/ {Rwanda} *atr-n1-pl* 'Who else?' (Kimenyi 2002:51)

/ntaa mwaavu **wúndi** ukíbonetse/ {Rundi} *atr-n2-sg* 'No more (no other kind of) fertilizer is available.' (R35.5)

/abaantu **báandi**/ {both} *atr-n1-pl* 'other people' (Kimenyi 2002:50)

/babiri **báandi**/ {Rwanda} *atr-n1-pl* 'two more' [lit. 'two other (people)'] (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383)

/uwa gátatu **wúndi**/ {Rwanda} *atr-n2-sg* 'next Wednesday' (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383; cf. /wuundi wa gátatu/)

/ijana **riíndi**/ {Rwanda} *atr-n3-sg* 'a hundred more (cows)' (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383)

/ibiki **biíndi**/ {Rwanda} *atr-n4-sg* 'What else?' (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383)

Sets 1 and 2 can be used together contrastively to express *something else*, i.e., someone or something quite different from the usual.

/ni uwuúndi **wúndi**/ {Rwanda} *atr-n1-sg* 'He/she is something else.' (Kimenyi 2002:50)

/ni abaáandi **báandi**/ {Rwanda} *atr-n1-pl* 'They are something else.' (Kimenyi 2002:50)

/ni ikiíndi **kíndi**/ {Rwanda} *atr-n4-sg* 'It is something else.' (Kimenyi 2002:50)

/ukuúndikúndi/ {both} *atr-n11-adv* 'some other way, in another manner' (Cristini 2000:134)



#### 4.10.4.3. High Tone on the Final Mora (Rrule)

The third set is often treated as the short form, which would then be limited to *n1-sg*, *n2-sg*, *n2-pl*, *n3-pl*, and *n5-sg* (see Overdulve 1975:202). However, based on the final high tone (Rrule), there are consonant-initial forms found in all noun classes (see Table 67).

/utubwiire uúrusha undí akamaro/ {Rwanda} *atr-n1-sg* 'You should tell us who is more important.' (R28.10)

/sinaakuunganya undí mubyéeyi/ {Rwanda} *atr-n1-sg* 'I would not consider any other parent your equal.' (R36.7)

/undí mugabo yaaje/ {Rwanda} *atr-n1-sg* 'Another man has come.' (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383)

/indí arí iy'iinda yáacu/ {Rwanda} *atr-n2-pl* 'others aiming to selfishness' (R32)

Sets 3 is commonly used with the second person past deictics (§5.5) to refer to assumed or common knowledge, e.g., *the one in question*.

/wáa wuundí/ {both} *deic-2-past+atr-cmp-n1-sg* 'that guy, the person in question' (Cristini 2000:134, Overdulve 1975:203)

/báa baandí/ {both} *deic-2-past+atr-cmp-n1-pl* 'those guys, the people in question' (Cristini 2000:134)

/báa baandí baagiye hé/ {both} *deic-2-past+atr-cmp-n1-pl* 'those people (we were discussing) where have they gone recently?' (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383)

/yáa yaandí/ {Rwanda} *deic-2-past+atr-cmp-n3-pl* 'those evil spells (**amoóshya**) we talked bout' (Jacob Vol. 3 1987:524)

/cáa kiindí/ {Rundi} *deic-2-past+atr-cmp-n4-sg* 'the business at hand, that matter (about which we have spoken)' (Cristini 2000:134); /cyáa kiindí/ {Rwanda}

/vyáa biindí/ {Rundi} *deic-2-past+atr-cmp-n4-pl* 'our affairs, the matters (of which we spoke)' (Cristini 2000:134); /byáa biindí/ {Rwanda}

/záa ziindí/ {both} *deic-2-past+atr-cmp-n5-pl* 'those (**inyibano** 'stolen items') of which we spoke' (Overdulve 1975:203)

/bwáa buundí/ {both} *deic-2-past+atr-cmp-n8-time* 'then, at the moment in question' (Cristini 2000:295, Overdulve 1975:271)

/kwáa kuundí/ {both} *deic-2-past+atr-cmp-n11-adv* 'the aforementioned, as already said' (R27.8)

Sets 3 and 2 can also be used together to denote someone or something considered extraordinary or bizarre.

/uzi kó urí uundí wúundí! umuuntu uzi indími z'ámahaánga kaandí utáaraziize/ {Rwanda} *atr-cmp-n1-sg* 'Do you know that you are extraordinary! A person who knows foreign languages even though you didn't study them!' (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383)

/uyu mwánaa ní uundí wúundí iyó bamuhaáye amavúta yó kwíisiiga arayárya/ *atr-cmp-n1-sg* 'This child is bizarre, when they give him body lotion he eats it!' (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383)

#### 4.10.4.4. Low Tone throughout

The fourth set is low-toned throughout and tends to impart new information. It is used in certain fixed expressions, with numerals, following the adverbial marker **na-** 'a lot,' or followed by some question words. The only grammarians to discuss this set do so for Kinyarwanda. It is not clear if there are analogous constructions in Kirundi.

/mugabo na wuundi/ {Rwanda} *atr-n1-sg* 'a (rich or powerful) person like no other' (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383)

/nka wuundi wúuhe?/ {Rwanda} *atr-n1-sg* 'Like who else?' (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383)

/baandí babiri/ {Rwanda} *atr-n1-pl* 'two others' (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383)

/wuundi wa gátatu/ {Rwanda} *atr-n2-sg* 'any following Wednesday' (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383)

/imyáaka na yiindi/ {Rwanda} *atr-n2-pl* 'years and years, for a very long time' (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383, Kimenyi 2002:50)

/ziindi ijana/ {Rwanda} *atr-n5-pl* 'a hundred others (cows)' (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383)

/ruundi ruki/ {Rwanda} *atr-n6-sg* 'What is done!' (i.e., 'it's a fait accompli') (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383)

/buundi bushyá/ {Rwanda} *atr-n8-sg* 'from scratch' [lit. another new] (Jacob Vol. 2 1987:383)

/haandi hé?/ {Rwanda} *atr-n10-loc* 'Where else?' (Kimenyi 2002:50)

#### 4.11. Similative (Adverbial) Pronouns

There is a set of pronouns formed from the similative prefix **nka-** 'like' and a pronoun root (see Table 68). Note that the personal pronoun forms have a long vowel with high tone on the second mora (Mrule), whereas the various class forms have a short vowel and high tone on the root (Rrule).

/kora nkaánje/ {Rundi}, /kora nkaánjye/ {Rwanda} *adv-sim-pro-1sg* 'Do (it) like me!'

/mbeesé nkaáwe uba ushaaká ikí mu gihúgu/ {Rwanda} *adv-sim-pro-2sg* 'What is someone like you looking for in the country?' (R28.1)

/nkaámwe/ {both} *adv-sim-pro-2pl* 'like you'

/nkawé/ {both} *adv-sim-n1-sg* 'like him, like her'

/kukó noonsá abáana nkazó/ {both} *adv-sim-n5-pl* '...because I breastfeed my children like them.' (R28.8)

/uúshaaka inká aryaama nkazó/ {both} *adv-sim-n5-pl* 'He who wants cows should lie down like them.' [proverb] (Cristini 2000:149)

/nkúukó bamwé babiízi/ {both} *conj-sim-n11* 'As some people know it.' (R26.1)

Table 68. Similative Pronouns (nka-)

PERSONAL PRONOUNS	RUNDI – RWANDA		ENGLISH
pro-1sg	<b>nkaánje</b>	<b>nkaánjye</b>	like me
pro-1pl	<b>nkaátwe</b>		like us
pro-2sg	<b>nkaáwe</b>		like you
pro-2pl	<b>nkaámwe</b>		like you
NOUNS	RUNDI – RWANDA		ENGLISH
pro-n1-sg	<b>nkawé</b>		like him, her
pro-n1-pl	<b>nkabó, nkabóobó</b>		like them, like those people
pro-n2-sg	<b>nkawó</b>		like it
pro-n2-pl	<b>nkayó</b>		like them
pro-n3-sg	<b>nkaryó</b>		like him, her, it
pro-n3-pl	<b>nkayó</b>		like them
pro-n4-sg	<b>nkacó</b>	<b>nkacyó</b>	like him, her, it
pro-n4-pl	<b>nkavyó</b>	<b>nkabyó</b>	like them
pro-n5-sg	<b>nkayó</b>		like him, her, it
pro-n5-pl	<b>nkazó</b>		like them
pro-n6-sg	<b>nkarwó</b>		like him, her, it
pro-n6-pl	<b>nkazó</b>		like them
pro-n7-sg	<b>nkakó</b>		like him, her, it
pro-n7-pl	<b>nkatwó</b>		like them
pro-n8-sg	<b>nkabwó</b>		like it
pro-n8-pl	<b>nkayó</b>		like them
pro-n9-sg	<b>nkakwó / kó</b>		like it
pro-n9-pl	<b>nkayó</b>		like them
pro-n10-sg	<b>nkahó</b>		like there (the place, time, situation)
pro-n10-pl	<b>nkahó</b>		like there (the places, times, situations)
pro-n11-sg	<b>nkakó</b>		like it (the truth or manner)
pro-n11-pl	<b>nkakó</b>		like them (the ways or means)
pro-n12-sg	<b>nkamwó</b>	<b>nkamwó / nkamó</b>	like there (in the place)
pro-n12-pl	<b>nkamwó</b>	<b>nkamwó / nkamó</b>	like there (in the places)

## 4.12. Conjunctive Pronouns

The conjunctive or associative **na-** (sometimes considered a preposition) is prefixed to pronoun roots meaning 'and,' 'also,' or 'too.' With the personal pronouns there is a long vowel with high tone on the second mora (Mrule), while with the various noun class forms the vowel is short and high tone appears on the root (Rrule).

Table 69. Conjunctive Pronouns (na-)

PERSONAL PRONOUNS	RUNDI – RWANDA		ENGLISH
pro-1sg	<b>naánje</b>	<b>naánjye</b>	I also, me too
pro-1pl	<b>naátwe</b>		we also, us too
pro-2sg	<b>naáwe</b>		you also, you too
pro-2pl	<b>naámwe</b>		you also, you too
NOUNS	RUNDI – RWANDA		ENGLISH
pro-n1-sg	<b>nawé</b>		he, she, it also, him too, her too
pro-n1-pl	<b>nabó</b>		they also, them too
pro-n2-sg	<b>nawó</b>		it also, it too
pro-n2-pl	<b>nayó</b>		they also, them too
pro-n3-sg	<b>naryó</b>		it also, it too
pro-n3-pl	<b>nayó</b>		they also, them too
pro-n4-sg	<b>nacó</b>	<b>nacyó</b>	him too, her too, it too
pro-n4-pl	<b>navyó</b>	<b>nabyó</b>	them too
pro-n5-sg	<b>nayó</b>		he, she, it also, him too, her too, it too
pro-n5-pl	<b>nazó</b>		they also, them too
pro-n6-sg	<b>narwó</b>		he, she, it also, him too, her too, it too
pro-n6-pl	<b>nazó</b>		they also, them too
pro-n7-sg	<b>nakó</b>		he, she, it also, him too, her too, it too
pro-n7-pl	<b>natwó</b>		they also, them too
pro-n8-sg	<b>nabwó</b>		it also, it too
pro-n8-pl	<b>nayó</b>		they also, them too
pro-n9-sg	<b>nakwó / nakó</b>		it also, it too
pro-n9-pl	<b>nayó</b>		they also, them too
pro-n10-sg	<b>nahó</b>		and the place, also there, there too
pro-n10-pl	<b>nahó</b>		and the places, also there, there too
pro-n11-sg	<b>nakó</b>		it (the truth or manner) also, it too
pro-n11-pl	<b>nakó</b>		they (the ways) also, them too
pro-n12-sg	<b>namwó</b>	<b>namwó /</b>	also there (in the place), there too
pro-n12-pl	<b>namwó</b>	<b>namó</b>	also there (in the places), there too

/umwáana aramúsubiza ati: **naánje** sinayikuunze/ {Rundi} *pro-1sg-conj* 'The child responded: "me neither - I didn't like it.' (R1)

/umutwaáre ati vuga **naáwe** wa ntaámbwe/ {Rundi} *pro-2sg-conj* 'The chief said: "OK, lion, you talk now".' (R27.4)

/umwíijimá uti cyo **naáwe** nyoní dukize/ {Rwanda} *pro-2sg-conj* 'Darkness said: "hey you too bird, settle our dispute".' (R28.5)

/iyumviririze **naámwe** inkurú ya bitaama/ {Rundi} *pro-2pl-conj* 'Just listen you all to the story about Bitama.' (R25.1)

/uwuúndi **nawé** ngo/ {Rundi} *pro-n1-sg-conj* 'and another person says...' (R19)

/arí **nawé** wítiriwe uburozi bubá mu itaábi/ {both} *pro-n1-sg-conj* 'It is him also after whom the active ingredient in tobacco was named.' (R26.2)

/abáana bakuzé **nabó** nyéne baramúfasha/ {Rundi} *pro-n1-pl-conj* 'The older children they also help him.' (R15)

## Chapter 4: Pronouns

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- /abo bagoré usaanga **nabó** báambaye incabari/ {Rwanda} *pro-n1-pl-conj* 'You'll notice that these women also wear tattered clothes.' (R38.5)
- /mu gihe baazi nahó kó bateeyé bátaroonsé uwo mwaavu **nawó** ataa mwiĩmbu bazóoroonka/ {Rundi} *pro-n2-sg-conj* 'Yet they also know that if they plant without getting that fertilizer too, they won't get a rich harvest.' (R35.2)
- /itéera ry'ímpeéshi **naryó** rikaba ryári rígeze/ {Rundi} *pro-n3-sg-conj* 'with the dry-season planting time about to arrive' (R35.1)
- /hari igifátira mu mahahá arí **nacó** caandúkira/ {Rundi} *pro-n4-sg-conj* 'There is one that attacks the lungs and it is also contagious.' (R31.1)
- /ushyiramó soósi tómáté **nayó** ukayireka igashya/ {Rwanda} *pro-n5-sg-conj* 'You put in the tomato sauce and let it cook.' (R18)
- /kaáandi **nayó** sí bo bayituúyemó bóonyiné/ {Rwanda} *pro-n5-sg-conj* '... and they are not the only ones who live there (in the Mpanga sector).' (R38.11)
- /iziĩndi **nazó** zikaba zááraróonse urukiingo/ {Rundi} *pro-n5-pl-conj* '... and others (**indwáara** 'diseases') have obtained vaccine.' (R37.3)
- «mu 1987 **naho** gushika mu 1989 yari mw'ishure ry'abamenyeshamakuru» {Rundi} *pro-n10-loc-conj* '... and from 1987 to 1989 she was in the school of journalism.' (R17.5)

## 5. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS (DEICTICS)

Demonstratives (or demonstrative pronouns) are a special class of words that locate an item or event in SPACE or in TIME. Linguists also refer to them as DEICTICS. As with personal pronouns they include the category of PERSON (first, second, third), NUMBER (singular and plural), and CLASS. However, they also refer to the STATUS OF THE INFORMATION under discussion (in linguistic terms, they have a discourse or pragmatic function). Consider the following English example.

So here I am standing in line at the bank for over half an hour and this guy cuts in front of me.

While *here* and *this* normally refer to something visible and near the speaker, e.g., *this is my wife*, *here is your share of the money*, it can also refer to something the speaker has experienced, even if it is in the past and therefore not at all visible to the listener. Such a way of talking brings the listener right into the situation. The status of such information may be recent (brand new news), previously known, or long known (old news).

Demonstratives are the only part of speech where the upper locative classes (*n10-n13*) are clearly distinguished. In terms of their form, deictics generally consist of two elements, a PREFIX and a STEM. The prefix agrees with the class and number of the head noun, while the stem indicates location (an actual place, a locus in time, or status in discourse) along five parameters, not all of which may apply all the time.

- PERSON (which is best understood in terms of POSITION)
  - 1 first person: this/here – oriented to the speaker (*near me, near us*),
  - 2 second person: that/there – oriented to the addressee or person being spoken to (*near you*).
  - 3 third person: that/yonder – oriented to another (*located by him, her, it, them*)
- LOCUS (place, position, location)
  - nearby, close
  - midway, not far
  - far, distant, out-of-sight
- TIME or TEMPORAL REFERENCE
  - imperfective (currently or always applies)
  - recent (newly imparted information)
  - perfective or distant past (long-known information, old news)
- CONTEXT (presupposition, discourse, pragmatics)
  - known (general or presumed common knowledge)
  - unknown (new information for the listener)
  - affective (contrastive, emotive, emphatic)
- TONE PATTERN
  - 1 (high tone on the first vowel following the first consonant, yielding WEAK vs. STRONG patterns)
  - F (high tone on the affix)
  - L (low tone throughout)
  - P2 (high tone on the second mora of the root)
  - R (fixed root tonality)

**Table 70. Overview of Kirundi and Kinyarwanda Demonstrative Roots**

structure	tone pattern	person	Example n5-sg	locus	time reference	implication / presupposition
V+C+V	L	1	<b>iyi</b>	near	current	this (here, near me)
cl-'no	1	1	<b>inó</b>	near	current	this (insistence or contrast)
cl-'rya	1	1+2	<b>iryá</b>	near	recent past	this (near us or vividly remembered)
V+C-o	L	2	<b>iyó</b>	not far	recent past	that (near you, just mentioned)
CC-áa	R	2	<b>yáa</b>	not far	past	that (you remember, long known)
cl-riiya	F+P2 {Rundi} 1 {Rwanda}	3	<b>iríiya</b> <b>iríiya</b>	far	any	that (yonder, distant)

Throughout this chapter, the demonstratives will be presented in full sets, based upon their positional or temporal reference. Besides the base forms, predicative or presentative demonstratives derived with **ngV-** will be given.<sup>302</sup> Note throughout that the neutral word order is for the demonstrative to precede the noun; a noun following a demonstrative is in its reduced form, e.g., /**iyi nzu/** {both} 'this house.'

### 5.1. Form 1 – First Person (-VCV)<sup>303</sup>

The first position demonstrative pronouns refer to a person or an item close to the speaker. Their form involves the class vowel (V), the thematic consonant (C) particular to each noun class, and an echo vowel (V, identical to the first or class vowel).

- /aríko nje **uyu** wiikómaanga mu gitúuza/ {Rwanda} *deic-1-n1-sg* 'But as for me, this one who beats myself on the breast...' (R32)  
 /mur **áaba** bagabo umukurú ní ndé/ {Rundi} *deic-1-n1-pl* 'Among these people who is the leader?' (Cristini 2000:128)  
 /niinsomá **iki** gitabo nzaakubwiira ibirimó/ {Rwanda} *deic-1-n4-sg* 'If I read this book, I would tell you (its) content.'  
 /ibishóbora gushika ní **ibi/** {Rundi} *deic-1-n4-pl* 'Those that can happen are these.' (R13)  
 /**iyi** mpanuka idasaanzwé ngo yaaba yaratéewe na.../ {Rwanda} *deic-1-n5-sg* 'This unusual accident, it is believed, may have been caused by ...' (R16)  
 /ntúunsíindira **aha/** {both} *deic-1-n10-loc* 'You will not defeat me here.' (R28.9)  
 /si **uku** navúutse/ {both} *deic-1-n11-adv* 'I was not born like this.' (R34.2)

Table 71. Deictics Oriented to the First Person

noun	singular	plural
group	this (here, nearby)	these (here, nearby)
n1	<b>uyu</b> {both} <b>uwu</b> {Rundi alt}	<b>aba</b>
n2	<b>uyu</b>	<b>iyi</b>
n3	<b>iri</b>	<b>aya</b>
n4	<b>iki</b>	<b>ibi</b>
n5	<b>iyi</b>	<b>izi</b>
n6	<b>uru</b>	<b>izi</b>
n7	<b>aka</b>	<b>utu</b>
n8	<b>ubu</b>	<b>aya</b>
n9	<b>uku</b>	<b>aya</b>
n10	<b>aha</b>	
n11	<b>uku</b>	
n12	<b>umu</b> {Rwanda only}	
n13	<b>iyi</b>	

<sup>302</sup> See our discussion in §2.2.2.2 on the long vowels in these presentatives, and the corresponding footnote on the treatment of the prefix by other authors, e.g., as **ngo-** (Overdulve 1975:248) or as **nga-** (Jacob et al. 1987:392 and Ntahokaja 1994:96f).

<sup>303</sup> These forms are discussed in varying degrees of detail in the following references – for Kinyarwanda: Hands 1952:14, Hurel 1959:29-34,53-55, Overdulve 1975:171 (type 1 demonstratives indicate an object close to the person speaking), Kimenyi 1980:7f (distinguishes two temporal and four spatial demonstratives), Dubnova 1984:48; – for Kirundi: Bagein 1951:35, Stevick 1965:59,328, Ntahokaja 1976:9, Ntahokaja 1994:95, Cristini 2000:125, Rodegem 1967:22f.

The next set includes PREDICATIVE or PRESENTATIVE forms that consist of an archaic Bantu prefix **ngV-** where the vowel of the prefix is identical to the thematic vowel of the basic demonstrative. The coalescence of the two vowels yields a long vowel and high tone is introduced on the final vowel of each derivation. If these forms are *not* the first word of a sentence, high tone also appears on the first mora [Nrule] as exemplified in Table 73.

**Table 72. Predicative Deictics Oriented to the First Person**

noun	singular	plural
group	this one here (near me); here he (she, it) is!	these ones here (near me)
n1	<b>nguuyú</b>	<b>ngaabá</b>
n2	<b>nguuyú</b>	<b>ngiiyí</b>
n3	<b>ngiirí</b>	<b>ngaayá</b>
n4	<b>ngiikí</b>	<b>ngiibí</b>
n5	<b>ngiiyí</b>	<b>ngiizí</b>
n6	<b>nguurú</b>	<b>ngiizí</b>
n7	<b>ngaaká</b>	<b>nguutú</b>
n8	<b>nguubú</b>	<b>ngaayá</b>
n9	<b>nguukú</b>	<b>ngaayá</b>
n10	<b>ngaahá</b> here is the place!	<b>ngaahá</b> here are the places!
n-11	<b>nguukú</b> this is the way	
n-12	<b>nguumú</b> {Rwanda only} right here!	

The following set is a compound of the basic demonstrative and a corresponding predicative form. Note that the first vowel of the predicative receives an additional high tone [Nrule].

**Table 73. Double Predicative Deictics Oriented to the First Person**

noun	singular	plural
group	this very one here (near me), he himself	these very ones here (near me)
n1	<b>uyu ngúuyú</b>	<b>aba ngáabá</b>
n2	<b>uyu ngúuyú</b>	<b>iyi ngíiyí</b>
n3	<b>iri ngíirí</b>	<b>aya ngáayá</b>
n4	<b>iki ngíikí</b>	<b>ibi ngíibí</b>
n5	<b>iyi ngíiyí</b>	<b>izi ngíizí</b>
n6	<b>uru ngúurú</b>	<b>izi ngíizí</b>
n7	<b>aka ngáaká</b>	<b>utu ngúutú</b>
n8	<b>ubu ngúubú</b> right away	<b>aya ngáayá</b>
n9	<b>uku ngúukú</b>	<b>aya ngáayá</b>
n10	<b>aha ngáahá</b> at this very place; right here	<b>aha ngáahá</b> at these very places
n11	<b>uku ngúukú</b> in this very way	
n12	<b>umu ngúumú</b> {Rwanda only}	

5.2. Form 2 – First Person Affective (-no)

The second set of demonstratives is formed from the -root **-no** with high tone on the first vowel to follow a consonant [1rule].<sup>304</sup> Like Form 1, they refer to a person or item close to the speaker,<sup>305</sup> but have an AFFECTIVE DISCOURSE FUNCTION. They imply some form of contrast or exclamation on the part of the speaker, such as: emphasis, admiration, surprise, astonishment, or disapproval.

- /unó mugoré/ {both} *deic-1-excl-n1-sg* 'What a woman!' (expressing admiration)
- «abahinga barongera bakavuga yuko gushika unu musi...» {Rundi} *deic-1-excl-n2-sg* 'Moreover experts say that until today ...' (R37.5)
- /báno baantu n'icyáago/ {Rwanda} *deic-1-excl-n1-pl* 'These people are bad news!' (Hands 1952:305)
- /ndaryá kínu kijuumba/ {Rwanda} *deic-1-excl-n4-sg* 'I will eat this sweet potato.' (Overdulse 1975:174)
- /bíriya byaáragaze, nahó bíno biracyári byiizá/ {Rwanda} *deic-1-excl-n4-pl* 'Those (foodstuffs) got spoiled, but these are still good.' (Hands 1952:305)
- /zino nká ní ibyáago/ {Rwanda} 'These cows are irritating.' (Hurel 1952:31)
- /ndi háno/ {both} *deic-1-excl-n10-loc* 'Here I am!' (R7)

Table 74. Affective Deictics Oriented to the First Person

noun	singular	plural
group	this [contrast, emotive, affective]	these [contrast, emotive, affective]
n1	unó	báno
n2	unó	inó
n3	rino	anó
n4	kino	bino
n5	ino	zino
n6	runo	zino
n7	kano	tuno
n8	buno	anó
n9	kuno	anó
n10	háno	
n11	kuno	
n12	muno {Rwanda only}	
n13	ino	

There is no full paradigm of special predicative forms. However note the following:

- /nguunó/ {both} *deic-1-excl-pred-n1-sg* 'Here he / she is!' (Cristini 2000:129)
- /ngaabáno/ {both} *deic-1-excl-pred-n1-pl* 'Those (people) there (in my opinion).'
- /ngwiinó/ {both} *v-imp+deic-1-excl-pred-n13-loc* 'Come here!' Alt: /ngo háno/ (Cristini 2000:240)

<sup>304</sup> Strong forms (those that begin with a consonant) have accent on the class prefix; weak forms (those that begin with a vowel) have accent on the root.

<sup>305</sup> Kimenyi states: "There are two types of demonstratives in the language, temporal and spatial. Four types of spatial demonstratives are found: ... the third is marked by **-no** and refers to something that is near both the speaker and hearer" (1980:8). Among the data we have, the sense of these **-no** forms refers to something near the speaker (first person), but spoken of emotively, i.e., with insistence or contrast. We relegate the **-rya** forms to involving the first and second person. The quasi imperative /ngwiinó/ {both} 'Come here!' illustrates the first person emotive as opposed to any first plus second person temporal connotation of this root. This is also borne out in the treatment of most other authors. "This group also indicates nearby objects, but in exclamatory sentences to show surprise, astonishment, or disapproval." (Hurel 1959:30f) "The Pronominal prefix + **no**. The uses of this form: 1. To indicate contrast. ... 2. To indicate objects which are nearby, when a certain amount of emotion is implied, i.e., in phrases of exclamation, interrogation, disapproval, or disgust." (Hands 1952:305) "[T]he type 3 demonstrative indicates a nearby object with emphasis and to the exclusion of other objects; it sometimes has a pejorative connotation." (Overdulse 1975:174, translation S. Harrell) "Pronouns with the stem **-no** also mean 'this' (i.e., being near). Besides they are used to convey amazement at a person or event." (Dubnova 1984:48)



5.3. Form 3 – First and Second Person (-rya)<sup>306</sup>

This third set of demonstratives is formed from the root **-rya** with high tone on the first vowel to follow a consonant [1rule]. There is always a double implication: in terms of *person*, BOTH SPEAKER AND HEARER are involved, and in terms of *time*, the reference is always PAST. The person or item in question is well-known, has already been mentioned, or should be vividly remembered. While this deictic implies the past, the verb or the sentence can be in any tense.

/uwaáduza ní **uryá** akigwaáye atíivúuza/ {Rundi} *deic-1+2-n1-sg* 'The person who contaminates others is that one who is sick with it but does not seek treatment.' (R31.3)

/**uryá** mugabo yavuze náabi/ {Rwanda} *deic-1+2-n1-sg* 'That man (just mentioned) spoke poorly.' (Overdulve 1975:174)

/**uryá** mugoré ní umwáarimúkazi wáacu/ {both} *deic-1+2-n1-sg* 'That woman (whom you saw) is our teacher.' (Dubnova 1984:49)

/mugeenzi<sup>307</sup> waaw' **uryá** naboonye murí kumwé/ {Rwanda} *deic-1+2-n1-sg* 'That companion of yours I saw with you.' (Hands 1952:306)

/biibye **rírya** igaáre/ {Rwanda} *deic-1+2-n3-sg* 'Someone stole that bike (just mentioned).' (Overdulve 1975:174)

«Nubgo wibgira kw ar' impwishi, **burya** arabizi cyane!» {Rwanda} *adv = deic-1+2-n8-sg* 'Although you think him forgetful, in fact he knows it well!' (Hands 1952:306 – no translation provided)

/hárya haantu barahatsiratsije/ {Rwanda} 'That place (you remember it, we took leave of each other there) they have completely demolished it.' (Hands 1952:306)

Table 75. Deictics Oriented to the First and Second Person

noun	singular	plural
group	that (vivid in memory)	those (vivid in memory)
n1	<b>uryá</b>	<b>bárya</b>
n2	<b>uryá</b>	<b>iryá</b>
n3	<b>rírya</b>	<b>aryá</b>
n4	<b>kírya</b>	<b>bírya</b>
n5	<b>iryá</b>	<b>zírya</b>
n6	<b>rúrya</b>	<b>zírya</b>
n7	<b>karyá</b>	<b>túrya</b>
n8	<b>búrya</b>	<b>aryá</b>
n9	<b>kúrya</b>	<b>aryá</b>
n10	<b>hárya</b>	
n11	<b>kúrya</b>	
n12	<b>múrya</b> {Rwanda only}	
n13	<b>iryá</b>	

There is no full paradigm of special predicative forms.<sup>308</sup> However note the following PRESENTATIVES based upon **-rya** that have appeared in the literature:

/nguuryá/ {Rundi} *deic-1+2-pred-n1-sg* 'this, that very person (vividly remembered, known by us); There he, she is!' (Ntahokaja 1994:96f, Cristini 2000:129, Rodegem 1967:24)

<sup>306</sup> These forms are discussed in varying degrees of detail in the following references – for Kinyarwanda: Hands 1952:305f, Hurel 1959:33,55, Overdulve 1975:174f (type 5 demonstratives), Kimenyi 1980:7f, Dubnova 1984:49; – for Kirundi: Bagein 1951:36, Rodegem 1967:22, Ntahokaja 1994:95, Cristini 2000:125.

<sup>307</sup> Hands 1952:306 suggests there is a grammatical distinction between **-rya** and **-aa** forms based upon consonant-initial nouns of group *n1a*. "As the demonstrative 'aa of memory' can never follow its noun, a noun which lacks an initial vowel takes **-rya** where **-aa** would have been indicated normally."

<sup>308</sup> Ntahokaja 1994:97 does give a full paradigm of his "Type III" forms. Other authors do not. If these forms occur, they are most likely in the first group (*n1-sg* and *n1-pl*) and in the locative (*n10*); appearance in any of the other groups would be very rare and of extremely low text frequency.

/ngaabárya/ {both} *deic-1+2-pred-n1-pl* 'those (people) there (vividly remembered, known by us); There they are!' (Jacob et al. Vol #2 1987::392, Ntahokaja 1994:97)

/nguurúrya/ {Rundi} *deic-1+2-pred-n6-sg* 'this one here, that one there (vividly remembered, known by us); There it is!' (Ntahokaja 1994:97f)

/ngaahárya/ {both} *deic-1+2-pred-n10-loc* 'this (place) here; there's that place! (vividly remembered, known by us); That's the place!' (Jacob et al. Vol #2 1987::392, Ntahokaja 1994:96f)

### 5.4. Form 4 – Second Person (-VCo)<sup>309</sup>

This fourth set of demonstratives refers to something or someone that is near the listener (SECOND PERSON): *that/those (near you, already mentioned)*. It is formed from the class vowel (V) and the thematic consonant (C) particular to each noun class and the final root vowel -o. It can be used spatially to refer to something close to the addressee (i.e., physically close to you) or anaphorically to refer to someone or something about which one has just spoken (i.e., already mentioned). In this latter sense, it can sometimes be translated by English *such*.

/haragera igihe uyo mupátíri baámenyeereye ageendá/ {Rundi} *deic-2-n1-sg* 'The time came when that priest whom they were accustomed to had to leave.' (R23)

/ubwiiré uwo mugabo/ *deic-2-n1-sg* {both} 'You should tell that man...' (Overdulse 1975:171)

/iyo myuumbati kugira ngo ibaashé kuríibwa/ {both} *deic-2-n2-pl* '... those cassavas, to be edible' (R20)

/je mbona iryo boomba wóorikóreesha/ {Rundi} *deic-2-n3-sg* 'As for me, I think you should repair that pump.' (R23)

«Yongera ho amagambo make mu Kidage, ayo magambo yashekeje bagenzi be.» {Rwanda} *deic-2-n3-pl* 'He added a few words in German, these (just mentioned) words made his friends laugh.' (Dubnova 1984:49)

/nasómye icyo gitabo/ {Rwanda} *deic-2-n4-sg* 'I read this book.' (Overdulse 1975:171)

/iyo náama yategetse ibiki n'ibiki/ {both} *deic-2-n5-sg* '... what sort of things that meeting commanded.' (R4)

/uwaári utwáaye iyó biísi yanániwe kuyigumiisha mu muhaánda/ {Rwanda} *deic-2-n5-sg* 'The driver of that bus did not succeed in keeping it on the road.' (R16)

«Mu kirere haciye indege iri mwo umuryango wa Antoni, iyó ndege irajya muli Africa, umuryango w'iyó ndege ni muto.» {Rwanda} *deic-2-n5-sg* 'In the sky there flew a plane in which Antony's family was. This plane is flying over Africa, the door of this plane is narrow.' [Once having been mentioned, this plane is referred to by the pronoun *iyó*.] (Hands 1952:124; example also in Dubnova 1984:49)

/ntaa bwo waángomwe urwo rukúundo/ {Rwanda} *deic-2-n6-sg* 'You have never deprived me of such love' (R36.8)

/ntaabwo izo maánza zaábaga zíkomeye/ {Rwanda} *deic-2-n6-pl* 'Such disputes were never serious.' (R40.5)

/abakurú murí ako karéeré baátubwiye kó .../ {both} *deic-2-n7-sg* 'The elders in that region told us that ...' (R38.9)

/ahaantu abasáaza biicára kurí utwo twaátsi/ {both} *deic-2-n7-pl* '... a place on that grass where old men sit.' (R40.2)

/ubwo bwóoko bw'ímyuumbati irurá bugira ingárúká zikoméye/ {both} *deic-2-n8-sg* 'Such a type of bitter cassava has disastrous consequences.' (R20)

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<sup>309</sup> These forms are discussed in varying degrees of detail in the following references – for Kinyarwanda: Hands 1952:124, Hurel 1959:32, Overdulse 1975:171–2 (type 2 demonstratives), Kimenyi 1980:7f, Dubnova 1984:48f; – for Kirundi: Bagein 1951:35, Rodegem 1967:22, Ntahokaja 1994:95, Cristini 2000:92.

Table 76. Deictics Oriented to the Second Person

noun	singular	plural
group	that (near you, already mentioned)	those (near you, already mentioned)
n1	<b>uwo</b> <b>uyo</b> {Rundi alt}	<b>abo</b>
n2	<b>uwo</b>	<b>iyó</b>
n3	<b>iryó</b>	<b>ayo</b>
n4	<b>ico</b> {Rundi}, <b>icyo</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ivyo</b> {Rundi}, <b>ibyo</b> {Rwanda}
n5	<b>iyó</b>	<b>izo</b>
n6	<b>urwo</b>	<b>izo</b>
n7	<b>ako</b>	<b>utwo</b>
n8	<b>ubwo</b>	<b>ayo</b>
n9	<b>ukwo</b>	<b>ayo</b>
n10	<b>aho</b>	
n11	<b>uko</b>	
n12	<b>umwo</b> {Rwanda only}	
n13	<b>iyó</b>	

There is a special set of EMPHATIC FORMS (*as for that/those*) that are a combination of these deictics plus the full set of class pronoun roots. See §4.1 for examples and Table 53 for the full paradigm.

All grammarians agree that there is a full paradigm of presentative or predicative forms for this deictic type.

Table 77. Predicative Deictics Oriented to the Second Person

noun	singular	plural
group	that (near you, already mentioned); There he (she, it) is!	those (near you, already mentioned); There they are!
n1	<b>nguwó</b> <b>nguuyó</b> {Rundi alt}	<b>ngaabó</b>
n2	<b>nguwó</b>	<b>ngiiyó</b>
n3	<b>ngiiryó</b>	<b>ngaayó</b>
n4	<b>ngiicó</b> {Rundi} <b>ngiicyó</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ngiivyó</b> {Rundi} <b>ngiibyó</b> {Rwanda}
n5	<b>ngiiyó</b>	<b>ngiizó</b>
n6	<b>nguurwó</b>	<b>ngiizó</b>
n7	<b>ngaakó</b>	<b>nguutwó</b>
n8	<b>nguubwó</b> 'that one there (near you); there it is!; {Rundi} same to you!' [returning a greeting]	<b>ngaayó</b>
n9	<b>nguukwó</b>	<b>ngaayó</b>
n10	<b>ngaahó</b>	
n11	<b>nguukó</b> 'There it is! (in a different position), It is like that! (manner)' <b>nguukwó</b> (Jacob et al. Vol #2 1987:395)	
n12	<b>nguumwó</b> {Rwanda only}	
n13	<b>ngiiyó</b>	

Table 78. Double Predicative Deictics Oriented to the Second Person

noun	singular	plural
group	that one here (near you), there he (she, it) is!	those very ones there (near you) there they are!
n1	<b>uwo ngúuwó</b>	<b>abo ngáábó</b>
n2	<b>uwo ngúuwó</b>	<b>iyó ngíiyó</b>
n3	<b>iryó ngíiryó</b>	<b>ayo ngáayó</b>
n4	<b>ico ngiicó</b> {Rundi} <b>icyo ngiicyó</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ivyo ngíivyó</b> {Rundi} <b>ibyo ngíibyó</b> {Rwanda}
n5	<b>iyó ngíiyó</b>	<b>izo ngíizó</b>
n6	<b>urwo ngúurwó</b>	<b>izo ngíizó</b>
n7	<b>ako ngáakó</b>	<b>utwo ngúutwó</b>
n8	<b>ubwo ngúubwó</b>	<b>ayo ngáayó</b>
n9	<b>ukwo ngúukwó</b>	<b>ayo ngáayó</b>
n10	<b>aho ngáahó</b>	
n11	<b>uko ngúukó</b> 'just like that!'	
n12	<b>umwo ngúumwó</b> {Rwanda only} 'just inside there!'	
n13	<b>iyó ngíiyó</b> 'just there!'	

### 5.5. Form 5 – Second Person Past (-aa)<sup>310</sup>

This fifth set of demonstratives is formed from the THEMATIC CONSONANT of each respective noun class and the root *-aa* with high tone on the first mora of a long vowel [Rrule]. There is always a double implication: in terms of *person*, the SECOND PERSON (*you*) is involved, and in terms of *time*, the reference is always PAST. The person or item had been introduced or is previously known by the person being spoken to (e.g., *you remember*). It may often be translated into English as *the aforementioned*. While this deictic implies the past, the verb or the sentence can be in any tense.

- /wáa mutumwá ava haasí/ {Rundi} *deic-2-past-n1-sg* 'That (aforementioned) messenger stood up.' (R11)
- /báa bagoré bari mu náama/ {both} *deic-2-past-n1-pl* 'Those women (you remember) are in a meeting.'
- /wáa mutí wamufashije/ {both} *deic-2-past-n2-sg* 'That medicine (being discussed) helped him.'
- /yáa myeénda bayimése/ {both} *deic-2-past-n2-pl* 'They should wash those clothes.'
- /ryáa tára ryaaménetse/ {both} *deic-2-past-n3-sg* 'That lamp (you know about) broke (recently).'
- «nitonze nazabona **cyá** gitabo» {Rwanda} *deic-2-past-n4-sg* 'If I have time, I will look for that (known to us<sup>311</sup>) book.' (Dubnova 1984:49)
- /byáa biuntu naguhaáye wabishyize hé?/ {Rwanda} *deic-2-past-n4-pl* 'Where did you put those objects that I gave you?' (Overdulve 1975:172)
- /báshitse, yáa imbeba iti/ {Rundi} *deic-2-past-n5-sg* 'When they arrived, that mouse said ...' (R27.9)
- /záa nkwi zaashíze/ {both} *deic-2-past-n6-pl* 'Those pieces of firewood got finished.'
- /umugabo umwé baámwiivye **káa** gatelefoóne batwaará mu minwe/ {Rundi} *deic-2-past-n7-sg* 'A man was robbed of his cell phone.' [lit. 'of that phone they carry in their hands'] (R7)
- /narákugeendeye reeró **twáa** dutí ndadushiinguuza/ {Rwanda} *deic-2-past-n7-pl* 'I just went on and pulled up those sticks.' (R34.4)
- /bwáa bugiingo buzirá indwáara/ {Rwanda} *deic-2-past-n8-sg* 'that life free from disease' (R36.4)
- /háa haantu haári hákoonje/ {both} *deic-2-past-n10-loc* 'That place was cold.'

<sup>310</sup> These forms are discussed in varying degrees of detail in the following – for Kinyarwanda: Hands 1952:122f ('the a of memory), Hurel 1959:32f,54, Overdulve 1975:172–3 (type 6), Kimenyi 1980:7f, Dubnova 1984:49; – for Kirundi: Bagein 1951:36, Ntahokaja 1994:95, Rodegem 1967:22f & Cristini 2000:125,132 (vague reference).

<sup>311</sup> Dubnova's translation should more faithfully be rendered as 'that book (you asked me about).' Her treatment of /cyáa/ to include both the first and second person is more accurately that of /kírya/ (§5.3).

Review §4.10.4.3 where the use of this deictic set and the pronoun **-ndí** 'other' is discussed.

/bikore **kwáa kuundí**/ {both} *deic-2-past-n11-adv* 'do it AS BEFORE [lit. 'that same way']'

**Table 79. Deictics Oriented to the Second Person Past**

noun	singular	plural
group	that (you remember)	those (you remember)
n1	<b>wáa</b>	<b>báa</b>
n2	<b>wáa</b>	<b>yáa</b>
n3	<b>ryáa</b>	<b>yáa</b>
n4	<b>cáa</b> {Rundi} <b>cyáa</b> {Rwanda}	<b>vyáa</b> {Rundi} <b>byáa</b> {Rwanda}
n5	<b>yáa</b>	<b>záa</b>
n6	<b>rwáa</b>	<b>záa</b>
n7	<b>káa</b>	<b>twáa</b>
n8	<b>bwáa</b>	<b>yáa</b>
n9	<b>kwáa</b>	<b>yáa</b>
n10	<b>háa</b>	
n11	<b>kwáa</b>	
n12	<b>mwáa</b> {Rwanda only}	
n13	<b>yáa</b>	

There are no presentative or predicative forms for this deictic set.

### 5.6. Form 6 – Third Person (-riiya)<sup>312</sup>

This sixth set of demonstratives is formed from the root **/-riiya/** with high tone on the second mora of the root [P2rule] and also on strong (consonant-initial) prefixes [1rule]. There are different tone patterns on the weak (vowel-initial) forms: Rundi has high tone on the prefix and maintains the tonality on the second mora of the root [Frule + P2rule], whereas Rwanda has high tone on the first post-consonantal vowel [1rule]. The referent is always in the THIRD PERSON, or, more strictly, not close to either the first person (*I, we*) or the second (*you*). It need not be distant or out-of-sight.

«**uriya mukobwa uri mu yindi mpfuruka y'icyumba ni inshuti yanjye.**» {Rwanda} *deic-3-n1-sg* 'That girl in the corner of the room is my friend.' (Dubnova 1984:48)

/**úriiya mwaána ararizwa n'iikí**/ {Rundi}, /**uríiya mwaána ararizwa n'iikí**/ *deic-3-n1-sg* 'Why is that child crying?'

/**abaantu nka báriiya**/ {both} *deic-3-n1-pl* 'people like those' (R16)

/**ngaabáriiya**/ {both} *deic-3-pred-n1-pl* 'There they are!' (Ntahokaja 1976:10)

/**pfuundikira ariiya matá**/ {Rwanda} *deic-3-n3-pl* 'Cover that milk!'

/**ziríiya nyamáaswa zirariisha**/ {both} *deic-3-n5-pl* 'Those wild animals are feeding.'

/**túriiya twána turarira**/ {both} *deic-3-n7-pl* 'Those children are crying.'

/**haákurya háriiya haábeereye impanuka idasaanzwé**/ {both} *deic-3-n10-loc* 'There has been an unusual accident over there.'

/**byáa bitabo núubiizana ubishyire múriiya**/ {Rwanda} *deic-3-n12-loc* 'When you bring those books you should put them in there.'

/**uzoosubira iríiya ryáari**/ {Rundi}, /**uzaasubira iríiya ryáari**/ {Rwanda} *deic-3-n13-loc* 'When are you going back there?'

<sup>312</sup> These forms are discussed in varying degrees of detail in the following references – for Kinyarwanda: Hands 1952:14,85, Hurel 1959:31f,54, Overdulse 1975:58,171 (type 4 demonstratives), Kimenyi 1980:7f, Dubnova 1984:48; – for Kirundi: Bagein 1951:36, Rodegem 1967:22, Ntahokaja 1994:95, Cristini 2000:125.

Table 80. Deictics Oriented to the Third Person

noun	singular	plural
group	that (far, yonder)	those (far, yonder)
n1	<b>úriíya</b> {Rundi} <b>urííya</b> {Rwanda}	<b>báriíya</b>
n2	<b>úriíya</b> {Rundi} <b>urííya</b> {Rwanda}	<b>íriíya</b> {Rundi} <b>iriíya</b> {Rwanda}
n3	<b>ríriíya</b>	<b>áriíya</b> {Rundi} <b>arííya</b> {Rwanda}
n4	<b>kíriíya</b>	<b>bíriíya</b>
n5	<b>íriíya</b> {Rundi} <b>iriíya</b> {Rwanda}	<b>zíriíya</b>
n6	<b>rúriíya</b>	<b>zíriíya</b>
n7	<b>káriíya</b>	<b>túriíya</b>
n8	<b>búriíya</b>	<b>áriíya</b> {Rundi} <b>arííya</b> {Rwanda}
n9	<b>kúriíya</b>	<b>áriíya</b> {Rundi} <b>arííya</b> {Rwanda}
n10	<b>háriíya</b>	
n11	<b>kúriíya</b>	
n12	<b>múriíya</b> {Rwanda only}	
n13	<b>íriíya</b> {Rundi} <b>iriíya</b> {Rwanda}	

Table 81. Predicative Deictics Oriented to the Third Person

noun	singular	plural
group	that one (far, yonder)	those (far, yonder)
n1	<b>nguuriíya</b> {Rundi} <b>nguurííya</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ngaabáriíya</b> {both}
n2	<b>nguuriíya</b> {Rundi} <b>nguurííya</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ngiiriíya</b> {Rundi} <b>ngiirííya</b> {Rwanda}
n3	<b>ngiiríriíya</b> {both}	<b>ngaariíya</b> {Rundi} <b>ngaarííya</b> {Rwanda}
n4	<b>ngiikíriíya</b> {both}	<b>ngiibíriíya</b> {both}
n5	<b>ngiiriíya</b> {Rundi} <b>ngiirííya</b> {Rwanda}	<b>ngiizíriíya</b> {both}
n6	<b>nguurúriíya</b> {both}	<b>ngiizíriíya</b> {both}
n7	<b>ngaakáriíya</b> {both}	<b>nguutúriíya</b> {both}
n8	<b>nguubúriíya</b> {both}	<b>ngaariíya</b> {Rundi} <b>ngaarííya</b> {Rwanda}
n9	<b>nguukúriíya</b> {both}	<b>ngaariíya</b> {Rundi} <b>ngaarííya</b> {Rwanda}
n10	<b>ngaaháriíya</b> {both}	
n11	<b>nguukúriíya</b> {both}	
n12	<b>nguumúriíya</b> {Rwanda only}	
n13	<b>ngiiriíya</b> {Rundi} <b>ngiirííya</b> {Rwanda}	

## 5.7. Form 7 – Invariable Anaphoric Deictic (nyaa) {Rundi only}

Kirundi has a unique demonstrative (**nyaa**) which is invariable for noun class. It is strictly ANAPHORIC, i.e., it refers to someone or something that has already been discussed, and is most often translated by English *the aforementioned*, or simply *that*. Cristini (2000:125) exemplifies (but does not translate or describe) two forms: high-toned /nyáa/ which appears to precede singular nouns and low-toned /nyaa/ which seems to precede plural nouns. This novel interpretation is not supported in examples provided by other Rundi grammarians (see remarks below), but does apply in the three examples from our Reader where two singular nouns are marked with high-toned /nyáa/ and a sole mass noun (equated here as semantically equivalent to plurals) has low-toned /nyaa/.

- /nyáa mugabo aba ikijurí/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n1-sg* 'That man became foolish.' (R27.3)  
 /nyáa muuntu/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n1-sg* 'the aforementioned person' (Cristini 2000:125)  
 /nyaa baantu/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n1-pl* 'the aforementioned people' (Cristini 2000:125)  
 /nyáa muhoro/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n2-sg* 'the aforementioned machete' (Cristini 2000:125)  
 /nyaa muúnsi/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n2-sg* 'that day' (Ntahokaja 1994:96) [low-toned singular]  
 /nyaa mutí/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n2-sg* 'that medicine' (Ntahokaja 1994:96) [low-toned singular]  
 /nyaa mumáandá/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n2-sg* 'that fig tree' (Ntahokaja 1994:96) [low-toned singular]  
 /nyaa mihoro/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n2-pl* 'the aforementioned machetes' (Cristini 2000:125)  
 /nyaa gishurúshuru/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n4-sg* 'that fern' (Ntahokaja 1994:96) [low-toned singular]  
 /nyaa gikóokó/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n4-sg* 'that beast' (Ntahokaja 1994:96) [low-toned singular]  
 /nyaa biintu/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n4-pl* 'the aforementioned things' (Cristini 2000:125)  
 /bugiingo nyáa ntaambwe igiiyé kuryá wáa mugabo/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n5-sg* 'When that lion was about to eat that man ...' (R27.8)  
 /nyáa nká/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n5-sg* 'the aforementioned cow' (Cristini 2000:125)  
 /ariko nyaa sukaári ntítúyibone ku masokó/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n5b-mass* '... yet we could not find that sugar in the marketplace' (R33.2)  
 /mugábo nyáa gawkáavu kaári kábiizi vyóóse/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n7-sg* '... but that small rabbit (of ours) knew it very well' (Rodegem 1967:24 /nyaa/, Cristini 2000:127 /nyáa/)  
 /ashítze heejuru ya nyáa kabáandé/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n7-sg* 'When he arrived at the upper part of that valley ...' (Rodegem 1967:24)  
 /nyáa bwáato/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n8-sg* 'the aforementioned canoe' (Cristini 2000:125)  
 /nyaa máato/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n8-pl* 'the aforementioned canoes' (Cristini 2000:125)  
 /nyáa haantu/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n10-loc* 'that aforementioned place' (Cristini 2000:125)  
 /nyaa haantu/ {Rundi} *deic-invar+n10-loc* 'those aforementioned places' (Cristini 2000:125)

## 5.8. The Tonality of Inflected Demonstratives

All vowel-initial demonstratives when they appear in agentive, possessive, conjunctive, or simulative forms have their initial vowel lengthened with high tone on the second mora.<sup>313</sup>

- /bakaziimbwa caane **naábo** badaándaza/ {Rundi} *deic-2-n1-pl-agent* '... and they are severely overcharged by those merchants.' (R35.4)
- /igiséekúru **cyaábo** banyaambo/ {Rwanda} *deic-2-n1-pl-poss* 'the ancestral homeland of these Nyambo people' (R38.9)
- /n'íiryo bára ní ryiizá/ {both} *deic-2-n3-sg-conj* 'That color is also nice.'
- /na háno iwaácu nyéne ibára **nkiiryo** rikaba ryáaraháguuye/ {Rundi} *deic-2-n3-sg-sim* 'Such a disgrace has occurred precisely here at home.' (R37.4)
- /mu buyobozi **bwíiryo** shirahámwe/ {Rundi} *deic-2-n3-sg-poss* 'to the administration of that organization' (R9)
- /nkaáya marirá/ {both} *deic-1-n3-pl-sim* 'like these tears'
- /iki níiki/ {both} *deic-1-n4-sg-conj* 'such and such' (R32)
- /uretse níbyo ntaa kiintu kigukuúnda waampáhó umugabo/ {Rwanda} *deic-2-n4-pl-conj* 'Besides that you can't give me anyone that likes you as a witness.' (R28.2)
- /níimbá miniisítiri **wiíbi níibi** nzaakora ibi/ {Rwanda} *deic-1-n4-pl-poss + deic-1-n4-pl-conj* 'If I become Minister of such and such, I will do this.' (R32)
- /umukurú **wiíyo** ntáará yar'áabiizi/ {both} *deic-2-n5-sg-poss* 'The leader of that district knew all about it.' (R23)
- /ntaa mpanuka **nkiíyi** yari ihéruutse kubá/ {both} *deic-1-n5-sg-sim* 'No accident such as this, has happened.' (R16)
- /ntuúkageenze **nk'íiriya** ndaángaare/ {Rwanda} *deic-3-n5-sg-sim* 'Don't behave like that negligent person!' (Bizimana 1998:197)
- /nuúbu/ {both} *deic-1-n8-sg-adv-time* 'and even now' (R33,5, R37,4, R39,2)
- /naáha/ {both} *deic-1-n10-loc-conj* 'here also' (Ntahokaja 1976:33, Kimenyi 2002:140)
- /nkaáha/ {both} *deic-1-n10-loc-sim* 'like here' (Kimenyi 2002:140)
- /bikore **nk'uúku**/ {both} *deic-1-n11-adv-sim* 'Do it like this!'

Note that this does not apply to Form 5 (§5.5) because these demonstratives start with a consonant.

- /ahó yoogizé **nka wáa** mwaámi/ {Rundi} *deic-2-past-n1-sg-sim* 'instead of acting like that king' (R27.8)

<sup>313</sup> Kimenyi (2002:140) points out that this vowel lengthening and accompanying tone pattern affects personal pronouns, demonstratives, complementizers, and adverbs, most of which have the shape VCV, including VCCV. Thus: /nkaátwe/ 'like us,' /naámwe/ 'with you,' /naáha/ 'here also,' /nkuúbu/ 'like now,' and /neépfó/ 'below also.'



## 6. ADJECTIVES & OTHER DESCRIPTIVES

Bantu languages have only a few words that can be described as PURE ADJECTIVES. There are, however, numerous ways that a noun can receive appropriate qualifying or descriptive information, which involve several different forms of grammatical marking or agreement: an adjective, a noun phrase, an attributive verb, a relative verb, and a predicative.

### 6.1. The True Adjective Class<sup>314</sup>

Adjectives as such are very rare in Kinyarwanda<sup>315</sup> and Kirundi. To be an adjective, the root must get inflected with a set of affixes that are virtually identical to reduced noun forms (Table 83). The following table (Table 82) presents all the adjective roots known to occur in either dialect.<sup>316</sup>

**Table 82. Adjective Roots in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi**

root	dialect	meaning
–aango	Rundi	light, clear (liquid); diluted, weak, watered-down (drink)
–aangu <sup>1</sup>	Rundi	diluted, weak (drink)
–aangu <sup>2</sup>	Rwanda	dishonest, unfaithful; feeble, weak, insufficient
–bí	both	bad, evil, ugly, unattractive (expresses negative qualities or general disapproval)
–bísi	both	unripe, green; raw, uncooked (in its natural state); newly-laid (egg), unheated (milk); wet, damp (cloth)
–eeraanda	Rundi	holy, sacred, saintly [Rwanda: –taagatifú]
–garí	both	wide, broad
–gúfi –gufí	Rundi Rwanda	short, low; small, tiny
–gúfiinyá	Rundi	very short, really low; very small, tiny
–gúfiiyá –gufíiyá	Rundi Rwanda	very short, really low; tiny short, low; small
–íinshi	both	much, numerous; many, a lot (of)
–iizá	both	good, kind; clean, neat; attractive, beautiful, handsome; in working order (expresses positive qualities or general approval)
–ké	both	little, small (in amount); insignificant
–kéenyá	Rundi	very few, really small (in amount)
–kéenyí	Rundi	few, very small (in amount)
–kéeyá	both	very few, really small {Rundi} few, little, small (in amount); insignificant {Rwanda}
–kéeyí	Rundi	very few, really small (in amount)
–kí	both	what?, which?, what kind of? [seeks further information, e.g., s.t. not heard or understood; also indicates ignorance, surprise, or bewilderment]
–kurú	both	old, elderly; senior, superior; better; big, important
–naaká	Rundi	certain (indefinite), such-and-such
–níni	both	big, large, huge; long; fat; great; thick
–níniinyá	Rundi	big, large
–níniiyá <sup>1</sup>	Rundi	big, large

<sup>314</sup> This part of speech is discussed in varying degrees of detail in the following – for Kinyarwanda: Hands 1952:13f,26, Hurel 1959:28f, Overdulve 1975:44,passim, Dubnova 1984:44f, Kimenyi 2002:28; – for Kirundi: Bagein 1951:27–31, Rodegem 1967:14–16, Ntahokaja 1976:7, 1994:82–86, Cristini 2000:73–88.

<sup>315</sup> For example, Overdulve says there are only 17 true adjectives in Kinyarwanda (1975:44,217). In Table 82, thirty roots are identified as either {Rwanda} or {both}.

<sup>316</sup> Following Dixon 1982, these cover five of seven universal parameters of VALUE (–bí, –iizá), DIMENSION (–garí, –níni), PHYSICAL PROPERTY (–bísi, –ree–re), HUMAN PROPENSITY (–óoro, –taagatifú, –zima, –zuungu), AGE (–kurú, –tó). Neither SPEED nor COLOR are represented among Rwanda and Rundi adjective roots. However, three other parameters are represented: QUANTITY (–íinshi, –ké, –sa, also called ENUMERATIVES), INTERROGATION (–kí), and INDEFINITENESS (–naaká) {Rundi}.

## Chapter 6: Adjectives & Other Descriptives

-níniiyá <sup>2</sup>	Rwanda	tiny, very small, minuscule
-novú	Rundi	concentrated, dense
-núnuuyá	Rwanda	tiny, very small, minuscule
-nzígiinyá	Rwanda	tiny, very small, minuscule
-nzígirinyá	Rwanda	tiny, very small, minuscule
-nzíinyá	both	tiny, minute
-nzíiyá	Rundi	very small, tiny
-nzúguunyá	Rwanda	tiny, very small, minuscule
-nzúgurunyá	Rwanda	tiny, very small, minuscule
-nzúunyá	Rundi	very small, tiny, microscopic
-nzúrugunyá	Rundi	very small, tiny
-nzwíinyá	Rundi	very small, tiny
-óoro	both	poor, impoverished
-ree-re	both	long, tall, high [reduplicated root]
-ruúndi	Rundi	Rundi, native or original to Burundi
-sa	both	only, alone, single
-shá	Rundi	new
-shyá	Rwanda	
-taagatifú	both	holy, sacred
-taraga	Rwanda	alive, healthy, normal; fresh; raw; unfermented
-tiindi	Rundi	unlucky, unfortunat; impoverished
-tó	both	small, little; junior, young; inferior
-tóo-tó [redup]	both	tiny, very small; inferior (e.g., <b>duóodutó</b> , <b>matóomató</b> )
-tóonyá	Rundi	small, little, thin; [ext] mediocre
-toóto	Rundi	green, tender; soft
-tóoyá	both	small, little, tiny; thin; young, junior; inferior
-tóoyí	Rundi	small, little, thin
-zima	both	healthy, well; alive; whole
-zuúngu	both	European, White- (like a white person)

Adjectives follow and agree with the nouns they modify using prefixes specific to each noun class (Table 83). Adjectives that agree with pronouns agree in CLASS and NUMBER, but not in PERSON.

/kokó uri **mwíizá**/ {Rundi}, /kókó uri **mwíizá**/ {Rwanda} *adj-n1-sg* 'You are truly good.' (R36.1)

/jeewé **musa**/ {Rundi}, /jyewé **musa**/ {Rwanda} *adj-enum-n1-sg* 'I alone, only me.'

/tweebwé **basá**/ {both} *adj-enum-n1-pl* 'we alone, only us'

/abaramyi **beénshi**/ {Rundi} (R35.2), /abahíinzi **beénshi**/ {Rwanda} *adj-enum-n1-pl* 'many farmers'

/ubiteeka ku muriro **muké**/ {both} *adj-n2-sg* 'You cook them on low heat.' (R18)

/imihaánda **mibí**/ {both} *adj-n2-pl* 'bad roads' (Overdulve 1975:55)

/mwíibéenderá **rishaásha**/ {Rundi} *adj-n3-sg* 'on the new flag' (R29.6)

/amáaso **meezá**<sup>317</sup>/ {both} *adj-n3-pl* 'beautiful eyes' (R28.5)

/igihe **kireekire**/ {both} *adj-n4-sg-redup* 'a long time' (R38.2)

/icatsi **kibísi** nacó ni umwíizeero abanyarwanda bakwíiyé/ {Rundi} *adj-n4-sg* 'Also, green is for the hope that Rwandan people need.' (R29.6)

/inyama **mbísi**/ {both} *adj-n5-sg* 'raw meat' (Overdulve 1975:74)

/inkúrikizi **mbí**/ {both} *adj-n5-pl* 'the negative effects' (R37.4)

/urugero **rwiizá**/ {both} *adj-n6-sg* 'a good example' (R36.5)

/imaánza **ntóoyá**/ {both} *adj-n6-pl* 'minor disputes' (R40.4)

/akaánya **gató**/ {both} *adj-n7-sg* 'a little while' (R18)

/uri ubwéenge **buké**/ {both} *adj-enum-n8-sg* 'You are stupid!' [lit. 'little intelligence'] (R27.3)

/ntíwuumvá kwíikuza **kubí**/ {both} *adj-n9-sg* 'Don't you listen to bad boasting!' (R28.5)

/heénshi mu ntáará ya kiruundo/ {both} *adj-enum-n10-loc* 'in many parts of Kirundo Province' (R39.3)

<sup>317</sup> The change to /ee/ here is the result of VOWEL COALESCENCE (review §2.5.11), the **a** of the prefix **ma-** fuses with the initial **i** of the root /-iizá/. These affixes can be found in the third column of Table 83.

Table 83. Adjective Agreement Affixes

group	consonant root		vowel root	before i- (-iínshi)
n1-sg	mu-		mw- (mwíizá)	
n1-pl	ba-		(does not occur)	be- (beénsi)
n2-sg	mu-		mw- (mwíinshi)	
n2-pl	mi-		my- (myíinshi)	
n3-sg	ri-		ry- (ryíinshi)	
n3-pl	ma-		(does not occur)	me- (meénsi)
n4-sg	ki-	gi-	c- (cíinshi) {Rundi}, cy- (cyíinshi) {Rwanda}	
n4-pl	bi-		vy- (vyíinshi) {Rundi}, by- (byíinshi) {Rwanda}	
n5-sg/pl	n- [generally]		(does not occur)	nz- (nziizá)
n6-pl	m- [before labials]			ny- (nyíinshi)
n6-sg	ru-		rw- (rwíinshi)	
n7-sg	ka-	ga-	(does not occur)	ke- (keénsi)
n7-pl	tu-	du-	tw- (twíinshi)	
n8-sg	bu-		bw- (bwiinshi)	
n8-pl	ma-		(does not occur)	me- (meénsi)
n9-sg	ku-	gu-	kw- (kwiinshi)	
n9-pl	ma-		(does not occur)	me- (meénsi)
n10-sg/pl	ha-		(does not occur)	he- (heénsi)
n11-adv	ku-		kw- (kwiizá)	
n12	(does not occur)			
n13	(does not occur)			

The essential difference between an adjective and a noun is that an adjective never has the article or pre-prefix. If and when the pre-prefix is added, the adjective serves as a noun (Table 84).<sup>318</sup>

Table 84. Adjectives Serving as Nouns

/umwíizá/ {both} <i>n1-sg-adj</i> 'beautiful woman, handsome man; kind or virtuous person'
/abató/ {both} <i>n1-pl-adj</i> 'little people, young people'
/abeénsi/ {both} <i>n1-pl-adj-enum</i> 'most (of them), the majority (of the people)' (R29.3)
/ikibí/ {both} <i>n4-sg-adj</i> 'bad thing; sin, evil; indecent or improper behavior' (R25)
/ibibí/ {both} <i>n4-pl-adj</i> 'bad things, evils' (R37.4)
/ivyíizá/ {Rundi}, /ibyíizá/ {Rwanda} <i>n4-pl-adj</i> 'good things, the good ones' (R36.3, R37.1)
/ivyíinshi/ {Rundi}, /ibyíinshi/ {Rwanda} <i>n4-pl-adj</i> 'most (of), the majority (of things)'
/inéezá/ {both} <i>n5a-sg-adj</i> 'goodness, the good; generosity; good deed' (R36.9)
/ububí/ {both} <i>n8-sg-adj</i> 'ugliness; evil, badness, wickedness'
/ubugarí/ {both} <i>n8-sg-adj</i> 'width, breadth'
/ubuníni/ {both} <i>n8-sg-adj</i> 'size, largeness, bigness'
/ubureebure/ {both} <i>n8-sg-abs-redup</i> 'length; height'
/ubuzima/ {both} <i>n8-sg-adj</i> 'life, (good) health; maintenance' (R16, R21, R34.0, R38)
/ubwíinshi/ {both} <i>n8-sg-adj</i> 'number, amount'
/ubwíizá/ {both} <i>n8-sg-adj</i> 'beauty, prettiness; affability; glory' (R28.10)

<sup>318</sup> It may be tempting to compare these nominalized adjectives to autonomes. However, autonomes (1) are exclusively derived from verb roots and (2) have high tone immediately following the prefix [Arule]. Nominalized adjectives keep the tonality of the root [Rrule] so that low-toned roots have low-toned derivations /ubureebure/ 'length' or /ubuzima/ 'life;' low-toned verb roots have high-toned autonomes /abasába/ 'those who ask' < /-saba/ 'ask,' /abagira/ 'those who have' < /-gira/ 'have.' Nouns derived from vowel-initial adjective roots /-iizá/ also have high tone after the prefix, while preserving root tonality, thus: /umwíizá/, /abéezá/, /ivyíizá/, /ibyíizá/, and /inéezá/ [Arule + Rrule], /abeénsi/, /ubwíinshi/, /ivyíinshi/ {Rundi}, /ibyíinshi/ {Rwanda} [Rrule].

## 6.2. The Attributive Use of a Noun

In many cases, a noun is used attributively, such as when /**umuuntu w'úmukuúngu**/ {both} means 'a rich man.' One of the functions of possessive or noun phrase agreement markers (Table 48) is to allow a noun to modify another noun (consult §3.6.3.2 for additional examples).

- /umugabo **w'ámahóro**/ {both} *n1-sg-atr/poss-n3-pl* 'a peaceful man' (Overdulve 1975:217)
- /umugoré **w'íhoóho**/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg-atr/poss-n3-sg* 'a gorgeous woman' (Jacob #1 1984:537)
- /icúmu **ry'íntoóre**/ {both} *n3-sg-atr/poss-n5-sg* 'an exquisite spear' (Cristini 2000:77)
- /uruhiinja **rw'úmukoóbwa**/ {both} *n6-sg-atr/poss-n1-sg* 'a female baby' (Overdulve 1975:217)

There is a special construction with the associative noun prefix (**nya-**, see §3.3) based upon the names of countries, regions, and other geographic areas. There are explicit noun forms within group 1 to designate people and in group 4 to designate the language and culture of those people:

- /umunyaameeriká/ {Rundi}, /umunyaameriká/<sup>319</sup> {Rwanda} *n1-sg* 'American'
- /umunyarwaanda/ {both} *n1-sg* 'Rwandan (person),' /abanyarwaanda/ {both} *n1-pl* 'Rwandan people'
- /ikinyarwaanda/ {both} *n4-sg* 'Rwandan language and culture'

However, these forms are also used attributively with other noun classes in a construction where they are followed by an agreeing POSSESSIVE MARKER and then an ECHO NOUN in the same class as the head noun.<sup>320</sup>

- /abaantu **b'ábanyarwaanda**/ {both} *n1-pl-poss-cmp* 'Rwandan people' (Overdulve 1975:217)
- /icúmu **ry'irinyarwaanda**/ {both} *n3-sg-poss-cmp* 'a Rwandan spear' (Overdulve 1975:217)
- /amasúka **y'ámanyarwaanda**/ {both} *n3-pl-poss-cmp* 'Rwandan hoes' (LN)

Both dialects use the prefix **/nyaa-/** in an attributive function. Before pronoun roots, the forms are identical (except for spelling differences, e.g., **/nyaacó**/ {Rundi} and **/nyaacyó**/ {Rwanda}).

- /umutí **nyaawó**/ {both} *pro-real-n2-sg* 'a specific remedy'
- /urukúundo **nyaarwó**/ {both} *pro-real-n6-sg* 'true love'

In Kinyarwanda, it appears between a noun and an ECHO ROOT to indicate genuineness.

- /umwáana **nyamwáana**/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg-real-n1-sg* 'a child worthy of the name' (Jacob et al. #2:430; Overdulve 1975:218 /**nyamwáana**/)
- /umugaanga **nyamugaanga**/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg-real-n1-sg* 'a true doctor' (Overdulve 1975:218 /**nyamugaanga**/)
- /inká **nyaanká**/ {Rwanda} *n5-sg-real-n5-sg* 'the best cow in the herd' (Bizimana 1998:166)

In both dialects, it appears with a shortened vowel before some adjective roots to intensify the meaning of the adjective.

- /intéeko **nyamwiinshi**/ {Rwanda} 'a very large crowd' (Jacob et al. #2:430)
- /uri **mwiizá nyamwiizá**/ {Rundi} 'you are absolutely perfect!' (Cristini 2000:81)

Not all textbooks are correct in identifying adjectives. Hurel (1959:28), Ntahokaja (1976:7), and Cristini (2000:73) claim that **/-kuúngu/** 'rich, wealthy' is an adjective root, perhaps because its meaning is parallel with adjectives in English or French. However, all known derivations are nouns, not adjectives; that is, they have the preprefix in their basic form.

- /umukuúngu/ {both} *n1* 'rich person' (Jacob et al. #2:299, Rodegem 1970:247)
- /ubukuúngu/ {both} *n8* 'wealth, riches' (Jacob et al. #2:299, Rodegem 1970:247)
- /inkuúngu/ {Rundi} *n5* 'wealthy person' (Rodegem 1970:247)

<sup>319</sup> Note that high tone on the fourth syllable does not carry over to **-nya-**.

<sup>320</sup> See Overdulve 1975:217.

/igikuúngu/ {Rundi} *n4* 'extremely wealthy person' (Rodegem 1970:247)

COLOR TERMS are traditionally adjectives in most languages, but in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi they are mostly derived from STATIVE VERBS,<sup>321</sup> with the exception of the adjective root /-bísi/ 'unripe, raw, green,' which can have a secondary meaning as a color term (see example in §6.1 above). They are expressed by verbs in the RELATIVE MOOD (see §6.4 below) or by NOUNS USED ATTRIBUTIVELY, as in the following examples:

/uyu muuntu ní umweéra/ {both} *n1-sg-atr* 'This person is innocent.'  
 /ubwó muruuzi yahíindutse imituku/ {Rwanda} *n2-pl-atr* 'Since you see they (his eyes) became red.'  
 (R28.5) < /-tukura/ {both} 'redden'  
 /ibára ry'ubururú/ {both} *n8-sg-atr* 'the blue color' (R29.6)  
 /iry'umuhoondo naryó risigúura gukúunda ibikorwá kugira bashiké kwiiteerambere/  
 {Rundi} *n2-sg-nom-poss-n3-sg* 'The yellow is to signify the love of work that they (need) to achieve progress.' (R29.6)

### 6.3. Qualifying Demonstratives (Deictics)

The entire system of demonstrative or deictic pronouns can be used to modify or qualify a noun (see examples throughout §5 and the forms in Tables 71, 74–76, 79–80).

/uríiya muuntu/ {both} *deic-3-n1-sg* 'that man'  
 /uwo muunsi mukurú/ {both} *deic-2-n2-sg* 'this important day' (R29.8)  
 /muri iki gihe/ {both} *deic-1-n4-sg* 'at this time'

### 6.4. Relative Verbs Used to Qualify Nouns

Verbs inflected in the relative are often used attributively and are best translated by adjectives in English. More detailed discussion and exemplification can be found in §8.3.

/amáazi ashuushé/ {Rundi} *v-rel-imm-perf-n3-pl*, /amáazi ashyúushye/ {Rwanda} *v-rel-subj-imm-perf-n3-pl* 'hot water' [lit. 'water which is hot']  
 «Nk'ibara ritukura bavuga ko risigura amaraso y'abahutu bapfuye barwanira ukwikukira»  
 {Rwanda} *v-rel-imm-n3-sg* 'Like the color red which they said symbolizes the blood of Hutus who died fighting for independence.' (R29.5)  
 /igikóona ciirábura/ {Rundi} *v-rel-imm-impf-n4-sg* 'a black crow' [lit. 'a crow that is black']  
 /igikorwá gikoméye/ {both} *v-rel-imm-perf-n4-sg* 'important work' (Cristini 2000:78)  
 /impanuka idasaanzwé/ {both} *v-rel-neg-imm-pass-perf-n5-sg* 'an unusual accident' (R8b, R16)

### 6.5. Attributive Verbs with –ek– or –ik–

Verbs with the attributive or stative suffixes –ek– or –ik– are yet another descriptive device; see §8.14.5.

/amaferi yaciitse/ {Rwanda} *v-atr-rel-pret-perf-n3-pl* 'faulty breaks' (R16) < /-ciika/ 'get cut'  
 /ibiruungo by'ipirawu (bibonéka mwiisokó)/ {Rwanda} *v-atr-rel-imm-n4-pl* 'pilaf spaces (available at the market)' (R18) < /-bónéka/ 'appear, surface; be visible; become available; be easy to find'  
 /bakiikuuramwó ivyiyumviiro bigayitse vy'ihónnyabwóoko/ {Rundi} *v-atr-rel-imm-perf-n4-pl*  
 'and distance themselves from the despicable ideas of genocide' (R29.7) < /-gayika/ 'be despicable'  
 /ukuguru kuvunitse/ {both} *v-atr-perf-n9-sg* 'a fractured leg' < /-vúnika/ 'get broken, be fractured'

<sup>321</sup> Such as: /-éera/ {both} *v-st* 'whiten, be or become white,' /-iirabura/ {both} *v-st* {both} 'blacken, be black, become dark-colored,' /-tukura/ {both} *v-st* {both} 'redden, be or become red.'

## 6.6. Expressing Degrees of Comparison

Not only is the number of adjectives extremely small, there is no adjective-like mechanism to inflect them for degree as there is in English with the suffixes *-er* (COMPARATIVE) and *-est* (SUPERLATIVE). Comparison is expressed by verbs (see below). However, Kirundi has three suffixes<sup>322</sup> that mark an INTENSIVE DEGREE: *–:nyá*, *–:yá*, and *–:yí* 'very.'<sup>323</sup> While Kinyarwanda has comparable forms with *–:yá*, they are alternates to the simple root and do not imply any intensification.

Table 85. Intensive Adjectives in Kirundi

root	<i>–:nyá</i>	<i>–:yá</i>	<i>–:yí</i>	English	Cf: Rwanda
<i>–gúfi</i>	<i>–gúfiinyá</i>	<i>–gúfiya</i>	n/a	very short	<i>–gúfiyá</i> short
<i>–ké</i>	<i>–kéenyá</i>	<i>–kéeyá</i>	<i>–kéeyí</i>	very few	<i>–kéeyá</i> few
<i>–níni</i>	<i>–níniinyá</i>	<i>–níniyá</i>	n/a	very big	<i>–níniyá</i> small
<sup>x</sup> <i>nzi</i>	<i>–nziinyá</i>	<i>–nziyá</i>	n/a	very small, tiny	<i>–nziinyá</i> tiny
<i>–tó</i>	<i>–tóonyá</i>	<i>–tóoyá</i>	<i>–tóoyí</i>	very small	<i>–tóoyá</i> little

Intensification in Rwanda is accomplished by the adverb /*cyaane*/. Rundi also uses /*caane*/ as an alternate to the intensive suffixes or as a means of intensifying any other adjectival construction.<sup>324</sup> While this is linguistically an INTENSIVE CONSTRUCTION, in certain contexts an English rendition in the comparative or superlative may be appropriate.<sup>325</sup>

- /daatábukwé ní muníni *cyaane*/ {Rwanda}, /daatábukwé ní muníniyá/ or /daatábukwé ní muníni *caane*/<sup>326</sup> {Rundi} *adj-n1-sg-intens* 'My father-in-law is very big.'
- /ibiró biké *caane*/ {Rundi} *adj-n4-pl-intens* 'fewer kilos' (R35.4) [Eng comparative]
- /ibitígiri bitó *caane*/ {Rundi} *adj-n4-pl-intens* 'very small numbers' (R39.2)
- /uw'intoóre *cyaane* avamó ati/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg-nom-poss-n5-sg = atr-intens* 'The brightest person said ...' (R14) [Eng superlative]
- /akíri mutó *cyaane*/ {Rwanda} *adj-n1-sg-intens* '... while he is still very young.' (R38.1)
- /izo maánza zaábaga arí ntóoyá *cyaane*/ {Rwanda} *adj-n6-pl* 'Those disputes were quite minor.' (R40.5)

Three verb roots are commonly found in expressing the equivalent of comparative and superlative constructions in English.<sup>327</sup> The indented examples illustrate this phenomenon. Note that using an active verb tends to indicate a COMPARISON OF SUPERIORITY, while using the passive expresses a COMPARISON OF INFERIORITY.

- /–*ruta*/ {both} 'exceed, surpass, be more than, be better than'
- /uraanduta/ {both} *pro-2sg-subj + active + pro-1sg-obj* 'you are better than me' (R28.2)
- «ishuri ryawe *riruta* ayandi» {Rwanda} *n3-sg-subj + active* 'Your school is better than (all) others' (R36.7)
- /amajaambo meénshi *arutwa* na rimwe/ {Rundi} *n3-pl-subj + passive* 'Many words are worse than one' [lit. 'many words are surpassed by one'] (Cristini 2000:81)
- /ibi bití *biruta* biríya/ {both} *n4-pl-subj + active* 'these trees are taller than those [lit. 'these trees overtake those'] (Overdulve 1975:223)

<sup>322</sup> These are exemplified in Rodegem 1967:16 and Cristini 2000:76.

<sup>323</sup> The colon indicates that this suffix causes the previous vowel to become long; high tone is put on the first and final syllable of the derived root. Rundi also has /*kéenyí*/ 'very few,' which seems to be a blend of *–:nyá* and *–:yí*.

<sup>324</sup> This is, strictly speaking, an adverbial construction. Such constructions, e.g., with /*rwóose*/ 'absolutely' or /*nka*/ 'like,' will be treated in the chapter on adverbs (§11).

<sup>325</sup> Thus Dubnova 1984:45 glosses «Umwana wanjye ni mwiza *cyane*» {Rwanda} as a superlative, 'My child is the most beautiful.' It could also simply mean 'My child is very beautiful.'

<sup>326</sup> Thanks to Jeanine Ntihirageza for confirming this Rundi alternation.

<sup>327</sup> See Cristini 2000:81f for Kirundi, and Overdulve 1975:222 or Dubnova 1984:45 for Kinyarwanda.

- /bíriíya bití **birutwa** n'íibi/ {both} *n4-pl-subj + passive* 'those trees are smaller than these [lit. 'those trees are overtaken by these'] (Overdulve 1975:224)  
 «urugo rw'urwanjwe **ruruta** urwangano» {Rwanda} *n6-sg-subj + active* 'A house of folly<sup>328</sup> is better than hatred.' (Dubnova 1984:45)  
 /-rusha/ {both} 'surpass, exceed, excel, possess more of X than another, be better than'  
 /Yohaána **arusha** Dawídi ubwéenge/ {both} *n1-sg-subj + active* 'John is more intelligent than David.' [lit. 'John surpasses David in intelligence.'] (Overdulve 1975:223)  
 /ndamúkuunda **kurusha** yohaána/ {both} *v-inf* 'I like him more than John.' (Overdulve 1975:224)  
 /-suumba/ {both} 'surpass, exceed; excel, be over and above or greater than; dominate'  
 /imirazí **isuumba** guhuma/ {Rundi} *n2-sg-subj + active* 'Cross-eyes are better than being blind.' (Cristini 2000:81)  
 /imáana **isuumba** byóose/ {Rwanda} *n5-sg-subj + active* 'God is the greatest.' [lit. 'God surpasses everything.'] (Overdulve 1975:223)

Sometimes a simple copulative construction with /ni/ can express the comparative or superlative:

- /uwu mukoóbwa ní **mwizá caane**/ {Rundi}, /uyu mukoóbwa ní **mwizá cyaane**/ {Rwanda} 'This young girl is the nicest.' (Overdulve 1975:224)  
 /iyi nká ní yó **nziizá**/ {both} *n5-sg-cop* 'This cow is the most beautiful.' [lit. 'This cow it is the beautiful one.'] (Overdulve 1975:224)  
 /háa haandí ní hó **haáfi cyaane**/ {Rwanda} *n10-loc-cop* 'The other place is even closer.' (Overdulve 1975:224)

As Overdulve 1975:223 points out, there are other ways of making some form of COMPARISON, such as EQUALITY (of length, height, number, price, strength, character, etc.), RESEMBLANCE, or SIMILARITY. Verbs such as the following can be so used. Note that the examples drawn from various sources illustrate a broad range of comparisons, none of which involve adjectives:

- /-hwáana/ {both} 'be equal, equivalent; have the same dimensions; be of the same character'<sup>329</sup>  
 /aba bahuúngu bóombi **barahwáanye**/ {Rwanda} *n1-pl-subj* 'These two boys have the same character.' (Overdulve 1975:223)  
 /-mera nka/ {both} 'find oneself in such a state; be alike (in character), resemble (metaphysically)'  
 /-:ngana/ {both} 'be the same size, be equal or equivalent; be so many'  
 /ubwo kurí iyi sí hari uwó **tuunganyá amarushwá**/ {Rundi} *pro-1pl-subj* 'Is there anyone on this earth with whom we can really compare in misfortune?' (R19)  
 «uwo mwavu w'ikizungu **wangana** n'itoni hafi igihumbi» {Rundi} *n2-sg-subj* 'That fertilizer was nearly equal to one thousand tons.' (R35.4)  
 «Igiciro cashinzwe na Leta **cangana** amafaranga amajana abiri ku kilo» {Rundi} *n4-sg-subj* 'The price established by the government was 200 francs per kilo.' (R35.2)  
 /zana ibuye **riinganá** n'úgi/ {Rwanda} *n3-sg-subj* 'Bring a rock the size of an egg!' (Overdulve 1975:223)  
 /-reesha/ {Rundi}, /-reeshya/ {Rwanda} 'be of equal stature (physically, in length, height, or size; socially, in status or wealth)'  
 /bíriíya bití **birareeshya**/ {Rwanda} *n4-pl-subj* 'Those trees are of equal height.' (Overdulve 1975:223)  
 /-riinganira/ {both} 'be of equal length, of the same level, of the same size, of the same distance; be lined up, in order, arranged, balanced'  
 «mu imikino ibiri amakipe **yaranganvije**» {Rwanda} *n3-pl-subj* 'In two games, the teams were even.' (R30.2)  
 /-sa/ 'resemble; appear as such; be about, be approximately'  
 /usa n'irirénga/ {both} *pro-2sg-subj* 'You are as beautiful as the sunset!' (Rodegem 1970:385, Jacob 1987 #3:1)

<sup>328</sup> Dubnova translates this example as 'House of poverty is better than (house) of hatred.'

<sup>329</sup> Rwanda has an invariable attributive derived from this root, /mahwaané/ 'identical,' e.g., /utu tubiíndi ní **mahwaané**/ {Rwanda} 'these little jars are identical' (Bizimana 1998:231).

## Chapter 6: Adjectives & Other Descriptives

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/asa na sé/ {both} *n1-sg-subj* 'He looks like his father.' (Rodegem 1970:385, Jacob et al. #3:1, Cristini 2000:240)

/gusa n'áayó kw'iteke/ {both} *v-inf* 'to be very beautiful' [lit. 'be like that (water) on a taro leaf'] (Rodegem 1970:385)

«Kanyanga ni inzoga ikarishye isa n'amazi» {Rwanda} *n5-sg-subj* 'Kanyanga is a strong liquor which looks like water.' (R24.1)



## 7. Numerals (Number Systems) & Enumeration

Numbers or numerals are not, technically-speaking, a single part of speech because some are INFLECTED with special affixes while others are INVARIABLE. However, they belong together on logical or semantic grounds.<sup>330</sup> Numerals are compounded in a special way and they also have their own rules when REDUPLICATED, a unique instance where an affix itself can receive high tone (see §2.5.17).

### 7.1. Cardinal Numbers

In both Kinyarwanda and Kirundi, numbers come in two forms: inflected and invariable. In Rwanda, the first seven have a SPECIAL INFLECTION FOR CLASS AND NUMBER, in Rundi it is the first six. Numbers above *seven* in Rwanda and above *six* in Rundi are INVARIABLE.

**Table 86. Inflection of Numbers from One through Seven**

English	Rundi	Rwanda	palatalized forms [n5-pl/n6-pl]
one		<b>-mwé</b>	n/a
two		<b>-biri</b>	<b>ebyiri</b> {Rwanda} <b>evyiri</b> {Rundi} <b>zibiri</b> {Rundi alt}
three		<b>-tatu</b>	<b>eshatu</b> {both}; <b>zitatatu</b> {Rundi alt}
four		<b>-né</b>	<b>enyé</b> {both}; <b>ziné</b> {Rundi alt}
five		<b>-taanu</b>	<b>eshaanu</b> {both}; <b>zitaanu</b> {Rundi alt}
six		<b>-taandátu</b>	<b>esheeshátu</b> {both}; <b>zitaandátu</b> {Rundi alt}
seven	<b>indwi</b> [invar]	<b>-riindwi</b>	n/a

Numerals follow the nouns they modify.

/ibitabo **biné biri** ku méézá/ {both} 'Four books are on the table.' (Overdulve 1975:105)

«bagurisha uwo mwavu ku mafaranga **amajana ane n'itanu** ku kilo» {Rundi} 'They sold that fertilizer for 450 per kilo.' (R35.2)

The numerical affixes (see Table 87) differ from other agreement sets, such as subject agreement (Table 54 in §4.2) or adjective agreement prefixes (Table 83 in §6.1), by losing any nasal from the prefix (**umu-** > **u-**, **ama-** > **a-**, **iN-** > **i-**) and by having a special palatalized form in *n5-pl* and *n6-pl* (Bantu class 10). The latter agreement is unique to numbers, consisting of **e-** and a sound change (PALATALIZATION, see §2.5.7) usually affecting the first consonant of the root.

<b>b</b> > <b>by</b> {Rwanda}	/biri/ > / <b>eb</b> yiri/
<b>b</b> > <b>vy</b> {Rundi}	/biri/ > / <b>ev</b> yiri/
<b>n</b> > <b>ny</b> {both}	/né/ > / <b>enyé</b> /
<b>t</b> > <b>sh</b> {both}	/tatu/ > / <b>esh</b> atu/
<b>nd</b> > <b>sh</b> {both}	/taandátu/ > / <b>esh</b> ees <b>h</b> átu/

<sup>330</sup> They are so treated in the following – for Kinyarwanda: Hands 1952:101–112, Hurel 1959:36–43, Overdulve 1975:104ff,109f,113ff,118f,121f,126–129, Dubnova 1984:33–37,50–53; and for Kirundi: Bagein 1951:38–41, Rodegem 1967:35–37, Ntahokaja 1976:12, 1994:99–101, Cristini 2000:114–124.

## Chapter 7: Numerals (Number Systems) & Enumeration

In all other instances [*n1-pl*, *n3-sg*, *n4-sg*, *n4-pl*, *n6-sg*, *n7-sg*, *n7-pl*, *n8-sg*, *n9-sg*, and *n10-loc*] concord is homographic with that of adjective and subject agreement.

**Table 87. Numeral Prefixes**

Class	Marker	Numeral prefix	Example
n1-sg	<b>umu-</b>	<b>u-</b>	/umwaámi umwé/ {both} 'one king'
n1-pl	<b>aba-</b>	<b>ba-</b>	/abaámi babiri/ {both} 'two kings'
n2-sg	<b>umu-</b>	<b>u-</b>	/umuúnsi umwé/ {both} 'one day' /umuúsi umwé/ {Rundi}
n2-pl	<b>imi-</b>	<b>i-</b>	/imiriínga ibiri/ {both} 'two bracelets'
n3-sg	<b>i-</b>	<b>ri-</b>	/ijaambo rimwé/ {both} 'one word'
n3-pl	<b>ama-</b>	<b>a-</b>	/améezi ataanu/ {both} 'five months'
n4-sg	<b>iki-</b>	<b>ki-</b>	/igitabo kimwé/ {both} 'one book'
n4-pl	<b>ibi-</b>	<b>bi-</b>	/ibitabo bitatu/ {both} 'three books'
n5-sg	<b>iN-</b>	<b>i-</b>	/intébe imwé/ 'one chair'
n5-pl	<b>iN-</b>	<b>eCC-</b> {both} <b>zi-</b> {Rundi}	/incúro ebyiri/ {Rwanda} 'two times' /incúro evyiri/ {Rundi} 'two times' /incúro zibiri/ {Rundi} 'two times'
n6-sg	<b>uru-</b>	<b>ru-</b>	/urutoki rumwé/ {both} 'one finger'
n6-pl	<b>iN-</b>	<b>eCC-</b> {both} <b>zi-</b> {Rundi}	/impaánde esheeshátu/ {both} 'six sides' /impaánde zitaandátu/ {Rundi} 'six sides'
n7-sg	<b>aka-</b>	<b>ka-</b>	/akáana kamwé/ 'one small child'
n7-pl	<b>utu-</b>	<b>tu-</b> <b>du-</b>	/utwáana tubiri/ {both} 'two babies' /utwáana dutaandátu/ {both} 'six babies'
n8-sg	<b>ubu-</b>	<b>bu-</b>	/ubwáato bumwé/ {both} 'one boat'
n8-pl	<b>ama-</b>	<b>a-</b>	/amóoko ataanu/ {both} 'five types' /amáato ariindwi/ {Rwanda} 'seven boats' Note: /amáato indwi/ {Rundi} 'seven boats'
n9-sg	<b>uku-</b>	<b>ku-</b>	/ugutwí kumwé/ {both} 'one ear'
n9-pl	<b>ama-</b>	<b>a-</b>	/amatwí abiri/ {both} 'two ears'
n10-sg	<b>aha-</b>	<b>ha-</b>	/ahaantu hamwé/ {both} 'one place'
n10-pl	<b>aha-</b>	<b>ha-</b>	/ahaantu hané/ {both} 'four places'
n11-adv	<b>uku-</b>	<b>ku-</b> <b>gu-</b>	/ukuuntu kubiri/ 'two methods' /ukuuntu gutatu/ 'three ways'

In counting from 1 through 10, there is considerable overlap between the two dialects. A range of inflected forms are used (Table 88) few of which are actually cardinals: **/rimwé/** {both} 'once' is ADVERBIAL, **/kabiri/** {both} 'second' through **/gataandátu/** {both} 'sixth' and **/kariindwi/** {Rwanda} 'seventh' are ORDINALS. From '7' through '10' Rundi uses REDUCED CARDINALS, while from '8' through '10' Rwanda uses FULL CARDINALS.

**Table 88. Counting from One through Ten**<sup>331</sup>

counting	root	Rundi	Rwanda
one	<b>-mwé</b>	<b>rímwe</b>	<b>rimwé</b>
two	<b>-biri</b>		<b>kabiri</b>
three	<b>-tatu</b>		<b>gatatu</b>
four	<b>-né</b>		<b>kané</b>
five	<b>-taanu</b>		<b>gataanu</b>

<sup>331</sup> See Overdulse 1975:122 and 1998:94 for Kinyarwanda. To our knowledge, no author has discussed *how one counts* in Kirundi (see Bagein 1951, Rodegem 1967, Ntahokaja 1976 and 1994, and Cristini 2000). We are grateful to Dr. Jeanine Ntihirageza and Prof. Juvenal Ndayiragije for helping complete the Kirundi forms in this table.

six	-taandátu	gataandátu	
seven	-ndwi	ndwi	kariindwi
eight	-munaáni	munaáni	umunaáni
nine	-eénda	ceénda	icyeénda
ten	-cúmi (-kúmi)	cúmi	icúmi

The numbers from eight to ten have full nominal forms, i.e., with an initial vowel (see Table 89). However, in Kinyarwanda when these numerals modify nouns, they can lose the initial vowel. The reduced form for 'nine' shows a tone movement one mora to the right [Jrule], i.e. /icyeénda/ > /cyeendá/. Even when modifying another form of any class, Kirundi keeps the full form.

**Table 89. Numbers from Eight through Ten (Uninflected)**

number	full form	Rundi example	Rwanda example	English
8	<b>umunaáni</b>	<b>abaantu umunaáni</b> <b>ibiintu umunaáni</b>	<b>abaantu munaáni</b> <b>ibiintu munaáni</b>	eight people eight things
9	<b>iceénda</b> {Rundi} <b>icyeénda</b> {Rwanda}	<b>abaantu iceénda</b> <b>amafaraanga iceénda</b>	<b>abaantu cyeendá</b> <b>amafaraanga cyeendá</b>	nine people nine francs
10	<b>icúmi</b>	<b>imihoro icúmi</b> <b>ibitabo icúmi</b>	<b>imihoro cúmi</b> <b>ibitabo cúmi</b>	ten machetes ten books

For the numbers from ten to nineteen (Table 90), Kirundi has /icúmi na/ while Kinyarwanda has the reduced /cúmi na/, both of which are then followed by a numeral agreeing with the CLASS of the head noun, but deriving its GRAMMATICAL NUMBER from the numeral itself (i.e., derivations with **-mwé** are SINGULAR, **-biri** and above are PLURAL). In both dialects, if the class affix begins with a consonant, the prefix receives high tone [Hrule after **na**]; in Kinyarwanda if the class affix begins with a vowel, high tone is on the first syllable of the root, e.g., /n'uumwé/ or /n'eeshátu/, whereas in Kirundi, high tone is on the second mora of the lengthened prefix, e.g., /n'uúmwé/, but on the first of a short prefix, e.g., /n'índwi/. The higher compounds in both Kirundi (17-19) and Kinyarwanda (18-19) are INVARIABLE.

**Table 90. Numbers from Eleven through Nineteen (as Roots)**

number	Rundi	Rwanda
11	<b>icúmi na</b> 'num-mwe	<b>cúmi na</b> num-mwé <b>cúmi n'iimwé</b> [n5/n6-pl]
12	<b>icúmi na</b> 'num-biri	<b>cúmi na</b> num-'biri <b>cúmi n'eebyíri</b> [n5/n6-pl]
13	<b>icúmi na</b> 'num-tatu	<b>cúmi na</b> num-'tatu <b>cúmi n'eeshátu</b> [n5/n6-pl]
14	<b>icúmi na</b> 'num-ne	<b>cúmi na</b> num-'ne <b>cúmi n'eenyé</b> [n5/n6-pl]
15	<b>icúmi na</b> 'num-taanu	<b>cúmi na</b> num-'taanu <b>cúmi n'eesháanu</b> [n5/n6-pl]
16	<b>icúmi na</b> 'num-taandátu	<b>cúmi na</b> num-'taandátu <b>cumi n'eeshéeshátu</b> [n5/n6-pl]
17	<b>icúmi n'índwi</b>	<b>cúmi na</b> num-'riindwi <b>cumi n'índwi</b> [n5/n6-pl]
18	<b>icúmi n'úmunaáni</b>	<b>cúmi n'úmunaáni</b>
19	<b>icúmi n'íceénda</b>	<b>cúmi n'íceénda</b>

- /abaantu icúmi n'uúmwé/ {Rundi}, /abaantu cúmi n'uumwé/ *num-n1-pl* 'eleven people'  
 /ibiteebo icúmi na kímwe/ {Rundi}, /ibiteebo cúmi na kímwe/ {Rwanda} *num-n4-pl* 'eleven baskets'  
 /abaantu icúmi na bábiri/ {Rundi}, /abaantu cúmi na bábiri/ {Rwanda} *num-n1-pl* 'twelve people'  
 /intaama icúmi n'eébyiri/ {Rundi}, /intaama cúmi n'eebyíri/ {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl* 'twelve sheep'  
 /abáana icúmi na bátatu/ {Rundi}, /abáana cúmi na bátatu/ {Rwanda} *num-n1-pl* 'thirteen children'  
 /intaama icúmi na zítatu/ {Rundi}, /intaama cúmi n'eeshátu/ {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl* 'thirteen sheep'  
 /abiígiisha icúmi na báne/ {Rundi}, /abiígiisha cúmi na báne/ {Rwanda} *num-n1-pl* 'fourteen teachers'  
 /imiryango icúmi n'iíne/ {Rundi}, /imiryango cúmi n'iiné/ {Rwanda} *num-n2-pl* 'fourteen clans'  
 /abuúzikuruza icúmi na bátanu/ {Rundi}, /abuúzikuruza cúmi na bátanu/ {Rwanda} *num-n1-pl* 'fifteen great grandchildren'  
 /amagí icúmi n'aátaanu/ {Rundi}, /amagí cúmi n'aatáanu/ {Rwanda} *num-n3-pl* 'fifteen eggs'  
 /impaámvu icúmi na zítaanu/ {Rundi}, /impaámvu cúmi n'eesháanu/ {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl* 'fifteen reasons'  
 /ibigáaniiro icúmi na bítaandátu/ {Rundi}, /ibiganiiro cúmi na bítaandátu/ {Rwanda} *num-n4-pl* 'sixteen conversations'  
 /inkokó icúmi na zítaandátu/ {Rundi}, /inkokó cúmi n'eeshéeshátu/ {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl* 'sixteen chickens'  
 /amasáhaáni icúmi n'índwi/ {Rundi}, /amasahaani cúmi n'aaríndwi/ {Rwanda} *num-n3-pl* 'seventeen plates'  
 /intáará icúmi n'índwi/ {Rundi}, /intáará cúmi n'índwi/ {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl* 'seventeen districts'  
 /abagomé icúmi n'úmunaáni/ {Rundi}, /abagomé cúmi n'úmunaáni/ {Rwanda} *num-n1-pl* 'eighteen rebels'  
 /abakurú icúmi n'íceénda/ {Rundi}, /abakurú cúmi n'ícyéénda/ {Rwanda} *num-n1-pl* 'nineteen elders'

For the numbers from twenty through twenty-nine (Table 91), Kirundi has the base /**miroongw'ibiri**/<sup>332</sup> lit. 'two rows,' while Kinyarwanda has the base /**makúmyaabíri**/<sup>333</sup> lit. 'two tens.' As with the numbers from 11-19, both of these are then followed by the conjunction /**na**/ and a numeral agreeing with the CLASS of the head noun, but deriving its GRAMMATICAL NUMBER from the numeral itself (i.e., derivations with **-mwé** are SINGULAR, **-biri** and above are PLURAL). In both dialects, if the class affix begins with a consonant, the prefix receives high tone [Hrule after **na**]; in Kinyarwanda if the class affix begins with a vowel, that vowel is lengthened but high tone is on the first syllable of the root, e.g., /**n'uumwé**/ or /**n'eeshátu**/, whereas in Kirundi, high tone is on the second mora of the lengthened prefix, e.g., /**n'uúmwé**/, but on the first of a short prefix, e.g., /**n'índwi**/. Agreement with *n5-pl* and *n6-pl* parallels forms presented in Table 90. The higher compounds in both Kirundi (27-29) and Kinyarwanda (28-29) are INVARIABLE.

Table 91. Numbers from Twenty through Twenty-Nine (in Group 1)

number	Rundi	Rwanda
20	<b>miroongw'ibiri</b>	<b>makúmyaabíri</b>
21	<b>miroongw'ibiri n'uúmwé</b>	<b>makúmyaabíri n'uumwé</b>
22	<b>miroongw'ibiri na bábiri</b>	<b>makúmyaabíri na bábiri</b>
23	<b>miroongw'ibiri na bátatu</b>	<b>makúmyaabíri na bátatu</b>
24	<b>miroongw'ibiri na báne</b>	<b>makúmyaabíri na báne</b>
25	<b>miroongw'ibiri na bátaanu</b>	<b>makúmyaabíri na bátaanu</b>
26	<b>miroongw'ibiri na bátaandátu</b>	<b>makúmyaabíri na bátaandátu</b>

<sup>332</sup> Cf: /**umuroongo – imiroongo**/ {both} *n2* 'line, row, queue, file, list, alignment,' with shift of final **-o** to **w**.

<sup>333</sup> Cf: /**icúmi – amacúmi**/ {both} *n3* 'unit of ten,' which has an archaic plural /**amakúmi**/. The number twenty is formed from **makúmi + abiri**, with shift of final **-i** to **y**, lengthening of the numeral prefix vowel, and high tone addition, thus /**makúmy-aa-bíri**/.

27	<b>miroongw'ibiri n'indwi</b>	<b>makúmyaabíri na báriindwi</b>
28	<b>miroongw'ibiri n'úmunaáni</b>	<b>makúmyaabíri n'úmunaáni</b>
29	<b>miroongw'ibiri n'íceénda</b>	<b>makúmyaabíri n'ícyéenda</b>

- /abafaraánsa miroongw'ibiri/ {Rundi}, /abafaraansá makúmyaabíri/ {Rwanda} *num-n1-pl* 'twenty Frenchmen'
- /abajuura miroongw'ibiri n'uúmwé/ {Rundi}, /abajuura makúmyaabíri n'uumwé/<sup>334</sup> {Rwanda} *num-n1-pl* 'twenty-one thieves'
- /ibiceri miroongw'ibiri na bíbiri/ {Rundi}, /ibiceri makúmyaabíri na bíbiri/ {Rwanda} *num-n4-pl* 'twenty-two coins'
- /imbeba miroongw'ibiri na zíbiri/ {Rundi}, /imbeba makúmyaabíri n'eebyíri/ {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl* 'twenty-two rats'
- /imibáandé miroongw'ibiri n'íitatu/ {Rundi}, /imibáandé makúmyaabíri n'íitatu/ {Rwanda} *num-n2-pl* 'twenty-three valleys'
- /abagabo miroongw'ibiri na báne/ {Rundi}, /abagabo makúmyaabíri na báne/ {Rwanda} *num-n1-pl* 'twenty-four men'
- /inzu ntóoyá miroongw'ibiri na zíne/ {Rundi}, /inzu ntóoyá makúmyaabíri n'eenyé/ {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl* 'twenty-four small houses'
- /ibitooke miroongw'ibiri na bítaanu/ (Cristini 2000:114) {Rundi}, /ibitooke makúmyaabíri na bítaanu/ {Rwanda} *num-n4-pl* 'twenty-five bunches of bananas'
- /imfuunguuzo miroongw'ibiri na zítaanu/ {Rundi}, /imfuunguuzo makúmyaabíri n'eesháanu/ {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl* 'twenty-five keys'
- /imisózi miroongw'ibiri n'ítaandátu/ {Rundi}, /imisózi makúmyaabíri n'íitáandátu/ {Rwanda} *num-n2-pl* 'twenty-six mountains'
- /impené miroongw'ibiri na zítaandátu/ {Rundi}, /ihené makúmyaabíri n'eeshéeshátu/ {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl* 'twenty-six goats'
- /ubwáato miroongw'ibiri n'indwi/ {Rundi}, /ubwáato makúmyaabíri na búriindwi/ {Rwanda} *num-n8-pl* 'twenty-seven canoes'
- /utwáana miroongw'ibiri n'úmunaáni/ {Rundi}, /utwáana makúmyaabíri n'úmunaáni/ {Rwanda} *num-n7-pl* 'twenty-eight infants'
- /améezi miroongw'ibiri n'íceénda/ {Rundi}, /améezi makúmyaabíri n'ícyéenda/ {Rwanda} *num-n9-pl* 'twenty-nine months'

To form the numerals thirty through ninety (Table 92), the reduced plural of /umuroongo/ is used in both dialects, spelled «**mirongo**», but pronounced /miroongw-/. Bases from thirty through sixty are identical, but seventy through ninety differ between the two dialects. The tens series agrees grammatically with /miroongw'/ *n2-pl*, whereas the unit numbers (31, 42, 53, etc.) agree with the head noun and are formed in the same way as they are for the teens and twenties (see Tables 90-91 and associated examples).

**Table 92. Numbers from Thirty through Ninety**

number	Rundi	Rwanda
30	<b>miroongw'itatu</b>	
40	<b>miroongw'iné</b>	
50	<b>miroongw'itaanu</b>	
60	<b>miroongw'itaandátu</b>	
70	<b>miroongw'indwi</b>	<b>miroongw'iriindwi</b>
80	<b>miroongw'umunaáni</b>	<b>miroongw'inaáni</b>
90	<b>miroongw'iceénda</b>	<b>miroong'urweénda miroongo cyeenda</b>

<sup>334</sup> Most of these Kinyarwanda examples either come from or are derived from Overdulse & Jacob 1998:110.

## Chapter 7: Numerals (Number Systems) & Enumeration

- /abagoré miroongw'itatu/ {both} *num-n1-pl* 'thirty women' (Overdulve 1975:118)  
 /ibiintu miroongw'itatu/ {both} *num-n4-pl* 'thirty things' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:110)  
 /amabuye miroongw'itatu na rímwe/ {both} 'thirty-one stones' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:110)  
 /amafaraanga miroongw'itatu n'úmunaáni/ {both} 'thirty-eight francs' (Overdulve 1975:118)  
 /ibiintu miroongw'iné/ {both} *num-n4-pl* 'forty things' (Overdulve 1975:118)  
 /impené miroongw'iné na zíbiri/ {Rundi}, /ihené miroongw'iné n'eebyíri/ {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl*  
 'forty-two goats' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:110)  
 /miroongw'iné na báne/ {both} *num-n1-pl* 'forty-four (people)' (Cristini 2000:116)  
 /miroongw'iné na bátaanu/ {both} *num-n1-pl* 'forty-five (people)' (Cristini 2000:116)  
 /miroongw'iné n'índwi/ {Rundi} *num-n1-pl* 'forty-seven (people)' (Cristini 2000:116)  
 /abáana miroongw'itaanu/ {both} *num-n1-pl* 'fifty children' (Cristini 2000:116, Overdulve & Jacob  
 1998:110)  
 /miroongw'itaanu n'uúmwe/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:116), /miroongw'itaanu n'uumwé/ {Rwanda}  
*num-n1-pl* 'fifty-one (people)'  
 /miroongw'itaanu na bátatu/ {both} *num-n1-pl* 'fifty-three (people)' (Cristini 2000:116)  
 /ingó miroongw'itaanu n'eeshátu/ {Rwanda} *num-n6-pl* 'fifty-three fences' (Overdulve & Jacob  
 1998:110)  
 /inká miroongw'itaanu na zítaandátu/ {Rundi}, /inká miroongw'itaanu n'eeshéeshátu/  
 {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl* 'fifty-six cows' (Overdulve 1975:118)  
 /miroongw'itaanu n'índwi/ {Rundi} *num-n1-pl* 'fifty-seven (people)' (Cristini 2000:116)  
 /amáato miroongw'itaandátu/ {both} *num-n8-pl* 'sixty canoes' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:110)  
 /amafaraanga miroongw'itaandátu n'aané/ {Rwanda} *num-n3-pl* 'sixty-four francs' (Overdulve & Jacob  
 1998:111)  
 /miroongw'itaandátu na bátaanu/ {both} *num-n1-pl* 'sixty-five (people)' (Cristini 2000:116)  
 /miroongw'indwi/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:116), /miroongw'iriindwi/ {Rwanda} 'seventy (people)'  
 /inkokó miroongw'iriindwi/ {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl* 'seventy chickens' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:111)  
 /ibitabo miroongw'indwi na bine/ {Rundi}, /ibitabo miroongw'iriindwi na bine/ {Rwanda}  
*num-n4-pl* 'seventy-four books' (Overdulve 1975:118)  
 /amagí miroongw'iriindwi n'aatáanu/ {Rwanda} *num-n3-pl* 'seventy-five eggs' (Overdulve & Jacob  
 1998:111)  
 /miroongw'indwi n'índwi/ {Rundi} *num-n1-pl* 'seventy-seven (people)' (Cristini 2000:116)  
 /ingurube miroongw'inaáni/ {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl* 'eighty pigs' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:111)  
 /imbáhó miroongw'inaáni n'eeshéeshátu/ {Rwanda} *num-n6-pl* 'eighty-six planks' (Overdulve &  
 Jacob 1998:111)  
 /imyáaka miroongw' urweénda/ ~ /miroongo cyeendá/ {Rwanda} *num-n2-pl* 'ninety years'  
 (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:111)  
 /meetero miroongw'urweénda n'índwi/ {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl* 'ninety-seven meters' (Overdulve & Jacob  
 1998:111)  
 /abagabo miroongw'urweénda n'ícyéenda/ {Rwanda} *num-n1-pl* 'ninety-nine men' (Overdulve 1975:118)

The word for hundred is /ijana/ *n3* in both dialects, with a plural form /amajana/ in Rundi and a reduced form of /amagana/ in Rwanda (Table 93). The same rules as described above apply to the ONES unit numbers. Note that these high numbers are formed starting with the highest and then in decreasing units: HUNDREDS + TENS + ONES.

**Table 93. Numbers in the Hundreds**

number	Rundi	Rwanda
100		<b>ijana</b>
200	<b>amajana abiri</b>	<b>magan' abiri</b>
300	<b>amajana atatu</b>	<b>magan' atatu</b>
400	<b>amajana ané</b>	<b>magan' ané</b>
500	<b>amajana ataanu</b>	<b>magan' ataanu</b>

600	<b>amajana ataandátu</b>	<b>magan' ataandátu</b>
700	<b>amajana indwi</b>	<b>magan' ariindwi</b>
800	<b>amajana umunaáni</b>	<b>magan' inaáni</b>
900	<b>amajana iceénda</b>	<b>magan' urweénda</b> <b>magana cyeendá</b>

*/abaantu ijana/* {both} 'one hundred people' (Cristini 2000:115, Overdulve 1975:121)  
*/inká ijana/* {both} 'one hundred cows' (Overdulve 1975:121)  
*/ijana na bábir/* {both} 'one hundred two (people)' (Cristini 2000:116, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:117)  
*/ibiintu ijana na bitaanu/* {both} 'one hundred five things' (Overdulve 1975:122)  
*/abagabo ijana n'icúmi/* {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:116), */abagabo ijana na cúmi/* {Rwanda} 'one hundred ten men' (Overdulve 1975:122)  
*/abagoré ijana n'icúmi na bábir/* {Rundi}, */abagoré ijana na cúmi na bábir/* {Rwanda} 'one hundred twelve women' (Overdulve 1975:122)  
*/ibitabo ijana na miroongw'itaandátu n'indwi/* {Rundi}, */ibitabo ijana na miroongw'itaandátu na bíriindwi/* {Rwanda} 'one hundred sixty-seven books' (Overdulve 1975:122)  
*/abaantu magan' atatu na bitaanú/* {Rwanda} 'three-hundred six people' (Hurel 1952:41)  
*/utwáana magan' ané na túbir/* {Rwanda} 'four-hundred two little children' (Hurel 1952:41)  
*/amajana ané na báne/* {Rundi} 'four hundred four (people)' (Cristini 2000:116)  
*/abakózi magana ané na báne/* {Rwanda} 'four hundred four workers' (LN)

The word for thousand is */igihuumbi/* *n4* in both dialects, with the standard plural */ibihuumbi/* in both. The same rules as above apply to the hundreds and the unit numbers.

Table 94. Numbers in the Thousands

number	Rundi	Rwanda
1,000		<b>igihuumbi (kimwé)</b>
2,000		<b>ibihuumbi bibiri</b>
3,000		<b>ibihuumbi bitatu</b>
4,000		<b>ibihuumbi biné</b>
5,000		<b>ibihuumbi bitaanu</b>
6,000		<b>ibihuumbi bitaandátu</b>
7,000	<b>ibihuumbi indwi</b>	<b>ibihuumbi biriindwi</b>
8,000		<b>ibihuumbi umunaáni</b>
9,000	<b>ibihuumbi iceénda</b>	<b>ibihuumbi cyeendá</b>
10,000		<b>ibihuumbi icúmi</b>

*/imisózi igihuumbi n'uumwé/* {Rwanda} *num-n2-pl* 'one thousand one hills' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:120)  
*/ibiintu ibihuumbi bitaanu n'amajana atatu na miroongw'itaandátu n'indwi/* {Rundi},  
*/ibiintu ibihuumbi bitaanu na magan' atatu na miroongw'itaandátu na bíriindwi/*  
 {Rwanda} 'five thousand three hundred sixty-seven things' (Overdulve 1975:126)  
*/ibihuumbi bitaandátu n'amajana ataandátu/* {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:115), */ibihuumbi bitaan-  
 dátú na magan' ataandátu/* {Rwanda} *num-n4-pl* 'six thousand six hundred'  
*/ibihuumbi umunaáni n'amajana ataanu na miroongw'itatu na rimwe/ num-n4-pl* {Rundi}  
 'eight thousand five hundred thirty-one' (Cristini 2000:115)  
*/ibití ibihuumbi cúmi na kímwe n'ígítí kimwé/* {Rwanda} *num-n4-pl* 'eleven thousand and one  
 trees' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:120)  
*/abaantu ibihuumbi cúmi na bitaanu magana atatu na miroongo itaandátu na báriindwi/*  
 {Rwanda} *num-n1-pl* 'fifteen thousand three-hundred sixty-seven people' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:120)  
*/abaantu ibihuumbi amajana atatu na miroongw' itaanu n'indwi n'amajana umunaáni na  
 miroongw' iné na bábir/* {Rundi}, */abaantu ibihuumbi magan'atatu na miroongw' itaanu  
 na báriindwi na magan' inaáni na miroongw' iné na bábir/* {Rwanda} *num-cmp-n1-pl* 'three  
 hundred fifty seven thousand eight hundred forty-two persons' (Overdulve 1975:126)

Numbers naming units from ten thousand and up are either coinages or loanwords.

- /inzovu/ {Rwanda NIGU} *num-n5-sg* 'ten thousand' [cf: /inzovu/ {both} *n5-sg/pl* 'elephant']
- /umuliyoóni/ {Rundi} *num-n2-sg*, /miliyooni/ {Rwanda} *num-n5b* 'million' < French *million*
- /agahuumbi/ {Rwanda NIGU} *num-n7-sg* 'myriad (a very high number); one hundred thousand; million' [cf: /igihuumbi/ *num-n4-sg* {both} 'thousand']
- /umuliyaárdi/ {Rundi} *num-n2-sg*, /miliyaari/ {Rwanda} *num-n5b* 'billion' < French *milliard*
- /urukwáavu/ {Rwanda NIGU} *num-n6-sg* 'billion' [cf: /urukwáavu/ {both} *n6-sg* 'hare, rabbit']

## 7.2. Ordinal Numerals<sup>335</sup>

ORDINALS are a special form of numerals that set items in numerical order or as a series, such as *first, second, third*. As we saw in Table 88, they form the basis of counting out numbers. In Kinyarwanda and Kirundi they are marked with a class-appropriate POSSESSIVE AGREEMENT MARKER (§3.6.3 and Table 48). As in English, the ordinal replacing *one* (i.e., *first*) is SUPPLETIVE, the form /-mbere/ bears no relationship whatsoever to the root /-mwé/. However, in higher compounds (*11th, 21st, 51st*), *first* is expressed by invariable /rímwe/ {Rundi}, /rimwé/ {Rwanda} or inflected forms /n'uúmwe/ {Rundi}, /n'uumwé/ {Rwanda}. There is an ANTONYM or opposite counterpart /-nyuma/ *last* that forms part of this set.<sup>336</sup> As with the inflected cardinals (Table 86), two through six in Kirundi and two through seven in Kinyarwanda have a special high-toned ORDINAL PREFIX, *ká-* or *gá-*, which precedes the numeral root.<sup>337</sup> These are illustrated for ten noun groups in Table 95.

Table 95. Ordinal Numbers

number	group	Rundi	Rwanda
first	n1-sg n1-pl		waa mbere baa mbere
last	n1-sg n1-pl		waa nyuma baa nyuma
1st cmp number	n1 (any)	n'uúmwe rímwe	n'uumwé rimwé
2nd	n2-sg n2-pl		wa kábiri ya kábiri
3rd	n3-sg n3-pl		ryaa gátatu ya gátatu
4th	n4-sg n4-pl	caa káne vyaa káne	cyya káne byaa káne
5th	n5-sg n5-pl		ya gátaanu zaa gátaanu
6th	n6-sg n6-pl		rwaagáandátu zaa gáandátu
7th	n7-sg n7-pl	k'índwi tw'índwi	kaa káriindwi twaa káriindwi
8th	n8-sg n8-pl	bw'úmunaáni y'úmunaáni	bwaa múnaáni ya múnaáni

<sup>335</sup> These are discussed in Overdulve 1975:122, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:118–9, Cristini 2000:117–120.

<sup>336</sup> There is the *n/3* form *inyuma* which also enters into possessive constructions, but it is LOCATIVE and not ordinal in nature. Thus, /umuuntu w'inyuma/ {both} 'a man at the back.'

<sup>337</sup> In the speech of some speakers of each of these dialects, there is an alternate form for the last digit wherein agreement is expressed by the CLASS PREFIX rather than by an ORDINAL PREFIX, e.g., «igiti cya makumi abiri na *hítatu*» 'the twenty-third tree,' rather than «igiti cya makumi abiri na *gátatu*» {Rwanda} (Hurel 1959:42 and Overdulve & Jacob 1998:119). See examples below, e.g., 'the twelfth apostle,' for alternates in both.



9th	n9-sg n9-pl	kw'íceénda y'íceénda	kwaá cyéendá ya cyéendá
10th	n10	h'íicúmi	haa cúmi
11th	n1 (any)	w'íicúmi n'uúmwe w'íicúmi na rímwe	waa cúmi n'uumwé waa cúmi na rimwé
21st	n1-sg	wa miroongw' ibiri na rímwe wa miroongw' ibiri n'uúmwe	wa makúmyaabíri n'uumwé wa makúmyaabíri na rimwé
42nd	n4-sg	caa miroongw' iné na kábiri	cyaa miroongw' iné na kábiri
101st	n1-sg	w'íjana na rímwe w'íjana n'uúmwe	w'íjana na rimwé w'íjana n'uumwé

«Bazoyikura ku musi ugira **gátatu**» {Rundi} 'They will take it out on the third day.' (R15)  
 /umwáana w'íicúmi na rímwe ~ n'uúmwe yitwa misáago/ {Rundi} 'The eleventh child is called Misago.' (Cristini 2000:119)  
 /umutumwá w'íicúmi na kábiri ~ bábiri/ {Rundi} *num-ord-n2-sg* (Cristini 2000:118), /intumwá ya cúmi na kábiri ~ bábiri/ {Rwanda} *num-ord-n5-sg* 'the twelfth apostle'  
 /mu mwáaka w'íicúmi n'ítaanu/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:118), /mu mwáaka wa cúmi na gátaanu/ {Rwanda} 'in the fifteenth year'  
 /igitabu caa miroongw'ítaanu na kábiri ~ na bíbiri/ {Rundi} 'the fifty-second book' (Cristini 2000:119)  
 «umuti wa mirongo itandatu n'itanu ~ itandatu na gatanu» {Rwanda} 'the sixty-fifth remedy' (Hurel 1959:43)  
 /uruhú rw'íjana na rúmwe/ {Rwanda} 'the hundred first hide' (Hurel 1959:43, Overdulse & Jacob 1998:119)

One can also count by ordinals, as illustrated in Table 96. Contrast this with Table 88.

Table 96. Counting by Ordinals from One through Ten<sup>338</sup>

	Rundi	Rwanda
last		ubwaa nyuma
first		ubwaa mbere
second		ubwaa kábiri
third		ubwaa gátatu
fourth		ubwaa kané
fifth		ubwaa gátaanu
sixth		ubwaa gátaandátu
seventh	ubw'índwi	ubwaa káriindwi
eighth	ubw'úmunáani	ubwaa múnaáni
ninth	ubw'íceénda	ubwaa cyéendá
tenth	ubw'íicúmi	ubwaa cúmi

<sup>338</sup> We are deeply grateful to Jeanine Ntahirageza for providing us with this full table in an email dated May 2, 2005. Cristini 2000:121 provides some of these forms; however, Rwanda authors provide very sparse data and no paradigms (consult Overdulse 1975:181,271 and Overdulse & Jacob 1998:339).

### 7.3. Adverbial Use of Numbers

Ordinals and other inflected numerals can be used adverbially, as in the following examples. Note in particular the many meanings and functions of /-mwé/, e.g., 'at once,' 'the same,' 'together.'

- «**ubwa mbere na mbere abana b'abahungu**» {both} 'primarily for boys' (R39.4)  
 /**rimwé mu kwézi**/ {both} 'once a month' (R8a)  
 /**baceckera rimwé**/ {both} 'They grow silent at once.' (R14)  
 /**bimwé bibonéka**/ {both} 'in an obvious way' (R17.7)  
 /**ni kimwé**/ {both} 'It's all the same.'  
 «**bakongera bagakora hamwe**» {both} 'Moreover they worked together.' (R17.8)  
 /**turavúgira hamwé**/ {both} 'We are speaking simultaneously.'  
 «**umugore wawe we nyene muri iyi ndwi amaze kunyerera kane kuri iryo bomba!**» {Rundi}  
 'Your very own wife has already slipped at that pump four times just this week!' (R23)

The nominalized possessive of *n8* /**ubwaa**/ followed by an ordinal (see Table 96) indicates a temporal order.<sup>339</sup>

- /**ubwaa mbere**/ {both} 'the first time'                      /**ubwaa nyuma**/ {both} 'for the last time'  
 /**ubwaa kábiri**/ {both} 'for the second time'

### 7.4. Units of Time

MONTHS OF THE YEAR are expressed in two ways, with numerals and by archaic words that originally characterized lunar months or subseasons. In Kirundi, all are inflected as a subclass of *n9* (agreeing with /**ukwézi**/), whereas in Kinyarwanda, only three are in *n9*, the rest are in group 5b.

**Table 97. The Traditional Names of the Calendar Months**

months / sequence	Rundi lunar calendar	Rwanda traditional calendar
September / 1st	/nyakaánga/ <i>n9b</i>	/nzéri/ <i>n5b</i>
October / 2nd	/gitugútu/ <i>n9b</i>	/ukwaakira/ <i>n9</i>
November / 3rd	/munyoonyó/ <i>n9b</i>	/ugushyíingo/ <i>n9</i>
December / 4th	/kigarama/ <i>n9b</i>	/ukuboza/ <i>n9</i>
January / 5th	/nzéro/ <i>n9b</i>	/mutaráma/ <i>n5b</i>
February / 6th	/nyamagoma/ or /ruhuhúma/ <i>n9b</i>	/gashyáantáre/ <i>n5b</i>
March / 7th	/ntwaranté/, /rwirábura/ or /rubuungubuungu/ <i>n9b</i>	/weerurwe/ <i>n5b</i>
April / 8th	/ndamukiza/ or /kaboza/ <i>n9b</i>	/matá/ <i>n5b</i>
May / 9th	/rusaamá/ <i>n9b</i>	/gicuráasi/ <i>n5b</i>
June / 10th	/kiyuumpu/ or /ruheéshi/ <i>n9b</i>	/kaména/ <i>n5b</i>
July / 11th	/mukákaro/ <i>n9b</i>	/nyakáanga/ <i>n5b</i>
August / 12th	/myandagaro/ <i>n9b</i>	/kaanamá/ <i>n5b</i>

<sup>339</sup> For Kinyarwanda see Overdulse 1975:181 and for Kirundi see Cristini 2000:101.

Since these forms are so different,<sup>340</sup> the Rundi and Rwanda communities can effectively communicate when they specify months using a possessive construction based upon the word for *month* /**ukwéezi**/ *n*<sup>9</sup> linked to an ORDINAL NUMERAL (Table 98). There are short forms, with /**ukwéezi**/ understood, and long forms, with it spoken in full.

**Table 98. Numerical Names of the Calendar Months**

month	short form	long form
January	/ukwaa mbere/ {both}	/ukwéezi kwaa mbere/ {both}
February	/ukwaa kábiri/ {both}	/ukwéezi kwaa kábiri/ {both}
March	/ukwaa gátatu/ {both}	/ukwéezi kwaa gátatu/ {both}
April	/ukwaa káne/ {both}	/ukwéezi kwaa káne/ {both}
May	/ukwaa gátaanu/ {both}	/ukwéezi kwaa gátaanu/ {both}
June	/ukwaa gátaandátu/ {both}	/ukwéezi kwaa gátaandátu/ {both}
July	/ukw'indwi/ {Rundi} /ukwaa káriindwi/ {Rwanda}	/ukwéezi kwaa ndwi/ {Rundi} /ukwéezi kwaa káriindwi/ {Rwanda}
August	/ukw'úmunaáni/ {Rundi} /ukwaa múnaáni/ {Rwanda}	/ukwéezi kwaa munaáni/ {Rundi} /ukwéezi kwaa múnaáni/ {Rwanda}
September	/ukw'íceénda/ {Rundi} /ukwaa cyéendá/ {Rwanda}	/ukwéezi kwaa ceénda/ {Rundi} /ukwéezi kwaa cyéendá/ {Rwanda}
October	/ukw'íicúmi/ {Rundi} /ukwaa cúmi/ {Rwanda}	/ukwéezi kwaa cúmi/ {both} /ukwéezi kw'íicúmi/ {Rundi alt}
November	/ukw'íicúmi na rímwe/ {Rundi} /ukwaa cúmi na kúmwe/ {Rwanda}	/ukwéezi kw'íicúmi na rímwe/ {Rundi} /ukwéezi kwaa cúmi na kúmwe/ {Rwanda}
December	/ukw'íicúmi na kábiri/ {Rundi} /ukwaa cúmi n'aabíri/ {Rwanda}	/ukwéezi kw'íicúmi na kábiri/ {Rundi} /ukwéezi kwaa cúmi n'aabíri/ {Rwanda}

To indicate the month the locative **mu** is used with the short form of the nominalized possessive.

/mu kwaa gátatu/ {both} 'in March'  
/mu kwaa gátaandátu/ {both} 'in June'

The NAMES OF THE DAYS are formed with a possessive construction based upon the word for *day* /**umuúsi**/ {both}, /**umuúsi**/ {Rundi} *n*<sup>2</sup> linked to an ORDINAL NUMERAL (Table 99). Rwanda generally prefers the short forms, with /**umuúsi**/ understood, whereas Rundi prefers long forms, with the alternate /**umuúsi**/ spoken in full. Note that days are reckoned with Monday starting the week, i.e., the *first* day. The form for *Sunday* in Kinyarwanda is a *n*<sup>4</sup> (**icy-**) nominalized possessive form of *n*<sup>2</sup> (**umw-**) with the base /-éera/ 'be white,' it also means *week*, which is expressed in Kirundi by a form homographic with the numeral seven/**indwi**/.

**Table 99. Days of the Week**

days	Rundi	Rwanda
Monday	/umuúsi waa mbere/	/uwaa mbere/
Tuesday	/umuúsi wa kábiri/	/uwa kábiri/
Wednesday	/umuúsi wa gátatu/	/uwa gátatu/
Thursday	/umuúsi wa káne/	/uwa káne/
Friday	/umuúsi wa gátaanu/	/uwa gátaanu/
Saturday	/umuúsi wa gátaandátu/	/uwa gátaandátu/
Sunday	/umuúsi w'íimáana/	/icyúumwéeru/

<sup>340</sup> The only forms that "sound" similar designate completely different months: Rundi /**nyakaánga**/ 'September' and Rwanda /**nyakánga**/ 'July.'

In contrast to the months (marked with **mu**, above), the days are marked the locative **ku** followed by the short form of the nominalized possessive.

- /ku waa mbere/ {both} 'Monday, i.e., on Monday'
- /ku wa kábiri/ {both} 'on Tuesday'
- /ku w'íimáana/ {Rundi} 'on Sunday'
- /ku cyúumwéeru/ {Rwanda} 'on Sunday' [Contrast: /mu cyúumwéeru/ {Rwanda} 'during the week']

The HOURS OF THE DAY (Table 100) are delimited by a loanword<sup>341</sup> /isáhá/ {Rundi}, /isáahá/ {Rwanda} *n5a* reduced to /saa/ {both}. According to the culture of both communities, the first hour of the day is 7:00 a.m. and of the night 7:00 p.m.

Table 100. Hours of the Day (from Swahili)<sup>342</sup>

time	Rundi	Rwanda
7:00	saa mooyá	saa moóya
8:00	saa mbirí	
9:00	saa tatú	
10:00	saa yiné	
11:00	saa taánu	
12:00	saa sitá	
1:00	saa sabá	
2:00	saa munaáni	
3:00	saa ceénda	saa cyeendá
4:00	saa kumí	
5:00	saa kumí n'íimwe	saa kumí n'iimwé
6:00	saa kumí na zíbiri	saa kumí n'eebyíri

Full calendar dates are indicated by an enormous string of numbers specifying day, date, month, and year.<sup>343</sup> The date itself may optionally be preceded by the noun /itárikí/ *n5a-sg-ir*, /amatárikí/ *n3-pl* 'date, day (of the month),' which is ultimately from Arabic, but has been borrowed from Swahili. Alternatively, Rundi uses its native term /igénekerezo/ *n3-sg* 'date.'

- /ku wa káne itárikí ya mákumyaabíri na káriindwi murí weerurwe ( ~ y'úkwaá gátatu) mu mwáaka w'ígihumbi kimwé na magan'urweénda na miroongw itaandátu n'ícyeeénda isáhá cúmi/ {Rwanda} 'Thursday, March 27, 1969, at 4:00 p.m.' (Overdulve 1975:129)
- «ku ya mbere ukwa cumi n'abiri igihumbi kimwe magana cyenda mirongo cyenda n'umunani» {Rwanda} 'December 1, 1998' (R2)
- «tariki ya mbere y'ukwezi kwa munani igihumbi kimwe magana cyenda mirongo cyenda» {Rwanda} 'August 1, 1990' (R6)
- «igenekerezo rya cumi na rimwe Nyakanga ibihumbi bibiri» {Rundi} '11 July 2000' (R9)
- «kw'igenekerezo rya kabiri Mukakaro igihumbi kimwe amajana icenda na mirongo itandatu na gatanu» {Rundi} '2 July 1965' (R17)
- «kuva mu mwaka w'igihumbi kimwe amajana icenda mirongo indwi n'umunani gushika mu gihumbi kimwe amajana icenda mirongo umunani na gatanu» {Rundi} 'from 1978 until 1985' (R17)

<sup>341</sup> Ultimately from Arabic, but via Swahili. Most of the numbers are Swahili (**moya**, **mbiri**, **yine**, **sita**, **kumi**).

<sup>342</sup> Drawn from Overdulve 1975:127, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:125 for Kinyarwanda, and from Rodegem 1967:185 for Kirundi.

<sup>343</sup> Besides the examples cited below, the following additional Kirundi date sequences appeared in the Reader (Nibagwire & Zorc 2002) and can be heard on the recordings: 1852 and 1908 (R3), 1971, 1986, 1987, and May 1989 (R17).

## 7.5. Enumeratives

The following words overlap with numbers in terms of their meaning, but are discussed elsewhere in this book. Consult the discussion of each in the cross-referenced sections.

/-:hé/ 'which?' (of two or several possibilities) – See discussion in interrogatives (§13.5)

/-íinshi/ {both} 'much, numerous; many, a lot (of)' – See Tables 82 and 83 in §6.1.

Note that this root can be nominalized (Table 84) with the meaning 'the majority of'

/abeénshi baagiye/ {both} 'The majority of the people have left.'

/ibyiinshi byaaguuye/ {Rwanda} 'Most of the things have fallen.'

/-kéeyá/ {Rwanda} 'few, little, small (in amount); insignificant'; {Rundi} [intensive] 'very few, really small'

– See Tables 82 and 85 in §6.1.

/-mpi/ {Rundi}, /-mbi/ {Rwanda} 'both, the two of' [dual] – See Table 65 and discussion in §4.10.2.

/-mwé/ {both} 'a, an [singular]; some, several' [plural indefinite] – See Table 63, and discussion in §4.8.

/-ndi/ {both} 'another of the same vs. different kind' – See Table 67 and discussion in §4.10.4.1–4.

/-nyéne/ {Rundi}, /-nyiné/ {Rwanda} 'alone, only' [singulative] – See Table 64 and discussion in §4.10.1.

/-sa/ {both} 'only, alone, single' – See Table 82 in §6.1 and contrastive discussion in §4.10.1.

/-se/ {both} 'all, each, every' – See Table 66 and discussion in §4.10.3.

8. VERB CONJUGATIONS

The verb in Rwanda and Rundi, as in other Bantu languages, is the most complicated of all its grammatical structures. Any verb can have up to TEN LAYERS or word parts (e.g., preinitial, prefix, preverb, infix, root, augment, suffix, postposition, see Table 101).<sup>344</sup> Linguists call this layering MORPHOLOGY.

Table 101. Order of Affixes (Morphology) in the Verb Complex

pre-prefix	prefix	post prf	feature	preverb	infix	root	augment	suffix	post
preinitial negative inde- pendent or hypothetical marker	class- marker subject forms §4.2	negative dependent	condition or conse- quence	tense or temporal marker	obj §4.3, refl, or conj	-Δ-	causative benefactive passive etc.	aspect impf perf sub	loc
<b>nti-</b> <i>not</i> inde- pendent verb (indicative or subjunctive) <b>ni-</b> <i>if</i> hypo- thetical	<b>n-</b> <b>u-</b> <b>a-</b> <b>tu-</b> <b>mu-</b> <b>ba-</b>	<b>-ta-</b> / <b>-da-</b>	<b>-ra-</b> <b>-ga-</b> / <b>-ka-</b> <b>-aa-</b> / <b>-oo-</b>	<b>-záa-</b> / <b>-zóo-</b> <b>-ráa-</b> <b>-a-</b> <b>-gi-</b> / <b>-ki-</b>	<b>-mu-</b> <b>-ba-</b> <b>-íi-</b> <b>-na-</b>	HIGH vs. LOW tone and CON- SONANT or VOWEL roots	<b>-iish-</b> <b>-ir-</b> / <b>-er-</b> <b>-w-</b>	<b>-a</b> <b>-ag-a</b> <b>-ye</b> <b>-e</b>	<b>-hó</b> <b>-kó</b> <b>-mó</b> / <b>-mwó</b> <b>-yó</b>

However, besides the actual forms (morphs) that mark a verb category in one way or another, there is a GRAMMATICAL LEVEL determined strictly by TONE PATTERN and/or CONTEXT. Mood, for example, can only be determined by contextual and tonal clues. As illustrated in Table 10 and discussed in §1.2.1, if one encounters the spelling «**basoma**» out of context, it is impossible to know how to pronounce it, since its mood could be indicative, participial, or relative and its tense could be immediate, recent, preterit (or even conditional in Rwanda). Altogether, the GRAMMATICAL FRAMEWORK of the Rwanda-Rundi verbal system has ELEVEN categories or dimensions.<sup>345</sup> These are outlined in Table 102 and will be treated in summary form in this first section.

Table 102. Grammar of the Rwanda-Rundi Verb

Category (Dimension) – Grammar	Realizations
1 – logical value	affirmative, negative, hypothetical
2 – mood	indicative, participial, relative, autonome, infinitive, imperative, jussive, hortative, and optative
3 – pragmatic feature (or taxis)	sequential
4 – Tense or time relations	immediate, recent, preterit, future, conditional, persistive, inceptive
5 – Government or linkage	disjoint, conjoint
6 – Reflection (or version)	conjunctive, reflexive, objective

<sup>344</sup> For example, /**nti-ba-ki-mu-vug-ir-a-kó**/ {Rundi} 'They no longer speak in his presence.' (Rodegem 1967:43) or /**nti-ba-ki-mu-vur-ir-a-yó**/ {Rwanda} 'They no longer treat him there.' Each have eight morphological layers. Kimenyi 1980:7 presents two examples with eleven layers, one of which is [**ba-t-aa-ná-bi-h-aan-shyir-i-yé-mo**] 'who did not even put them there for me.' As with multiple objects (§4.3), so many layers are unusual. Six were the maximum encountered in our *Reader*: /**n-da-yá-gu-túur-a**/ {both} 'I give them to you' (R36.2), /**y-a-kú-du-háa-ye**/ {Rundi} '... who gave you to us' (R21.4)

<sup>345</sup> Stevick speaks of SIX DIMENSIONS of the Rundi verb: affirmative vs. negative, mood, time relations, aspect, tone class, and linkage (1965:xxvi-xxxvii). Rodegem 1967:41–69 and Cristini 2000:159–215 offer most paradigms. For Rwanda, Coupez 1980:322–428 presents the most detailed treatment with 223 conjugations; Overdulve 1975:61 has two tables presenting 157 affirmative and negative verb forms; Kimenyi 2002:171–208 details some 75 major verb paradigms. In his earlier work, Kimenyi 1980:6 outlines the order for up to twelve morphemes: preinitial + class marker + negative + tense + **na** + object pronoun + reflexive + verb root + extension + suffix + aspect + post suffix.

7 – Tone class and phonetics of root	high vs. low tone; consonant vs. vowel-initial stems
8 – Valence or Quality	benefactive, causative, reciprocal, attributive, reversive, repetitive, frequentative
9 – Voice	active, passive
10 – Aspect	imperfective, perfective, subjunctive, gerundive
11 – Postpositions	location, proximity, existence, word order reversal

## 1 LOGICAL VALUE (nature of the assertion)

AFFIRMATIVE Ø- or UNMARKED

**/mbaasha/** {both} 'I can.'

NEGATIVE **nti-** initial prefix in main or independent clauses; contrast **-ta-** postprefix in subordinate clauses

**/ntibabaashá/** {both} 'They cannot.' – **/simbaashá/** {Rundi}, **/siimbaashá/** {Rwanda} 'I cannot.'

HYPOTHETICAL **ní-** 'if' followed by an object relative construction, immediate in Rwanda and recent in Rundi

**/ní nabaashá/** {Rundi}, **/níimbaashá/** {Rwanda} 'If I can.'

## 2 MOOD (identified on the basis of context, tone pattern, clause type, negative marking, and special affixes)<sup>346</sup>

INDICATIVE is used in main clauses to make assertions or ask questions

**/baragaruka/** {both} 'They're going to return.'

PARTICIPIAL<sup>347</sup> dependent verb forms governed by conjunctions, the copulative auxiliaries **-bá** and **-rí**, and several auxiliary verbs, or used in temporal clauses; universally marked by HIGH TONE on the first vowel after the first consonant [*Irule*]

**/ndakéeka bágaruka/** {both} 'I suppose they will return.'

RELATIVE dependent verb forms governed by conjunctions or used to modify nouns; Rwanda has a special SUBJECT RELATIVE form for *nl-sg* [*Irule*]; both dialects have parallel object relative forms most of which are marked with HIGH TONE on the second syllable of the root [*Prule*] if there is no object pronoun.

**/umwáana ugáruka/** {Rwanda} 'a child who is going to return' [subject relative]; Note: {Rundi}

**/umwáana agarúka/** which serves identically as object {both} and subject relative {Rundi only}

**/yambwiiye kó bagarúka/** {both} 'He told me that they are going to return.' [object relative]

AUTONOME verbs that serve as nouns; marked by full noun prefixes except for special forms in group 1 singular **/uú-/** {both}, **/uwu-/** {Rundi}, **/u-/** {Rwanda}

**/uúkora/** {both}, **/uwukóra/** {Rundi}, **/ukóra/** {Rwanda} 'one who works'

**/abagaruka/** {both} 'those who are going to return'

INFINITIVE shows the tone class of the verb and is a derivational category, i.e., the verb serves as a noun of Group 9a, **ku-**, **gu-**, **kw-**

**/kugaruka/** {both} *v-intr* 'to return' [low tone root]

**/gusúbira/** {both} *v-intr* 'to go back (to some place where one has been before)' [high tone root]

IMPERATIVE forms used in commands with ZERO subject marking; affirmative only, there is no negative imperative

**/garuka/** {both} 'Come back!'

JUSSIVE **/S-ii-Δ-a/** {Rwanda only} used to express negative wishes

**/biigarúka/** {Rwanda} 'May they not return!'

<sup>346</sup> Scholars have not been in agreement on the number of moods. Hurel discusses five: indicative, subjunctive, conditional, imperative, and infinitive (1959:61). Dubnova distinguishes four: the indicative, the conditional-subjunctive, the imperative, and the optative-inductive (1984:57f). Stevick includes four in his Dimension 2: indicative, participial, relative, and autonomous (1965:xxvi–xxx); later (xxxv) he mentions three that fall outside his framework: subjunctive, infinitive, and imperative. In his overview of Kirundi, Bennett states: "Rundi has a complex system of verbal inflection marking four tenses, two aspects, and six moods." (Garry and Rubino 2001:603) In the same volume in his overview of Kinyarwanda, Kimenyi mentions five tenses and three aspects, but neglects mood altogether. (Garry and Rubino 2001:386) Note that while SUBJUNCTIVE is considered a MOOD in many languages, we treat it as an ASPECT (precisely because it is a suffix like **-a** or **-ye**) in Kirundi and Kinyarwanda.

<sup>347</sup> Called *conjonctif* (CONJUNCTIVE) in French grammars. The term PARTICIPIAL is used by Stevick in his description of Kirundi (1965:xxviii) and is widespread in the grammatical description of many other Bantu languages.

/mwiinkúbita/ {Rwanda} 'Don't hit me!'

SPECIAL **-ra-** (different from disjoint **-ra-**) used in wishes or encouragement: HORTATIVE IMMEDIATE /S-**ra-Δ-e/** {both}, /S-**ra-Δ-a/** {Rundi} 'please do VERB,' HORTATIVE FUTURE /S-**ra-zoo-Δ-a/** {Rundi}, /S-**ra-zaa-Δ-e/** {Rwanda} 'please will VERB,' OPTATIVE /S-**ra-ka-Δ-a/** {both} 'may VERB' /**urazooza/** {Rundi}, /**urazaaze/** {Rwanda} 'Come when you want.' [lit. 'You should come in the future.']/**murakaroota néézá/** {both} 'May you have beautiful dreams!'/**baragatsiinda/** {both} 'May they win!'

3 PRAGMATIC FEATURE (**-ka-**, **-ga-**, **-k-**, a special marker designating an action as a SEQUENCE of another action or a series of actions, either subsecutive or consecutive)<sup>348</sup>

«Ngo iyo (Raie) ishaka kujugunya imyanda cyangwa ibiribwa bishobora kuyangiza irasama cyane **igasohora igifu cyayo maze ikakigaragura mu mazi ikacyoza neza nyuma ikongera ikakimira.**» {Rwanda} 'Reportedly, when it (the stringray) wants to eject waste or harmful food, it opens its mouth wide, puts out its stomach, wishes it all around in the water, washes it out well, and then swallows it again.' (R12)

/Vyose bimaze gutungana, baraberera, **bakapfundikira, bagashira inkono iruhande y'iziko canke ku rusenge.**/ {Rundi} 'After all this is done, they add the yeast, cover the pots up, and place them on the side of the hearth or on a rack.' (R15)

4 Tense or time relations<sup>349</sup>

IMMEDIATE or TODAY TENSE **-Ø-** (i.e., unmarked if conjoint) or **-ra-** (if disjoint) referring to habitual actions or permanent states, the present, the immediate past, the immediate future, or the narrative.<sup>350</sup>

/bakora mu gitóondo/ {both} 'They work in the morning.'

/barakóra/ {both} 'They work.'

RECENT PAST **-a-**/ completed anytime earlier today<sup>351</sup>

/yakoranaga néézá n'ábaándi/ {Rwanda} 'She worked well with others.'

/yakorana néézá n'ábaándi/ {Rundi} 'She worked well with others.' (R17.7)

PRETERIT **-á-**/ completed anytime before today,<sup>352</sup> always marked by high tone on the second mora of the verb [2*rule*]

/yakóranaga néézá n'ábaándi/ {Rwanda} 'She worked well with others.'

/yakórana néézá n'ábaándi/ {Rundi} 'She worked well with others.'

FUTURE **-zoo-**/ {Rundi}, **-zaa-**/ {Rwanda} action is proposed to be completed (but not immediately)

/azookora/ {Rundi}, /azaakora/ {Rwanda} 'He will work.'

CONDITIONAL **-oo-**/ {Rundi}, **-aa-**/ {Rwanda} action *would* or *might* be done

/twoovuga ikí/ {Rundi}, /twaavuga ikí/ {Rwanda} 'What would we say?'

PERSISTIVE **-racáa-**/ {Rundi}, **-racyáa-**/ {Rwanda}, **-ki-**/, **-gi-**/ {both}, **-c-**/ {Rundi}, **-cy-**/ {Rwanda} action is *still* going on

/baracáakóra/ {Rundi}, /baracyáakóra/ {Rwanda} 'They are still working.'

INCEPTIVE **-ráa-**/ {Rundi} *yet, already* VERB; [neg]{both} action is *not yet* completed

/baráakóra/ {Rundi only} 'Are they already working?'

/ntibaráakóra/ {both} 'They are not yet working.'

<sup>348</sup> As Coupez 1980:391 points out, there is a homographic prefix **-ka-** (*degré modifié*) that occurs in combination with other affixes, e.g., **-raka-** {both}, **-áká-** {both} or **-óoká-** {Rwanda} OPTATIVE, **-kazoo-** or **-zóoka-** {Rundi}, **-kazaa-** {Rwanda} FUTURE. We take both of these to be part of this PRAGMATIC FEATURE of the verb.

<sup>349</sup> Also called *degré* in French grammars (e.g., Coupez 1980:398 or Overdulve 1975:61,240).

<sup>350</sup> Once a narrative has been set in the past tense, an immediate or present tense verb can be used on subsequent verbs. This NARRATIVE TENSE is described in Overdulve 1975:153–54 and Coupez 1980:390; examples abound throughout Nibagwire & Zorc 2002. In Kinyarwanda it has a unique negative indicative form (see §8.1.9 #037) which uses the negative **nti-**, a prefix homographic with the recent past **-a-**, and the suffix **-a** (not **-aga**).

<sup>351</sup> French grammars use the term *récent*, whereas Stevick calls this the HODIERNAL TENSE (1965:xxx), based upon the Latin word for 'today' (*hodie*).

<sup>352</sup> French grammars use the term *prétérit*, whereas Stevick calls this the HESTERNAL TENSE (1965:xxx), based upon the Germanic word for 'yesterday' (cf: German *gestern*, English *yester-*).



5 Government or linkage<sup>353</sup>

DISJOINT<sup>354</sup> or independent **-ra-** [*Rrule*] when the verb ends a clause (e.g., there is no following object or other complement), or with a following object where it has a FOCUS or PRAGMATIC HIGHLIGHTING function.

/aravúga ati/ {both} 'He says...' [followed by an exact quote, which is not a grammatical object]

/birageenda nó kuu máana/ {both} 'And so they went to God.' [narrative] (R28.10)

CONJOINT<sup>355</sup> or dependent unmarked **-Ø-** [*Lrule*] when the verb is followed by an object or other word to which it is closely tied.

/avuga kó/ {both} 'He says that ...' [followed by an indirect quote]

For this distinction to be maintained or established, there must be a TONAL DIFFERENCE in the verb. It is *not* simply a grammatical matter, i.e., if the verb ends a clause or sentence (DISJOINT) or if an object or other complement follows (CONJOINT). For example, no NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION ever distinguishes conjoint from disjoint tonally even if verbs may or may not be followed by complements.

## 6 Reflection (Note leftward tone change when any of these markers are present in the indicative.)

CONJUNCTIVE **-na-** 'also, even, still'

/baranábikóra/ {both} 'They still do it.' (Overdulve 1975:264)

OBJECT noun class agreement form (see Table 55)

/baranábikóra/ {both} 'They still do it.' (Overdulve 1975:264)

REFLEXIVE /-íi-/ showing that the subject acts upon itself

/biibónere/ {both} 'They should just get for themselves.' (R22) < /-íibonera/ 'get s.t. for oneself'

/(kó) arí wové ubwáawé wiikúunda/ {both} '... that you are the only one who loves yourself.' (R28.7)

## 7 Tone and Phonological Class of Root Verb

HIGH – the presence of a high tone on the first vowel of a verb root

/-bára/ {both} *v-tr* 'tell (what one has seen or heard), report'

/-ríriimba/ {both} *v-tr* 'sing'

/-sána/ {both} *v-tr* 'repair, fix s.t. up'

LOW – the absence of high tone on the corresponding forms of other verbs

/-bara/ {both} *v-tr* 'count, enumerate, compute'

/-kurura/ {both} *v-tr* 'drag (along a very heavy thing), draw, pull behind oneself'

/-sa na/ {both} *v-cmp-ir* 'resemble, look like'

CONSONANT-INITIAL – a root that begins with a consonant

/-bábara/ {both} *v-st* 'suffer, be hurt'

/-kúbuura/ {both} *v-tr* 'sweep, clean'

VOWEL-INITIAL – a root that begins with a vowel (has special affixes, e.g., **+kw-**, and tone shifts)

/-áabira/ {both} *v-intr* 'bellow, roar, yell'

/-eegeera/ {both} *v-tr* 'approach, draw near to'

/-iibuka/ {both} *v-tr* 'remember, recall'

/-óonka/ {both} *v-intr* 'nurse, suckle'

/-úubaha/ {both} *v-tr* 'respect, honor'

## 8 Valence, Condition or Quality (several AUGMENTS or DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES)

CAUSATIVE /-iish-, -esh-, -y-/ make someone or something do an action; turns an intransitive verb into a transitive one

/-kóreesha/ {both} *v-caus* 'employ, utilize' < /-kóra/ *v-tr* 'work'

/-íigiisha/ {both} *v-caus* 'teach, instruct' < /-íiga/ *v-tr* 'learn, study'

<sup>353</sup> French grammars use the terms *jointure* (Coupez 1980:398) or *suite* (Overdulve 1975:61); Stevick (1965:xxxv) calls it *linkage*.

<sup>354</sup> French grammars use the term *disjoint* (Coupez 1980:398, Overdulve 1975:61); Stevick (1965:xxxv) and Kimenyi (2002:190) both use the term *disjunct*.

<sup>355</sup> French grammars use the term *conjoint* (Coupez 1980:398, Overdulve 1975:61); Stevick (1965:xxxv) and Kimenyi (2002:190) both use the term *conjunct*.

- /-kíza/* {both} *v-caus* 'cure, heal' < */-kíra/ v-st* 'heal, get better'
- /-menyeesha/* {both} *v-caus* 'notify, inform' < */-menya/ v-tr* 'know, recognize'
- /-ózoza/* {both} *v-tr* 'wash, rinse' < */-óoga/ v-intr* 'immerse, be in water; bathe'
- /-ruhiisha/* {both} *v-caus* 'fatigue, tire out' < */-ruha/ v-inch* 'get tired'
- /-vúza/* {both} *v-caus* 'have someone speak; make s.t. sound' < */-vúga/ v-tr* 'speak, make a sound'
- BENEFACTIVE<sup>356</sup> */-ir-, -er-, -erer-/* do s.t. for someone; can turn a transitive verb into a ditransitive one
- /-éemerera/* {both} *v-ben* 'promise, guarantee; authorize, give one's consent to someone' < */-éemera/ v-tr* 'agree, consent, admit'
- /-kórerera/* {both} *v-ben* 'serve, work for someone, do s.t. for someone' < */-kóra/ v-tr* 'work'
- /-ririra/* {both} *v-ben* 'shed tears over someone, weep for, mourn' < */-rira/ v-intr* 'cry, weep'
- /-úubakira/* {both} *v-ben* 'build s.t. for someone' < */-úubaka/ v-tr* 'build, construct'
- RECIPROCAL */-an-/* indicates an action done mutually
- /-bónana/* {both} *v-recip* 'see one another; meet, have a meeting' < */-bóna/ v-tr* 'find, obtain, see'
- /-éerekana/* {both} *v-recip* 'show (s.t. to one another); make someone see' < */-éereka/ v-ditr* 'show s.t. to someone'
- /-pfáana/* {both} *v-recip* 'die with, die together' < */-pfá/ v-st* 'die'
- /-túkana/* {both} *v-recip* 'insult one another' < */-túka/ v-tr* 'insult'
- ATTRIBUTIVE */-ek-, -ik-, -k-/* allows a verb to serve as a descriptive (§6.5)
- /-bóneka/* {both} *v-atr* 'appear, be visible; be easy to find' < */-bóna/ v-tr* 'find, obtain, see'
- /-gayika/* {both} *v-atr* 'be despicable, contemptible' < */-gaya/ v-tr* 'despise, scorn'
- /-gurika/* {both} *v-atr* 'sell (well)' < */-gura/ v-tr* 'buy, purchase'
- /-méneka/* {both} *v-atr* 'get broken, be shattered; be breakable' < */-ména/ v-tr* 'break, shatter'
- /-úumviikana/* {both} *v-atr* 'be clear, comprehensible' < */-úumva/ v-tr* 'hear, listen'
- REVERSIVE */-ur-, -or-/* creates a transitive verb with an opposite meaning from its root form
- /-áagura/* {both} *v-rev-tr* 'stretch, widen, enlarge' < */-áaga/ v-st* 'be narrow'
- /-bóhoora/* {both} *v-rev-tr* 'untie; release, set free' < */-bóha/ v-tr* 'tie, bind'
- /-éegura/* {both} *v-rev-tr* 'seize (an object laying down); make straight (what was leaning); decide s.t. for oneself' < */-éega/ {Rwanda} v-intr* 'bend (under a heavy weight), lean over;' cf: */-éega/ {Rundi}* 'belong to; depend upon'
- /-óomora/* {both} *v-rev-tr* 'detach gently, peel off, remove' < */-óoma/ v-intr* 'adhere, stick to' (JN)
- REVERSIVE STATIVE */-uk-, -ok-/* creates an intransitive or stative verb with an opposite meaning from its root form
- /-áaguka/* {both} *v-rev-st* 'become enlarged; be vast, spacious' < */-áaga/ v-st* 'be narrow'
- /-bóhooka/* {both} *v-rev-st* 'come untied, get undone (knot)' < */-bóha/ v-tr* 'tie, bind'
- /-óomoka/* {both} *v-rev-st* 'come off easily, come untied' < */-óoma/ v-intr* 'adhere, stick to' (JN)
- /-híshuuka/* {both} *v-rev-st* 'be revealed, get disclosed' < */-hísha/ v-tr* 'hide, conceal'
- DURATIVE */-iriz-, -erez-/* indicates that the action is done persistently, repeatedly, or over a prolonged time
- /-geenzereza/* {both} *v-prolong* 'present oneself (in a certain light) to someone else; behave (in a certain way) towards someone' < */-geenza/ v-tr* 'make someone go or walk; drive (vehicle); conduct oneself; treat, behave towards'
- /-gumiriza/* {both} *v-prolong* 'continue s.t. indefinitely; cling to, hold fast to' < */-guma/ v-intr* 'stay'
- /-héereza/* {both} *v-ditr-prolong* 'give away, hand s.t. to someone' < */-há/ v-ditr* 'give s.t. to someone'
- /-sibiriza/* {both} *v-prolong* 'beg (without stop), ask for s.t. repeatedly; live like a beggar' < */-saba/ v-ditr* 'ask s.o. for s.t., request; pray; beg'

## 9 Voice

ACTIVE */-Ø-/* (i.e., unmarked) when the subject precedes the object

*/barabaanza bagatéeka iyo myuumbati/* {both} 'First of all they cook these cassavas.'

PASSIVE (pre-final suffix *-w-*) when the object is put into initial position

*/iyo myuumbati ... irabaanza igatéekwa/* {both} 'These cassavas are first of all cooked.' (R20)

<sup>356</sup> Usually called an APPLICATIVE (French *applicatif*) verb derivation (e.g., Cristini 2000:257).

## 10 Aspect (marked by three different suffixes)

Aspect is a way of viewing an action (e.g., whether it is ongoing or completed); it has nothing to do with tense or time. In the discussion of the various tenses, we shall see that aspect markers offer special nuances, e.g., hypothetical if conditional imperfective, but unreal if conditional perfective.

IMPERFECTIVE marked by the suffix **-a** indicating that an action is in progress (without regard to its being complete); in the recent and the preterit tenses Rwanda has the expanded suffix **-aga**

/bageenda/ {both} 'They go.'

/barageenda/ {both} 'They are going.'

PERFECTIVE marked by the suffix **-ye** (with numerous palatal sound changes, see §2.5.7) indicating that a state is regarded as *currently relevant* or that an action is *complete*

/baageenze/ {both} 'They walked.' (i.e., all day long)

/barashoonje/ {both} 'They are hungry.'

SUBJUNCTIVE marked by the suffix **-e** indicating that an action ought to occur; this suffix also marks a HORTATIVE construction (the circumfix **S-ra-Δ-e** in §8.9) and GERUNDIVE auxiliary construction (**S-ri bu-Δ-é** in §8.5.3)

/bageendé/ {both} 'They should go.'

## 11 Locational Postpositions

There are four postpositions that serve as substitutes for locative expressions which are understood in context.

Each of them always has a high tone [*Erule*]. See §11.2.3 for additional treatment of these postpositions.

Group 10 **hó** {both} 'there (on, off, in, above)'

«**Iyo watetse inyama nyinshi ukuraho izo uri buteke ukwazo**» {Rwanda} 'If you cooked a lot of meat, you take some out of there which you will cook separately.' (R18)

«**Ibyo nibyo Leta zose zirwanya zigashyiraho n'amategeko yo guhana ababikoresha.**» {Rwanda} 'These are (the drugs) that all governments oppose by establishing [lit. 'putting in] laws to punish the people who use them.' (R26.1)

/akabishirahó/ {Rundi} '... and then he put them there.' (Cristini 2000:150)

«**Hariho abayironka bagaca bayinyegeza**» {Rundi} 'There are those who get it and hide it right away.' (R33.6)

Group 11 **kó** {mostly Rundi} 'there' [Note that Rwanda uses **hó** to replace **ku** phrases]

«**nta kibi bamubona ko**» {Rundi} (R25.2), «**nta kibi bamubonaga ho**» 'There was nothing bad that they found about him.'

/washyize ibyókuryá **ku méezá?** yee, nabishyize **hó**/ {Rwanda} 'Did you place the food on the table? Yes, I placed it there.' (Overdulse 1975:214)

/isóoko ikigongwe giturukakó/ {Rundi} 'the source from which mercy originates' (Cristini 2000:150)

Group 12 **mwó** {Rundi}, **mó** {Rwanda} 'there (inside that place or in that time)'

«**Mu gicapo ... hakaba harimwo umuhoro n'agafuni**» {Rundi} 'In the emblem there used to be therein a pruning knife and a small worn-out hoe.' (R29.5)

«**Mw'ibendera rishasha harimwo ibara ry'ubururu**» {Rundi} 'On the new flag there is there the color blue.' (R29.6)

«**Usanga harimwo imihigo itandukanye**» {Rwanda} 'You notice therein the promises are different.' (R32)

Group 13 **yó** {both} 'there' (general or vague location)

«**ya mbeba iravyarira yo**» {Rundi} 'The mouse produced offspring there.' (R27.10)

«**bashyingirayo**» {Rwanda} 'They marry their children off there.' (R38.9)

A student of these languages will have to rethink his or her understanding of tense or time relationships. Setting an action in the PAST can be expressed three ways: by the IMMEDIATE (if it just occurred or if the first sentence in a story has already set the time in the past), by the RECENT (if it happened earlier the same day), or by the PRETERIT (if it happened before today).

/murasomye/ {both} [*Rrule*] *v-ind-aff-imm-perf-dis* 'You just read.'

/mwaasomye/ {both} [*Rrule*] *v-ind-aff-recent-perf-dis* 'You read recently.'

/mwaárasómye/ {both} [*2rule+Trule*] *v-ind-aff-pret-perf-dis* 'You read formerly.'

## Chapter 8: Verb Conjugations

Similarly, a FUTURE event can have four renditions:<sup>357</sup> by the IMMEDIATE with **-ra-** (if it is just about to happen), by a GERUND construction (if it may occur throughout the entire day), by the FUTURE **-zoo-** {Rundi} or **-zaa-** {Rwanda} (if it is a remote or unspecified future event), and by an AUXILIARY verb construction with **-zaa** (if the action is intended or obligatory).

/barageenda/ {both} *v-imm* 'they are going to leave'

/bari bugeendé/ {both} 'they will leave'

/bazoogenda/ {Rundi}, /bazaageenda/ {Rwanda} 'they will leave (eventually)'

/baraazaa kugeenda/ {both} 'they will end up going'

The importance of no marking (the linguistic concept of ZERO or Ø) is critical with regard to the grammar of verbs. The AFFIRMATIVE has no marker and contrasts with the NEGATIVE having **nti-** or **-ta-**. The INDICATIVE can be unmarked tonally, while all other moods have some form of tonal signature. The IMMEDIATE is unmarked, while all remaining tenses have special prefixes. The CONJOINT has no marker, while the DISJOINT has **-ra-**. The ACTIVE voice is unmarked, while the PASSIVE has the suffix **-w-**.

Because of the complexity of the verb system, some authors highlight *grammatically-determined* criteria (Table 102), e.g., Overdulve's *conjoint* – with a complement vs. *disjoint* – without a complement (1975:61,96f), while others concentrate on *morphologically-determined* criteria (Table 101), e.g., Kimenyi's **-Ø-** vs. **-ra-** (1980:212ff). *Tonality* too can be critical in determining whether or not the phenomenon of government or linkage obtains in a particular tense and mood combination. In order to arrive at "the truth," all criteria must be examined in order to understand the richness and complexity of the Kinyarwanda-Kirundi verb system and to determine which phenomenon best explains a given situation. This is exemplified in Table 103.

**Table 103. Criteria Determining Government (Conjoint vs. Disjoint)**

CRITERION	CONJOINT	DISJOINT
MORPHOLOGY	-Ø-	-ra-
GRAMMAR	+ complement (object, adverb, or clause)	- complement (usually, but not obligatory)
TONALITY	always low tone [ <i>Rrule</i> ]	follows root tonality [ <i>Rrule</i> ]

The presence of one or more object infixes can seriously affect tone placement on the verb (§2.4.11–12), but this will depend on the basic tonality of the mood and tense combination. There is a standard progression such that a verb with the *Rrule* with no objects will have the *O+L rule* (tone on object and loss of root tonality) if there is one object infix, the *O+R rule* {Rwanda} or *O+T rule* {Rundi} if there are two objects, the *O+O+L rule* if there are three objects, and so on. These object-oriented tonal patterns are outlined in Table 104.

**Table 104. Tonality of Verbs Having Object Infixes**

simple verb	1 object	2 objects	3 objects	4 objects
L	L	L	L	L
R	O+L	O+R {Rwanda} O+T {Rundi}	O+O+L	O+O+R {Rwanda} O+O+T {Rundi}
P	P2	O2+L	O2+L	O2+L
F+P	F+P2	F+O2+L	F+O2+L	F+O2+L
F+R {Rwanda} F+T {Rundi}	F+O {Rwanda} F+T {Rundi}	F+O2+L	F+O2+L	F+O2+L
N+P	N+P2	N+O2+L	N+O2+L	N+O2+L

<sup>357</sup> With regard to a basic verb form. If auxiliary verb inflections with **-bá** or with **-rí** are taken into consideration (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:321–3) then there are at least seven more ways to express a future event.

## 8.1. Indicative

The indicative is the mood of main or independent clauses. It is used in making assertions or asking questions. The conjoint is characterized by low tone [*Lrule*, i.e., loss of high tone from high tone roots], whereas the disjoint is characterized by keeping the tonality of the root [*Rrule*]. In order to maintain consistency throughout this section, each verb paradigm will be discussed in the following order: MOOD – VALUE – TENSE – ASPECT – LINKAGE, e.g., *indicative affirmative immediate perfective disjoint* or *autonome negative preterit perfective* (linkage does not apply to autonomes).

### 8.1.1. Indicative Immediate

The immediate tense is more inclusive than the present tense of English and other Indo-European languages. Besides an ONGOING or CURRENT action, it can designate one that has just been accomplished (IMMEDIATE PAST) or one that is just about to occur (IMMEDIATE FUTURE). The immediate is often used in a NARRATIVE tense once the time frame has been introduced (e.g., the first sentence may have a verb in the past, but all others within the same time period can then be in the immediate). Finally, it can delimit a HABITUAL action or some TIMELESS TRUTH (as in a proverb). Note that the unmarked (-Ø-) conjoint forms must always be followed by some complement, whereas the **-ra-** forms may occur alone or before an object (in which case they serve a FOCUS or HIGHLIGHTING function).<sup>358</sup> The following contrastive examples from Overdulse are excellent.<sup>359</sup>

/yohaána arahiínga/ {Rwanda} 'John cultivates, he is a cultivator' (but you don't know what it is he's cultivating; the emphasis is on the act of cultivation).

/yohaána ahiínga ibishyíimbo/ 'John cultivates beans, he is a cultivator of beans' (the emphasis is on the product he obtains and in which he specializes).

/yohaána arahiínga ibijuumba/ 'John is cultivating sweet potatoes, he is doing it at this very moment, even though he is a cultivator of beans' (the emphasis is on the current action).

#### 001 indicative affirmative immediate imperfective conjoint

See: Overdulse 1975:94,310, Overdulse & Jacob 1998:34,35, Kimenyi 2002:190; Cristini 2000:163f, Rodegem 1967:44f.

TONE PATTERN:

L S-Ø-Δ-a {both}<sup>360</sup>

/naanga abiíkuza/ {Rwanda} 'I hate those who praise themselves.' (R28.2)

/abaantu biibaza inkómooko y'ítaábi/ {both} 'People wonder about the origin of tobacco.' (R26.2)

/atoozwa guhúnga akíri mutó/ {both} 'He is accustomed to hunting while he is still young.' (R38.1)

/abaári aho bacecekerá rimwé/ {both} 'The ones who were there grew silent at once.' (R14)

/mukuunda abaantu/ {both} 'You love people.' (Cristini 2000:164)

/niiga gusoma/ {both} 'I learn reading.' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:44)

/waandika ibitabo?/ {both} 'Do you write books?' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:44)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

L S-Ø-obj-Δ-a {both}

/ubiteeka ku muriro muké/ {both} 'You cook them on low heat.' (R18)

/yaboonye níhitira antega umutégo/ {both} 'He saw me simply passing by and trapped me.' (R27.5)

<sup>358</sup> See Kimenyi 1980:217 for a brief discussion of FOCUS. Overdulse 1975:96 simply portrays such a construction as having "a special meaning with a complement." It generally asserts the factuality of an action, i.e., the TRUTH VALUE of a statement.

<sup>359</sup> Op.cit. 1975:96. Translation by S. Harrell.

<sup>360</sup> All abbreviations can be found in the frontmatter. L S-Ø-Δ-a means that the resulting verb will be low toned, i.e., it will lose any high tone (L) and will consist of a subject marker (S), no tense prefix (Ø), the verb root (Δ) and the imperfective suffix (-a).

## Chapter 8: Verb Conjugations

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/b~~a~~y~~e~~e~~n~~g~~a~~ b~~a~~k~~o~~r~~e~~e~~s~~h~~e~~j~~e~~ u~~r~~w~~a~~g~~w~~á/ {Rwanda} 'They brew it using banana beer.' (R24.1)

/a~~m~~p~~e~~e~~m~~b~~a~~ n~~e~~é~~z~~á/ {Rwanda} 'He pays me well.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:130)

### 002 indicative affirmative immediate perfective conjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:97,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:44,47, Kimenyi 2002:190f; Cristini 2000:164, Rodegem 1967:44f.

TONE PATTERN:

L S-Ø-Δ-ye {both}

/h~~a~~s~~i~~g~~a~~y~~e~~ u~~w~~ó m~~u~~ n~~y~~o~~n~~i/ {both} 'There remains one from birds.' (R28.3)

/n~~s~~a~~a~~n~~z~~e d~~ú~~h~~u~~u~~j~~e/ {both} 'I see we agree.' (R1)

/u~~g~~i~~i~~y~~e~~ h~~e~~?/ {both} 'Where are you going?' (Overdulve 1975:97)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

L S-Ø-obj-Δ-ye {both}

/t~~u~~g~~u~~t~~u~~u~~y~~e a~~m~~a~~b~~ó~~k~~o/ {both} 'We offer you our arms.' (R21.4)

/i~~b~~y~~o~~ u~~v~~uzé u~~b~~i~~t~~eewe n~~'~~i~~k~~i?/ {Rwanda} 'What makes you say that?' (R28.2)

/m~~b~~a~~s~~e~~e~~z~~e~~y~~e~~h~~ó~~?<sup>361</sup> {Rwanda} 'I say goodbye to you all.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:353)

### 003 indicative affirmative immediate imperfective disjoint<sup>362</sup>

See: Overdulve 1975:60f,94,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:33,34,151,181f, Kimenyi 2002:172f; Cristini 2000:163,165, Rodegem 1967:46f.

TONE PATTERN:

R S-ra-Δ-a {both}

R S-r-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}

/n~~d~~a~~k~~ú~~u~~nda/ {both} 'I love.' (Cristini 2000:33) [Note the change of /r/ to /d/ after /n/.]

/b~~a~~a~~r~~o~~n~~d~~e~~y~~e~~ u~~w~~ó b~~a~~t~~u~~m~~á~~ i~~j~~a~~a~~m~~b~~o b~~a~~r~~a~~b~~ú~~r~~a~~/ {Rundi} 'They looked for someone to speak on their behalf but they couldn't find anyone.' (R11)

/i~~k~~i~~n~~y~~o~~m~~á~~ k~~i~~r~~a~~h~~i~~n~~y~~u~~k~~a/ {Rundi} 'The lie gets discovered.' (R25.3)

/n~~a~~a~~m~~u~~h~~án~~a~~g~~a~~t~~a~~y~~e~~ a~~r~~a~~a~~z~~a~~/ {Rwanda} 'I called him and he came.' [narrative] (Overdulve 1975:153)

/k~~i~~r~~a~~z~~i~~r~~a~~/ {Rwanda} 'It is forbidden.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:352)

/a~~b~~a~~g~~a~~b~~o b~~a~~r~~a~~k~~ó~~r~~a~~ m~~u~~ m~~i~~r~~i~~m~~á~~/ {both} 'The men are now working in the fields.' (Overdulve 1975:94)

/a~~r~~a~~a~~n~~d~~i~~k~~a/ {both} 'He is writing.' (Cristini 2000:195, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:34)

/b~~a~~r~~i~~g~~a~~/ {both} 'They are studying.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:34)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

O+L S-ra-obj-Δ-a {both}

/n~~d~~a~~m~~ú~~k~~u~~u~~nda/ {both} 'I love him.' (Cristini 2000:156)

/a~~r~~a~~a~~n~~k~~u~~u~~nda/ {both} 'He loves me.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:130)

/a~~r~~a~~a~~n~~y~~e~~m~~era/ {both} 'He believes me.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:130)

/i~~k~~i~~n~~y~~a~~r~~w~~a~~a~~n~~d~~a b~~a~~r~~a~~c~~y~~ú~~u~~m~~v~~a/ {Rwanda} 'They understand Kinyarwanda.' (R38.10)

/b~~a~~r~~a~~g~~í~~sh~~i~~ira/ {Rundi} 'They'll put it back.' (Cristini 2000:156)

/b~~a~~r~~a~~m~~ú~~f~~a~~sh~~a~~/ {both} 'They help him.' (R15)

/b~~a~~ár~~a~~shítse b~~a~~r~~a~~b~~a~~a~~k~~iira/ {Rundi} 'They arrived and they were welcomed.' (R11)

/y~~a~~m~~p~~a~~a~~y~~e~~ i~~g~~i~~t~~a~~b~~o n~~d~~a~~g~~i~~s~~o~~m~~a/ {Rwanda} 'He gave me a book and I read it.' [narrative] (Overdulve 1975:153)

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<sup>361</sup> The postposition here is sufficient to make this verb conjoint (as evidenced by the lack of **-ra**).

<sup>362</sup> Kimenyi (2002:172f) calls this the IMPERFECTIVE PRESENT, and notes that it is the same as the NEAR FUTURE TENSE ("any time after the moment of speaking until the beginning of the next day"). In the following item, he equates these with the COMPLEMENTLESS HABITUAL (Ibid:173).

+ two objects

TONE PATTERNS:

- O+T S-ra-obj-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}
- O+R S-ra-obj-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}
- O+J S-ra-obj-obj-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}

/arabíturúungikira/ {Rundi} 'He is sending it to us.' (Cristini 2000:188)

/imirimo yaawe ndayígutéesha/ {both} I made you abandon (them) your tasks.' (R36.2)

/barabímuúzanira/ {Rundi} 'They are bringing it to him.' (Cristini 2000:157, Rodegem 1967:141f) [long vowel draws tone]

/ndamúkweéreka/ {both} 'I'm going to show him to you' (Cristini 2000:157, LN)

+ three objects

TONE PATTERNS:

- O+O+L S-ra-obj-obj-obj-Δ-a {both}

/ndahábimúshirira/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:156), /ndahábimúshyirira/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'I will put them there for him.'

/barahábimúkorerera/ {both} 'They are going to do it for him there.' (Bizimana 1998:145)

/barahámumwéerekerera/ {both} 'They will show that place to him on his behalf.' (Cristini 2000:157)

#### 004 indicative affirmative immediate perfective disjoint<sup>363</sup>

See: Overdulve 1975:66f,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:44,47, Kimenyi 2002:173; Cristini 2000:33,165, Rodegem NIL.

TONE PATTERN:

- R S-ra-Δ-ye {both}
- R S-r-Δ-ye [vowel root] {both}

/ndúize/ {both} 'I just studied.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:44)

/mu kuryáama baragerekeranye/ {both} 'In going to bed, they are overcrowded.' (R9)

/biragayitse/ {both} 'It is despicable.' (R30.2)

/buríije/ {both} 'It is getting dark.' (JN, Bizimana 1998:329, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:344)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

- O+L S-ra-obj-Δ-ye {both}

/abagabo waampaáye ndaháanze/ {Rwanda} 'The witnesses you gave me I reject (them).' (R28.9)

/baratúboonye/ {both} 'They see us.' (Cristini 2000:157)

+ two objects

TONE PATTERNS:

- O+T S-ra-obj-obj-Δ-ye {Rundi}
- O+R S-ra-obj-obj-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

/arabáguháaye/<sup>364</sup> {both} 'He entrusts them to you.' (Cristini 2000:156)

/barazíhajána/ {Rundi} 'They accompany them (their cows) there.' (Cristini 2000:157)

#### 005 indicative negative immediate imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:69–71,311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:50–52, Kimenyi 2002:205; Cristini 2000:33,173, Rodegem 1967:56f.

TONE PATTERN:

- N+P nti-S-Δ-a {both}

/ntibashobóra kugira ahó bajyá/ {Rwanda} 'They cannot go anywhere.' (R8a)

/ntiwumvá kwiíkuza kubí!/ {Rwanda} 'Don't you listen you lousy braggart!' (R28.5)

/úúsaba ntíyihúuta/ {both} 'The one who asks does not rush.'

<sup>363</sup> Kimenyi (2002:173) calls this the COMPLEMENTLESS PERFECTIVE PRESENT.

<sup>364</sup> Since /-háaye/ has high tone, the application of the T rule {Rundi} and R rule {Rwanda} yields a homonym.

## Chapter 8: Verb Conjugations

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/jehó sínduhúuka/ {Rundi} 'As for me, I never rest.' (R19) [In first person singular **nti-** changes to **si-**.]  
/siindyá imbúto/ {both} 'I am not eating fruit.' (Overdulve 1975:71)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

N+T nti-S-obj-Δ-a {both}

/ntuunsíndira aha/ {both} 'You will not defeat me here.' (R28.9)

/singutáaka bimwé bisaanzwé/ {both} 'I don't praise you as usual.' (R36.1)

/ntibadusháaka/ {Rwanda} 'They are not looking for us.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:131)

/ntibatwúumva/ {both} 'They do not listen to us.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:131)

/ntitubahámagara/ {Rundi} 'We are not summoning them.' (Cristini 2000:189)

+ two objects

TONE PATTERN:

N+O2+L nti-S-obj-obj-Δ-a {both}

/ntibabimúbiwira/ {both} 'They don't tell it to him.' (Cristini 2000:189, Rodegem 1967:57)

/ntibabimúririimbiisha/ {Rwanda} 'They don't make him sing it.' (Kimenyi 2002:241)

### 006 indicative negative immediate perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Cristini 2000:33,173f, Rodegem 1967:56f.

TONE PATTERN:

N+P nti-S-Δ-ye {both}

/ntibyooróshye kumenya umubaré w'ábanyaambo/ {Rwanda} 'It is not easy to know the Nyambo population.' (R38.11)

/imaanza záacu ntíziruhije/ {both} 'Our quarrel is not difficult.' (R28.5)

/uriiya ntáakoze/ {Rwanda} 'That one does not work.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:50)

/ntidukubúuye/ {Rundi} 'We are not sweeping.' (Cristini 2000:174)

#### 8.1.2. Indicative Recent

The recent tense generally indicates an action that has been completed on the same day of speaking about it. In the imperfective, it can indicate a conditional action. It can also refer to a habitual event in the recent past. The tense marker is always low toned. The tense marker is short /a/ in weak inflections (those that start with a semivowel) and long /aa/ in strong inflections (those that start with a consonant). Note that while Kirundi has the simple imperfective suffix **-a**, Kinyarwanda has **-aga**.

### 007 indicative affirmative recent imperfective conjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:178f,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:158, Kimenyi 2002:191; Cristini 2000:165, Rodegem 1967:44f.

TONE PATTERNS:

L S-a-Δ-a [weak] {Rundi}

L S-aa-Δ-a [strong] {Rundi}

L S-Ø-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}

L S-a-Δ-aga [weak] {Rwanda}

L S-aa-Δ-aga [strong] {Rwanda}

L S-Ø-Δ-aga [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/yakorana néézá n'ábaandi/ {Rundi} 'She worked well with others.' (R17.7) [habitual recent past]

/wakoraga ikí mu gitóondo/ {Rwanda} 'What were you doing this morning?' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:158)

/mwaakuunda abaantu/ {Rundi} 'You would love people.' (Cristini 2000:165)

/mwaandikaga ibáruwá/ {Rwanda} 'You were writing a letter.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:158)



**008 indicative affirmative recent perfective conjoint**

See: Overdulve 1975:123f,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:122f, Kimenyi 2002:191; Cristini 2000:165, Rodegem 1967:44f.

TONE PATTERNS:

- L S-a-Δ-ye [weak] {both}
- L S-aa-Δ-ye [strong] {both}
- L S-Ø-Δ-ye [vowel root] {both}

/iyo náama yategetse ibikí n'íibikí/ {Rwanda} 'What was the point of the meeting?' (R4)

/asaanga haafashwe bugúungwe bw'íntaambwe/ {Rundi} 'He discovered that an enormous lion was recently caught.' (R27.2)

/uyu mugabo yaboonye níhitira antega umutégo/ 'This man saw me simply passing by and trapped me.' (R27.5)

/twiibutse/ {both} 'We remembered.' (Cristini 2000:62, LN)

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

- L S-a-obj-Δ-ye [weak] {both}
- L S-aa-obj-Δ-ye [strong] {both}

/umwíijima waguheenze ubwéenge/ {Rwanda} 'Darkness tricked you.' (R28.8)

/namuboonye agéenda/ {both} 'I (recently) saw him walking.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:190)

**009 indicative affirmative recent imperfective disjoint**

See: Overdulve 1975:178f,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:158; Cristini 2000:165,181, Rodegem 1967:46f.

TONE PATTERNS:

- R S-aa-Δ-a {Rundi}
- J S-Ø-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}
- R S-aa-Δ-aga {Rwanda}
- J S-Ø-Δ-aga [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/naakúunda/ {Rundi} 'I have loved.' (Cristini 2000:165)

/waakóra/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:191), /waakóraga/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:158) 'You were working (recently).'

/twaakóra/ {Rundi} 'We worked.' (Cristini 2000:191)

/bíiririimbiishaga/ {Rwanda} 'They were making themselves sing.' (Kimenyi 2002:249)

**010 indicative affirmative recent perfective disjoint<sup>365</sup>**

See: Overdulve 1975:123f,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:122f, Kimenyi 2002:174,199; Cristini 2000:165

TONE PATTERNS:

- R S-aa-Δ-ye [strong] {both}
- J S-Ø-Δ-ye [vowel root] {both}

/waakóze/ {both} 'You worked (recently).' (Cristini 2000:191, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:122)

/baaje/ {both} 'They came.' (Cristini 2000:240)

/bííze/ {both} 'They studied (this morning).'

/mwíiriwe/ {both} 'Good evening!' (Overdulve 1975:215)

/bíítabaaye/ {both} 'They defended themselves.' (Kimenyi 2002:199)

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

- O+L S-aa-obj-Δ-ye {both}

/umuriro n'úumwóotsi vyaa míinsi yóóse vyaántujije/ {Rundi} 'The fire and smoke each and every day drove me crazy.' (R19)

<sup>365</sup> Kimenyi (2002:172) calls this the COMPLEMENTLESS RECENT PAST. He also identifies the change in tone pattern "when the verb stem starts with a vowel..., the lexical high tone appears on the coda." This is our *Jrule*.

+ two objects

TONE PATTERNS:

O2+L S-aa-obj-obj-Δ-ye {both}

/naaya*y*ihaaye/ {both} 'I recently gave them (bones) to it (the dog).' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:327)

/wé yaakimúhaaye/ {both} 'He gave it to him (recently).' (Cristini 2000:158)

### 011 indicative negative recent imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:178,311, Kimenyi 2002:184f; Cristini 2000:174, Rodegem 1967:56.

TONE PATTERNS:

N+L nti-S-a-Δ-a [weak] {Rundi}

N+L nti-S-aa-Δ-a [strong] {Rundi}

N+L nti-S-a-Δ-aga [weak] {Rwanda}

N+L nti-S-aa-Δ-aga [strong] {Rwanda}

/ntiwakubuura/ {Rundi} 'You did not sweep.' (Rodegem 1967:56f)

/búrya sínahiingaga/ {Rwanda} 'In fact I was not plowing.' (Bizimana 1998:271)

/ntitwaakoraga mu mudugúdu/ {Rwanda} 'We were not working in the city (today).' (Overdulve 1975:178)

### 012 indicative negative recent perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:124,311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:124; Cristini 2000:174, Rodegem 1967:56.

TONE PATTERNS:

N+L nti-S-a-Δ-ye [weak]

N+L nti-S-aa-Δ-ye [strong]

N+L nti-S-Ø-Δ-ye [vowel root]

/sinaburaaye/ {both} 'I didn't go to bed hungry.' (Rodegem 1967:56f)

/ntitwaakubuuye/ {both} 'We did not sweep.' (Rodegem 1967:56f)

/ntitwuubatse/ {both} 'We did not build.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:124)

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

N+L nti-S-a-obj-Δ-ye [weak]

N+L nti-S-aa-obj-Δ-ye [strong]

/bulletin yaawe sínayishiimye na gato/ {both} 'I was not pleased at all with (it) your report card.' (R1)

/naánje sínayikuunze/ {both} 'Me neither, I didn't like it.' (R1)

/sinakubwiye kó ntaa mukuúnzi ugirá/ {both} 'Didn't I tell you that you don't have any friends?' (R28.7)

/umugórooba wóose sínamuboonye/ {both} 'I didn't see him for the entire evening.' (Bizimana 1998:298)

+ two objects

TONE PATTERNS:

N+L nti-S-a-obj-obj-Δ-ye [weak]

N+L nti-S-aa-obj-obj-Δ-ye [strong]

/sinahamusaanze/ {both} 'I did not find him there.' (Ntahokaja 1994:116)

### 8.1.3. Indicative Preterit

The preterit tense generally indicates an action that has been completed previous to the day of speaking. It therefore refers to any action from yesterday through the distant past. The tense marker always involves a high tone on the second mora and has one of the most distinctive tonal signatures in all moods in both languages. There is a short /a/ in weak inflections (those that start with a

semivowel) and long /aa/ in strong inflections (those that start with a consonant). Note that while Kirundi has the simple imperfective suffix **-a**, Kinyarwanda has **-aga**.

### 013 indicative affirmative preterit imperfective conjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:178f,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:158; Cristini 2000:165,181, Rodegem 1967:44f

TONE PATTERNS:

- 2+X S-a-Δ-a [weak] {Rundi}
- 2+X S-aá-Δ-a [strong] {Rundi}
- 2+X S-a-Δ-aga [weak] {Rwanda}
- 2+X S-aá-Δ-aga [strong] {Rwanda}

/niíbwiiraga kó ab'ímuhirá barí buburáare/ {Rwanda} 'I assumed that my family would go to bed hungry.' (R34.3)

/ku gitúgu c'íburyó haáshoororoka imihivú/ {Rundi} 'On the right shoulder there tumbled down raffia fibers.' (R5)

/twaákoranaga/ {Rwanda} 'We have worked.' (Overdulve 1975:310)

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

- 2+L S-a-obj-Δ-a [weak] {Rundi}
- 2+L S-aá-obj-Δ-a [strong] {Rundi}
- 2+L S-a-obj-Δ-aga [weak] {Rwanda}
- 2+L S-aá-obj-Δ-aga [strong] {Rwanda}

/abaantu bóóse baámuvuga néézá/ {Rundi} 'Everybody spoke well of him.' (R25)

### 014 indicative affirmative preterit perfective conjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:135f,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:139, Kimenyi 2002:192; Cristini 2000:165, Rodegem 1967:44f

TONE PATTERNS:

- 2+X S-a-Δ-ye [weak] {both}
- 2+X S-aa-Δ-ye [strong] {both}

/umutwaáre yakóreesheje igitáramo iwé/ {Rwanda} 'A chief threw a party at his palace.' (R14)

/impanuka ya biísi yoóretse imbagá/ {Rwanda} 'A bus accident killed many.' (R16)

/baásaanze uwo yarí yáakíivye arí umunyéeshuúre/ {Rundi} 'They found out that the one who stole it was a student.' (R7)

/yatúmiye abanyarwaanda kurí vilaáje urugwiiro/ {both} 'He invited Rwandans to Urugwiro village.' (R29.8)

/twaákoze néézá/ {both} 'We have worked well.' (cf: Overdulve 1975:136)

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

- 2+L S-a-obj-Δ-ye [weak]
- 2+L S-aa-obj-Δ-ye [strong]

/umugabo umwé baámwiiivye káa gatelefoóne batwaará mu minwe/ {Rundi} 'A man (he) was robbed of his cell phone.' (R7)

### 015 indicative affirmative preterit imperfective disjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:178f,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:158; Cristini 2000:165,181,185, Rodegem 1967:46f.

TONE PATTERNS:

- 2+X S-a-rá-Δ-a [weak] {Rundi}
- 2+T S-aá-ra-Δ-a [strong] {Rundi}
- 2+X S-a-rá-Δ-aga [weak] {Rwanda}
- 2+T S-aá-ra-Δ-aga [strong] {Rwanda}

## Chapter 8: Verb Conjugations

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/Bitaama yarákuundwa/ {Rundi} 'Bitama was loved.' (R25.2)

/ejó mu iishuúri narásomaga/ {Rwanda} 'Yesterday I was reading in the classroom.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:218)

### 016 indicative affirmative preterit perfective disjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:135f,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:139, Kimenyi 2002:200; Cristini 2000:165, Rodegem 1967:46f.

TONE PATTERNS:

2+X S-a-rá-Δ-ye [weak] {both}

2+T S-aá-ra-Δ-ye [strong] {both}

2+L S-a-r-Δ-ye [weak vowel root] {both}

2+L S-aá-r-Δ-ye [strong vowel root] {both}

/narákoze/ {both} 'I have worked.' (Cristini 2000:191, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:139)

/ibéenderá n'indírimbo ihayágiza urwaanda vyaárahíinduwe/ {Rundi} 'The Rwandan flag and national anthem have been changed.' (R29.0)

/ubuzima bwáabo bwaárahíindutse/ {both} 'Their life has changed.' (R34, JN)

/baárashítse barabaakiira/ {Rundi} 'They arrived there and they were welcomed.' (R11)

/haárazoze ibibí vy'ágahomerabunwa/ {Rundi} 'Evil beyond belief has been done.' (R37.4)

/baáratábaaye/ {Rwanda} 'They defended.' (Kimenyi 2002:200)

/naráanditse/ {both} 'I have written.' (Cristini 2000:196, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:139)

/twaáruubatse/ {both} 'We built (formerly)'. (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:139)

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

2+R S-a-rá-obj-Δ-ye [weak] {both}

2+T S-aá-ra-obj-Δ-ye [strong] {both}

/baárahíisábye/ {both} 'They asked for it.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:326)

/igisaásu cyaáraantúrikanye/ {Rwanda} 'I was injured by a mine.' (R34.2)

/narárijúze/ {both} 'I said it.' (Rodegem 1967:46)

/kaárahanyúze/ {both} 'It had its time there.' [lit. 'It passed along there']. (Bizimana 1998:329, JN)

+ two or three objects

TONE PATTERNS:

2+O2+L S-aá-ra-obj-obj-obj-Δ-ye

/baárahímúsabiye/ {both} 'They asked for it on his behalf.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:326)

/baárahábímúsabiye/ {both} 'They asked for it there on his behalf.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:326)

### 017 indicative negative preterit imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311; Cristini 2000:174, Rodegem 1967:56.

TONE PATTERNS:

N+2 nti-S-a-Δ-a [weak] {Rundi}

N+2 nti-S-aá-Δ-a [strong] {Rundi}

N+2 nti-S-Ø-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}

N+2 nti-S-a-Δ-aga [weak] {Rwanda}

N+2 nti-S-aá-Δ-aga [strong] {Rwanda}

N+2 nti-S-Ø-Δ-aga [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/mur-úco kiriingo abaruúndi ntíbaárima caane/ {Rundi} 'During that period, Rundi people did not farm a lot.' (Cristini 2000:174)

/ntiwakóra/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:191), /ntiwakóraga/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:158) 'You did not work.'

/sinasómaga/ {Rwanda} 'I did not read.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:158)

/ntimwaándika/ {Rundi}, /ntimwaándikaga/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:158) 'You did not write.'

**018 indicative negative preterit perfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:137,311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:140; Cristini 2000:174, Rodegem 1967:56.

TONE PATTERNS:

- N+2 nti-S-a-Δ-ye [weak] {both}
- N+2 nti-S-aa-Δ-ye [strong] {both}
- N+2 nti-S-Ø-Δ-ye [vowel root] {both}

/warápfunywe **ntíwapfúuye**/ {both} 'Prepared for burial, you did not die.' (R21.2)  
 /sinaménye **ibyaákurikiyehó**/ {Rwanda} 'I did not realize what happened next.' (R35.4)  
 /ntitwaákubuye/ {both} 'We did not sweep.' (Cristini 2000:174)  
 /ntibaákoze/ {both} 'They did not work.' (Cristini 2000:191, Overdulve 1975:137)  
 /ntimwaánditse/ {both} 'You did not write.' (Cristini 2000:196)

**8.1.4. Indicative Conditional**

The conditional is a tense in these languages, not a mood, expressing some hypothetical condition or eventuality. It can often be translated by *should* or *would*. Kimenyi (2002:177) outlines the differences between two kinds of conditionals: the PROTASIS (the *if* clause) and the APODOSIS (the *then* clause). Similarly Overdulve (1975:241f,310f) discusses a CONDITIONING MOOD (*mode conditionnant*) different from the conditional tense or degree. In both instances, these represent the interplay of a RELATIVE CONDITIONAL *if* clause (§8.3.4) followed by an INDICATIVE CONDITIONAL *then* clause. Imperfective forms express an actual possibility realizable on the same day of speaking, while perfective forms express an unfulfilled possibility or unrealized event.

**019 indicative affirmative conditional imperfective conjoint**

See: Overdulve 1975:240,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:294f, Kimenyi 2002:193; Cristini 2000:165,181, Rodegem 1967:44f.

TONE PATTERNS:

- L S-oo-Δ-a {Rundi}
- L S-oo+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}
- L S-aa-Δ-a {Rwanda}
- L S-aa+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/naasaba **kó haabáhó itégero rihaná ubunebwe**/ {Rwanda} 'I would ask that there be a law which punishes laziness.' (R32)  
 /abahiinzi **baaruhuuka gihe kí?**/ {Rwanda} 'When would farmers rest?' (R28.2)  
 /umugwáayi **yookwiitwaararika gufungura néezá**/ {Rundi} 'The sick person should make every effort to eat well.' (R31.5)  
 /bookwiitwaararika **umugwáayi**/ {both} 'They should be concerned about the sick person.' (R31)  
 /byaaraangira, **ikinikwa mu máazi**/ {Rwanda} 'When it is done, then they are immersed in water.' (R20)  
 /waakwiiga **ikinyarwaanda**/ {Rwanda} 'You would learn Rwanda.' (Overdulve 1975:240)

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

- L S-oo-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}
- L S-aa-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/ikinjana **twiikébaanuye twookivugakó iki?**/ {Rundi} 'What might we say about the century that we take leave of?' (R37)  
 /mwoobibaza **mu buyobozi bwiíryo shírahámwe**/ {Rundi} 'You should ask that at the administration of that association.' (R9)  
 /waarigira **uté?**/ {Rwanda} 'What would you do with it (the tobacco)?' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:295)

**020 indicative affirmative conditional perfective conjoint**

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:298; Cristini 2000:165, Rodegem 1967:44f

TONE PATTERNS:

L S-oo-Δ-ye {Rundi}

L S-aa-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

/noobaaye umubéeshi/ {Rundi} 'I would be a liar.' (Cristini 2000:165, Rodegem 1967:44f)

/twaakoranye néezá/ {Rwanda} 'We would work well together.' (Overdulve 1975:310)

/mbóonye amafaraanga naaguze igaáre/ {Rwanda} 'If I get money, I would buy a bicycle.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:298)

**021 indicative affirmative conditional imperfective disjoint<sup>366</sup>**

See: Overdulve 1975:240,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:295, Kimenyi 2002:177; Cristini 2000:165,181, Rodegem 1967:44f.

TONE PATTERNS:

R S-oo-Δ-a {Rundi}

R S-oo+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}

R S-aa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

R S-aa+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/tweekwiibuka/ {Rundi} 'We might remember.' (Cristini 2000:63)

/bookwaandika/ {Rundi} 'They might write.' (Cristini 2000:196)

/baaririimba/ {Rwanda} 'They would sing.' (Kimenyi 2002:177)

/baakwóogoshá/ {Rwanda} 'They would shave.' (Kimenyi 2002:177)

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

R S-oo-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}

R S-aa-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/bábiizi baabiyúga/ {Rwanda} 'If they knew it, they would say it.' (Bizimana 1998:205)

«Ivyo mudasobanukiwe, mwobibaza mu buyobozi bw'iryo shirahamwe» {Rundi} 'For whatever you do not understand, you should contact the administration of the association about it.' (R9)

+ two objects

TONE PATTERNS:

O S-oo-obj-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}

O S-aa-obj-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/waagirá amafaraanga waayaámpa/ {Rwanda} 'If you had money, would you give it to me?' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:301)

/arí byó ushaaká naabigúha/ {Rwanda} 'If this what you want, I would give it to you.' (Bizimana 1998:235)

/baabimúkorera/ {Rwanda} 'They would do it for him.'

**022 indicative affirmative conditional perfective disjoint**

See: Overdulve 1975:241,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:298; Cristini 2000:165, Rodegem 1967:46

TONE PATTERNS:

R S-oo-Δ-ye {Rundi}

R S-aa-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

/tweekúbuuye/ {Rundi} 'We would sweep.' (Cristini 2000:165)

/iyáabá mwáakoraga néezá, mwaahéembwe/ {Rwanda} 'If you worked well, you would have been paid.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:298)

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<sup>366</sup> Kimenyi (2002:177) calls this the COMPLEMENTLESS PRESENT IRREALIS CONDITIONAL.

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

R S-oo-obj-Δ-ye {Rundi}

R S-aa-obj-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

/ivyo vyóóse noobiriinze/ {Rundi} 'All those things I can bear (them).' (R19)

/ikinjana twiikébaanuye twookivugakó iki?/ {Rundi} 'What can we say about the century that we take leave of?' (R37)

/dúshiimuuse inká baadufáshe/ {Rwanda} 'If we stole cows, they would arrest us.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:298)

### 023 indicative negative conditional imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:241,311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:294f; Cristini 2000:174, Rodegem 1967:56f.

TONE PATTERNS:

N+L nti-S-oo-Δ-a {Rundi}

N+L nti-S-oo+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}

N+L nti-S-aa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

N+L nti-S-aa+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/ngira ubushyuúhe imbého ntíyaaza/ {Rwanda} 'I was warm and unaffected by the cold.' (R36.2)

/vyoobíiha ntívyoobura/ {Rundi} 'They might taste bad, but they should not be lacking.' (Rodegem 1967:56f)

/ntitwoosiga inyuma n'íngwaano ya Vietnam/ {Rundi} 'We should not ignore the Vietnam War.' (R37.4)

/sinaavuga kó arí umuuntu wúundi byaáturutsehó/ {Rwanda} 'I cannot say that it is someone's else's fault.' (R34.2)

/ntitwookwiibuka/ {Rundi} 'We would not remember.' (Cristini 2000:63)

/ntiyaakwiiga/ {Rwanda} 'He would not study.' (Overdulve 1975:241, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:294)

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

N+L nti-S-oo-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}

N+L nti-S-aa-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/sinaakuunganya undí mubyéyi/ {Rwanda} 'I would not consider you equal to any other parent.' (R36.7)

/sinaamuha amafaraanga yaanjye/ {Rwanda} 'I would not give him my money.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:294)

+ three objects

TONE PATTERNS:

N+L nti-S-oo-obj-obj-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}

N+L nti-S-aa-obj-obj-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/sinoo~~h~~abimuheera/ {Rundi} (Ntahokaja 1994:116), /sinaah~~h~~abimuheera/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'I would not give them to him there.'

### 024 indicative negative conditional perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Cristini 2000:174, Rodegem 1967:56.

TONE PATTERNS:

N+L nti-S-oo-Δ-ye {Rundi}

N+L nti-S-oo+kw-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rundi}

N+L nti-S-aa-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

N+L nti-S-aa+kw-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/ntitwookubuuye/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:174), /ntitwaakubuuye/ (LN) 'We would not have swept.'

/ntiyootweenze abagúfi/ {Rundi} 'He should not laugh at short people.' (Rodegem 1967:56)

/ntiyaasetse abagufi/ {Rwanda} 'He should not laugh at short people.' (LN)

### 8.1.5. Indicative Future

This tense is ANTICIPATORY and implies that an action will occur tomorrow or later.<sup>367</sup> There is no tonally-marked conjoint/disjoint distinction.

#### 025 indicative affirmative future

See: Overdulse 1975:116,310, Overdulse & Jacob 1998:107f, Kimenyi 2002:183f,188f; Cristini 2000:165,181,196, Rodegem 1967:44f,46f.

TONE PATTERNS:

- L S-zoo-Δ-a {Rundi}
- L S-zoo+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}
- L S-zaa-Δ-a {Rwanda}
- L S-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}

/nzaandika/ {both} [vowel root] 'I will write.' (Cristini 2000:158, Overdulse & Jacob 1998:108)

/nzaakora ibi/ {Rwanda} (R32), /nzookora ibi/ {Rundi} (cf: Cristini 2000:192) 'I will do this.'

/nzaakurikiza isuku yaawe/ {Rwanda} 'I will emulate your cleanliness.' (R36.6)

/amabáhashá azookwugururwa muu náama y'íceése/ {Rundi} 'The envelopes will be opened in a public meeting.' (R9)

+ one or more objects

TONE PATTERNS:

- L S-zoo-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}
- L S-zaa-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/nzaakuraata ukó bigukwiye/ {Rwanda} 'I will praise you as you deserve.' (R36.3)

/bazooyikuura ku muúsi ugirá gatatu/ {Rundi} 'They will take it out on the third day.' (R15)

/nzaagushiima/ {Rwanda} 'I will praise you.' (R36.3)

/azoomwiiba/ {Rundi} 'He will rob him.' (Cristini 2000:158)

/nzaayaguha/ {Rwanda} 'I will give it (the money) to you.' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:296)

/uzoobimubaririra/ {Rundi} 'You will tell it to him on my behalf.' (Cristini 2000:157)

#### 026 indicative negative future

See: Overdulse 1975:117,311, Overdulse & Jacob 1998:109, Cristini 2000:174, Rodegem 1967:56f.

TONE PATTERNS:

- N+F+T nti-S-zóo-Δ-a {Rundi}
- N+F+T nti-S-zóo-kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}
- N+F+R nti-S-záa-Δ-a {Rwanda}
- N+F+R nti-S-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/ntihazóobúra uwuhávunikira/ {Rundi} 'Someone is quite likely to get hurt there.' (R23)

/ntituzóokúbuura/ {Rundi} 'We will not sweep.' (Cristini 2000:174)

/sinzóogáruka/ {Rundi} 'I will not come back.' (Ntahokaja 1994:187)

/ntazáaryá/ {Rwanda} 'He will not eat.' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:109)

/sinzóokwáandika/ {Rundi} 'I will not write.' (Cristini 2000:196)

/sinzáandika/ {Rwanda} 'I will not write.' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:109)

/ntibazúubaka/ {Rwanda} 'They will not build.' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:109)

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

- F+T nti-S-zóo-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}
- F+R nti-S-záa-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

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<sup>367</sup> The "today" future is expressed by the immediate with **-ra-** (§8.1.1).



- /sinzó**oh**itáanga/ {Rundi} 'I will not offer it.' (Rodegem 1967:56)  
 /sinzá**ab**akúrikira/ {Rwanda} 'I will not follow them.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:131)  
 /ntibazá**am**wéemera/ {Rwanda} 'They will not believe him.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:131)  
 /sinzá**am**usaba isábuné/ {Rwanda} 'I will not ask him for soap.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:131)

### 8.1.6. Indicative Conditional Future {Rwanda only}

This tense and affix combination is only found in Kinyarwanda and refers to a conditional action at least one day in the future. There is no tonally-marked conjoint/disjunct distinction.

#### 027 indicative affirmative conditional future imperfective

See: Bizimana 1998:276, Kimenyi 2002:189, Overdulve 1975:241,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:300.

tone pattern:

L S-aa-zaa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

L S-aa-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

- /mbóonye isúka **naazaahiinga**/ {Rwanda} 'If I had a hoe, I would cultivate.' (Bizimana 1998:276)  
 /twaazaakira/ {Rwanda} 'We would be better off.' (Overdulve 1975:246, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:300)  
 /baaziiga/ {Rwanda} 'They would study.' (Overdulve 1975:241, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:300)  
 /twaazaakóra néézá **twaazaatsiinda**/ {Rwanda} 'If we were to work well, we would succeed.' (Overdulve 1975:242, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:301)

#### 028 indicative affirmative conditional future perfective

See: Bizimana 1998:276, Overdulve 1975:310

tone pattern:

L S-aa-zaa-Δ-ye {Rwanda only}

L S-aa-z-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

- /mbáaye umugabo **naazaahiinze** ibigóori/ {Rwanda} 'If I had the means [lit. 'If I were a man'], I would cultivate corn.' (Bizimana 1998:276)

#### 029 indicative negative conditional future imperfective

See: Bizimana 1998:277, Overdulve 1975:241f,311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:300.

tone pattern:

L nti-S-aa-zaa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

L nti-S-aa-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

- /nkúraangiye inká nziizá **ntiwaazaavyigura**/ {Rwanda} 'If I notified you about a good cow, would you not buy it?' (Bizimana 1998:277) [object does not affect tonality]  
 /tutaagirá ináama **ntitwaazaatsiinda**/ {Rwanda} 'If we did not have advice, we would not succeed' (Overdulve 1975:242)  
 /ntitwaazeemera/ {Rwanda} 'We would not accept.' (Overdulve 1975:241, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:300)

#### 030 indicative negative conditional future perfective

See: Bizimana 1998:277; not in Overdulve 1975:311.

tone pattern:

L nti-S-aa-zaa-Δ-ye {Rwanda only}

- /waankuúnze **ntiwaazaampaaye** inká?/ {Rwanda} 'If you loved me, wouldn't you give me a cow?' (Bizimana 1998:277) [object does not affect tonality]

### 8.1.7. Indicative Persistentive<sup>368</sup>

This tense denotes that an action is *still* in progress. There is no tonally-marked conjoint/disjoint distinction.

#### 031 indicative affirmative persistentive imperfective

See: Cristini 2000:166,181, Rodegem 1967:44f – conjoint.

See: Cristini 2000:166,181, Rodegem 1967:46f – disjoint.

See: Overdulve 1975:189,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:219f, Kimenyi 2002:179 – no tonally-marked conjoint/disjoint distinction.

TONE PATTERNS:

F+R S-racáa-Δ-a {Rundi}

F+R S-rac-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}

F+R S-racyáa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

F+R S-racy-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/ndacáandika/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:196), /ndacyáandika/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:220) 'I am still writing.'

/uracáakóra/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:192), /uracyáakóra/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:220) 'You are still working.'

/baráceémeza yúukó ata mashuúre y'ábiígeme/ {Rundi} 'They still maintain that there should be no school for girls.' (R39.3, JN)

/ndacyiiga ikinyarwaanda/ {Rwanda} 'I am still studying Rwanda.' (Overdulve 1975:189, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:219)

/aracáakóra ubudátuuzá/ {Rundi} 'He is still working without a break.'

/abanyaambo baracyáahíiga/ {Rwanda} 'The Nyambo still hunt.' (R38)

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

F+R S-racáa-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}

F+R S-racyáa-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/ndacyáakúiga (ikinyarwaanda)/ {Rwanda} 'I am still learning it.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:221)

#### 032 indicative affirmative persistentive perfective

See: Bizimana 1998:264; Cristini 2000:166 – disjoint.

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:220 – no tonally-marked conjoint/disjoint distinction.

TONE PATTERNS:

F+R S-racáa-Δ-ye {Rundi}

F+R S-rac-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rundi}

F+R S-racyáa-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

F+R S-racy-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/aracáarwáaye/ {Rundi} 'He is still sick.' (Cristini 2000:166)

/turacyáakanuye/ {Rwanda} 'We are still awake.' (Bizimana 1998:263)

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

F+R S-racáa-obj-Δ-ye {Rundi}

F+R S-racyáa-obj-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

/ikibázo c'ísúkaári kiracáatugooye/ {Rundi} 'The sugar problem is still difficult for us.' (R33.1)

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<sup>368</sup> Kimenyi (2002:179) calls this the STILL TENSE and suggests that the morph /-racyáa-/ is complex, being derived from 'the focus marker -ra-, the tense marker -ki- and another tense -a- (thus -ra-ki-a) since its negative counterpart 'not anymore' tense is marked by -ki-.

**033 indicative negative persistive imperfective**<sup>369</sup>

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222, Kimenyi 2002:184,198; Cristini 2000:174, Rodegem 1967:56.

TONÉ PATTERNS:

N+L nti-S-ki-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {both}

N+L nti-S-gi-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {both}

N+L nti-S-c-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}

N+L nti-S-cy-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/sincaandika/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:196), /siincyandika/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222) 'I do not write anymore.'

/siinkigira icyó maríra abáanjyé/ {Rwanda} 'I am no longer useful to my family.' (R34.5)

/ntugikora/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:192), /ntuugikora/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222) 'You do not work anymore.'

/abagabo ntibagihinga/ {Rwanda} 'The men no longer plow.' (Overdulve 1975:191)

/ntibacyitabaara/ {Rwanda} 'They don't defend themselves anymore.' (Kimenyi 2002:198)

/abaábiranye ntibagishobora gutáana/ {Rundi} 'Those who are married can no longer get separated.' (Cristini 2000:174, Rodegem 1967:56)

«uburyo ifi yitwa Raie yisukura mu nda ntibukiri ibanga» {Rwanda} 'How the fish called 'Ray' cleans its stomach is no longer a secret.' (R12)

+ one object

TONÉ PATTERNS:

N+L nti-S-ki-obj-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {both}

N+L nti-S-gi-obj-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {both}

/ntitukibigura/ {both} 'We no longer buy them.' (Bizimana 1998:263)

**034 indicative negative persistive perfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222; Cristini 2000:174; no example in Rodegem 1967:56.

TONÉ PATTERNS:

N+L nti-S-ki-Δ-ye [voiced consonant] {both}

N+L nti-S-gi-Δ-ye [voiceless consonant] {both}

N+L nti-S-c-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rundi}

N+L nti-S-cy-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/sinkirwaaye/ {Rundi} 'I am not sick anymore.' (Cristini 2000:174)

/ntaakibona/ {both} 'He does not see anymore.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:349)

**8.1.8. Indicative Inceptive**<sup>370</sup>

This tense has two distinct meanings in English, *already* in the affirmative and *not yet* in the negative. Although Rodegem (1967:44–47) and Cristini (2000:166) suggest otherwise, the identical tonality of their examples establishes that there is no tonally-marked conjoint/disjoint distinction. There is also no imperfective/perfective distinction. Although Rundi maintains this construction in both the affirmative (*already*) and negative (*yet*), Rwanda only allows it in negative constructions. If a negative marker such as /ntaa bwo/ 'never' heads the clause, then the equivalent of an affirmative form does occur in Rwanda.

**035 indicative affirmative inceptive**

See: Cristini 2000:166, Rodegem 1967:44f – conjoint

See: Cristini 2000:166 Rodegem 1967:46f – disjoint

<sup>369</sup> Kimenyi (2002:184) calls this the MAIN CLAUSE 'NOT ANYMORE' TENSE. Later (Ibid.:198) he shows that this lowered finite verb pattern applies to reflexives.

<sup>370</sup> Kimenyi (2002:179) calls this the 'NOT YET' TENSE.

## Chapter 8: Verb Conjugations

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See: Overdulve 1975:310 – with negative head no conjoint/disjoint distinction.

TONE PATTERN:

F+R S-ráa-Δ-a {both}

/uráatángura gukóra/ {Rundi} 'Have you already begun to work?' (Cristini 2000:166, Rodegem 1967:44)

/uráakóra/ {Rundi} 'Have you already started working?' (Cristini 2000:166, Rodegem 1967:46)

/turáakúbuura urugó/ {Rundi} 'Have we already swept the yard?'

/ntaa bwo turáakórana/ {both} 'We have never worked together.' (cf: Overdulve 1975:310)

### 036 indicative negative inceptive {both}

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:224f, Kimenyi 2002:179; Cristini 2000:174, Rodegem 1967:56f.

TONE PATTERNS:

N+F+R nti-S-ráa-Δ-a {both}

N+F+R nti-S-r-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}

/ntituráabariira/ {both} 'We haven't sewn yet.' (Cristini 2000:174)

/ikiruúndi ntikiráandikwa nk'úukó kivugwá/ {both} 'Rundi is not yet written the way it is spoken.'

(Ntahokaja. n.d.:ii)

/ntaráamenya gusoma/ {both} 'He does not know how to read yet.'

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

N+F+R nti-S-ráa-obj-Δ-a {both}

/murí rusaánga ntibaráabiyítabiira/ {Rwanda} 'In general they do not yet comply with it.' (R38.6)

/sindáabyúumva/ {Rwanda} 'I don't understand it yet.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:343)

### 8.1.9. Indicative Narrative

Affirmative narrative constructions are covered by the IMMEDIATE tense (see §8.1.1).<sup>371</sup> However, Rwanda has a special construction in the negative. Note that no conjunction is used in such constructions.

### 037 indicative negative narrative

See: Bizimana 1998:242, Coupez 1980:390,410f #185, Overdulve 1975:154,311,<sup>372</sup> Overdulve & Jacob 1998:182f.

TONE PATTERNS:

N+L nti-S-a-Δ-a

N+L nti-S-Ø-Δ-a [vowel root]

/umuuntu w'úmusáaza yambwiiy' ikinyarwaanda sínuumva/ {both} 'An old man told me something in Rwanda ... but I didn't understand.' (Overdulve 1975:291 #118, JN)

/peetero ntíyamenya icyó yeézu amubwiiye/ {Rwanda} 'And Peter did not know what Jesus told him.' (Bizimana 1998:242)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

N+L ntí-S-a-obj-Δ-a

/nagiiye i waábo sínamubona/ {both} 'I went to his place but didn't find him there.' (Overdulve 1975:154. JN)

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<sup>371</sup> Overdulve 1975:310 gives an *indicative affirmative narrative* form /**twáakorana**/ that is not discussed anywhere else, whereas in the discussion of the *narrative* (Op.cit.:153) the *immediate disjoint* form /**turáakórana**/ is presented. In the same table he has an identical *relative narrative* form /**twáakorana**/; the following table disallows any corresponding *relative negative narrative* form.

<sup>372</sup> Overdulve 1975:311 cites /**ntitwáakórana**/ for the *negative narrative* which reflects the *Prule* rather than the *Lrule* stated (*la suppression du morphotonème lexical du radical*) and applied in previous examples (Op.cit.:154).

/baapimye inyama ntíyazigura/ {both} 'They weighed the meat but he didn't buy it.' (Overdulve 1975:154. JN)

## 8.2. Participial

The participial is the mood of dependent or subordinate clauses, literally translated with *-ing*. It is used in temporal clauses implying *when* or *as soon as*, after certain head verbs involving cognition (e.g., *-saanga* 'find that,' *-róota* 'dream that') plus a number of auxiliary verbs (see §10.2.1 and Table 115), and always after the copulative auxiliaries *-rí*, *-bá* that show that an action is out of the main time line (see §10.3). The primary tonality of the participial is the 1RULE (high tone on the first vowel after the first consonant). The conjoint/disjoint distinction is maintained idiosyncratically in some tenses. Rwanda has it in the recent, the future, the conditional, and the conditional future, while Rundi only has it in the recent and the preterit.

### 8.2.1. Participial Immediate

The highest frequency use of the participial is in the immediate tense. Neither dialect distinguishes conjoint from disjoint in this tense. Since high tone always falls on the first vowel to follow the first consonant in the affirmative, the presence of one or more objects will not affect tonality.

#### 038 participial affirmative immediate imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:189–192; Cristini 2000:166f,181, Rodegem 1967:48f.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-Δ-a {both}

/nsaanze dúhuuje/ {both} 'I find that we agree.' (R1)

/yari yúubatse/ {both} 'She was married.' (R17.8)

/ubigabura bíshyuushye/ {Rwanda} 'You serve them hot.' (R18)

/ibituúngwa yari atúunze/ {both} 'The livestock which he had owned ...' (R25.2)

/ni aho haantu babá bávuga/ {both} 'It is that place that they are usually referring to.' (R40.2)

/baahora báryaama bátevye/ {Rundi} 'They used to go to bed late.' (Ntahokaja 1976:29)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-obj-Δ-a {both}

/baba bábibona/ {both} 'They usually see it.' (R15)

/umukurú wiíyo ntáará yar'áabiizi/ {both} 'The leader of that region knew about it.' (R23)

/harihó abayíroonka bagaca bávinvegeza/ {Rundi} 'There are those who get it and hide it right away.' (R33.6)

#### 039 participial affirmative immediate perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:190; Cristini 2000:167, Rodegem 1967:48f.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-Δ-ye {both}

/bayeenga bákoreesheje urwáagwá/ {both} 'They brew it using banana beer.' (R24.1, JN)

/iyó abá yáarafáshe iba yápfuuye ubusá/ {both} 'The ones that he has taken up to that point have been in vain.' (R31.4, JN)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-obj-Δ-ye {both}

/ihíbaámbewé ntuundyá ngútabaaye/ {Rundi} 'Oh no! Don't eat me after I helped you out!' (R27.4, JN)

### 040 participial negative immediate imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311; Cristini 2000:176, Rodegem 1967:58.

TONE PATTERN:

1+P S-ta-Δ-a

1+P S-t-Δ-a [vowel root]

/kubéera ikí nuúbu isúkaári igumá itábonéka/ {Rundi} 'Why does sugar continue to be unavailable?' (R33.5)

/uwaáanduza ni uryá akigwaáye atiivúuza/ {Rundi} 'The one who contaminates is someone who is ill but does not seek treatment.' (R31.3)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

1+P2 S-ta-obj-Δ-a

/ntáubwiira/ {both} 'Didn't I tell you!' (R28.4)

/bátagisóma/ {both} 'They not reading it ...' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:189)

### 041 participial negative immediate perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:190; Cristini 2000:176, Rodegem 1967:58.

TONE PATTERNS:

1+P S-ta-Δ-ye

1+P S-t-Δ-ye [vowel verb]

/núibá utányuzwé cyo tujyé kureeba ikidúkiraanura/ {Rwanda} 'If you are not satisfied, let's go look for a way to settle our dispute.' (R28.2)

/itábaanjé gutúungaanywa/ {both} 'They having not first been treated ...' (R20)

/ntaa ndwi yahéra adáshooyé mwó kimwé/ {Rundi} 'There wasn't a week that went by that he didn't sell one of them.' (R25.2)

/hari núubwó bateekéra hamwé bátavaangúuye ingó/ {both} 'There are times they cook (and eat) together without splitting up into families.' (R38.3)

/yaaje agenda afányooyé kuu nzogá/ {both} 'He came and left without drinking any beer.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:191)

+ one object

TONE PATTERNS:

1+P S-ta-obj-Δ-ye

1+P S-t-obj-Δ-ye [vowel root]

/ubiteeka ku muriro muké utáipfuúndikiye/ {both} 'Cook uncovered on low heat.' (R18)

/ntibashobóra kugira ahó bajyá bátabiheérewé uburéengaanzirá/ {Rwanda} 'They cannot go anywhere without permission.' [lit. 'they not being given it'] (R8a)

#### 8.2.2. Participial Recent

Both dialects maintain a conjoint/disjoint distinction in the recent participial, the conjoint loses root tonality and the disjoint maintains it.

### 042 participial affirmative recent imperfective conjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Kimenyi 2002:191; Cristini 2000:194.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-a-Δ-a {Rundi}

1+L S-a-Δ-aga {Rwanda}

/yasaanze náteeraga ipaási/ {Rwanda} 'He came while I was ironing.' (Bizimana 1998:270)

/twáakorana néezá/ {Rundi} (JN), /twáakorana néezá/ {Rwanda} (cf: Overdulve 1975:310) 'We having recently worked well together ...'

**043 participial affirmative recent perfective conjoint**

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:190, Kimenyi 2002:191; Cristini 2000:167,194

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-áa-Δ-ye {both}

/ndetse n'úkubóko kwáakomeretse cyaane/ {Rwanda} '... and even the arm was seriously injured.'  
(R34.5)/ivyo bitígiri vyaári vyáamanutse caane/ {Rundi} 'Those figures had dramatically decreased.' (R39.2)/umwáana aba yávutse ku bavyéeyi baábiiranye bíciye mu matégeko/ {Rundi} 'A child who was born to parents who were legally married ....' (R13, JN)**044 participial affirmative recent imperfective disjoint**

See: Overdulve 1975:178,310; Cristini 2000:167,181,194.

TONE PATTERN:

1+R S-áa-Δ-a {Rundi}

1+R S-áa-Δ-aga {Rwanda}

/náakúbuura/ {Rundi} 'I having just swept ...' (Cristini 2000:167)

/twáakóranaga/ {Rwanda} 'We having worked together ...' (Overdulve 1975:310)

/twaasaanze báakóruga/ {Rwanda} 'We noticed that they were working (today).' (Overdulve 1975:178)**045 participial affirmative recent perfective disjoint<sup>373</sup>**

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:190, Kimenyi 2002:174f; Cristini 2000:167,194

TONE PATTERN:

1+R S-áa-Δ-ye {both}

1+X S-Ø-Δ-ye [vowel root] {both}

/kukó abayínywa arí bo usaangá báatémaguranye/ {both} '... because those who drink it are the ones you find have hacked each other up.' (R24.4, JN)/nyina aba yáapfáakaye/ {both} 'The mother has been widowed.' (R13)/imisúre yáagurutse/ {both} 'The mousebirds having just flown off ...' (Cristini 2000:167)/twaari bwáapfé/ {Rundi} 'We were about to die.' (Ntahokaja 1976:29)/nsaanga inká ziizituye/ {both} 'I found the cows got untied.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:273)/bóogoshe/ {both} 'They having just shaved ...' (Kimenyi 2002:175)/mwáanditse/ {both} 'You having just written ...' (Cristini 2000:197)**046 participial negative recent imperfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:311; Cristini 2000:176, Rodegem 1967:58.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-ta-a-Δ-a {Rundi}

1+L S-ta-a-Δ-aga {Rwanda}

/waboonye tútaabohaga?/ {Rwanda} 'Didn't you see us knitting?' (Bizimana 1998:271)

/nzi atáahora asiiba/ {Rundi} 'I know that he was not often absent.' (Cristini 2000:176)

/wasaanze tútaakubuuye inzu/ {both} 'You found that we did not sweep the house.' (Bizimana 1998:271)

**047 participial negative recent perfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:190; Cristini 2000:177.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-ta-a-Δ-ye {both}

/níibá utáasaze waasiinze/ {both} 'If you are not crazy, you are drunk!' (Jacob #2 1986:396, JN)

/tútaakoranye/ {Rwanda} 'We having just worked together ...' (Overdulve 1975:311)

/ntáakubuuye/ {Rundi} 'I not having swept ...' (Cristini 2000:177)

<sup>373</sup> Kimenyi (2002:174) calls this the COMPLEMENTLESS PARTICIPIAL RECENT PAST.

### 8.2.3. Participial Preterit

Rwanda has no tonally-marked conjoint/disjoint distinction in the participial preterit, however Rundi does maintain a difference.

#### 048 participial affirmative preterit imperfective conjoint

See: Cristini 2000:168,181,194, Rodegem 1967:48.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-á-Δ-a [weak] {Rundi}

1+2+L S-áá-Δ-a [strong] {Rundi}

2+L S-Ø-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}

/nákubuura urugó/<sup>374</sup> {Rundi} 'I having swept the yard ...' (JN; cf: Cristini 2000:168)

/yákora/ {Rundi} 'He having worked ...' (Cristini 2000:193)

/twáábariira impuúzu/ {Rundi} 'We having sewn clothes ...' (Cristini 2000:168)

#### 049 participial affirmative preterit perfective conjoint

See: Cristini 2000:168,193,194; no conjoint form in Rwanda.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-á-Δ-ye [weak] {Rundi}

1+2+L S-áá-Δ-ye [strong] {Rundi}

2+L S-Ø-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rundi}

/nákoze/ {Rundi} 'I having worked ...' (Cristini 2000:193)

/twáákoze umurimo/ {Rundi} 'We having done the work ...' (cf: Cristini 2000:193)

/yaánditse/ {Rundi} 'He having written ...' (Cristini 2000:196)

/baánditse/ {Rundi} 'They having written ...' (Cristini 2000:196)

#### 050 participial affirmative preterit imperfective disjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:179,310, Bizimana 1998:272; Cristini 2000:168,185, Rodegem 1967:48f.

TONE PATTERN:

1+T S-áa-ra-Δ-aga {Rwanda}

1+2+T S-áá-ra-Δ-a [strong] {Rundi}

1+T S-á-ra-Δ-a [weak vowel root] {Rundi}

1+2+T S-áá-r-Δ-a [strong vowel root] {Rundi}

/twáárabáriira/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:168), /twáarabáriiraga/ {Rwanda} 'We having sewn ...'

/báárasóma/ {Rundi}, /báarasómaga/ {Rwanda} 'They having read ...'

/báararwáaraga/ {Rwanda} 'They having been sick ...' (Bizimana 1998:272)

/twaásaanze báarakóraga/ {Rwanda} 'We noticed that they were working (yesterday).' (Overdulve 1975:179)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

1+T S-áa-ra-obj-Δ-aga {Rwanda}

1+2+T S-áá-ra-obj-Δ-a [strong] {Rundi}

/iyó ntakugirá riba ryáaraampuhuye/ {Rwanda} 'If I did not have you, he would have finished me off.' (R28.5)

+ two objects

TONE PATTERN:

1+O2+L S-á-ra-obj-obj-Δ-a

/narázibábariirira/ {Rundi} 'I having sewn them (dresses) for them' (Cristini 2000:168)

<sup>374</sup> Cristini erroneously cites this as /nákúbuura urugó/ (2000:168), but weak forms clearly are low-toned apart from the *one* high tone of the preterit. This is borne out by his own examples: /nákora/ 'I having worked' (Ibid:193) for the imperfective, /naánditse/ 'I having written' (Ibid:196) for the perfective. Our thanks to Juvenal Ndayiragije for this astute correction.



**051 participial affirmative preterit perfective disjoint**

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:190, Bizimana 1998:273, Kimenyi 2002:200; Cristini 2000:168,197.

TONE PATTERN:

- 1+T S-áa-ra-Δ-ye [strong] {Rwanda}
- 1+2+T S-áa-ra-Δ-ye [strong] {Rundi}
- 1+L S-á-r-Δ-ye [weak vowel root] {both}
- 1+2+L S-áa-r-Δ-ye [strong vowel root] {Rundi}
- 1+L S-áa-r-Δ-ye [strong vowel root] {Rwanda}

/abeénshi bakaba bááravúuye mu Buruúndi/ {Rundi} 'Most (of them) had come from Burundi.'  
(R29.3)

/iyó abá yárafáshe iba yápfuuye ubusá/ {Rundi} 'Those (medicines) he has taken have been in vain.'  
(R31.4, JN)

/iziíndi zikaba zááraróonse urukiingo/ {Rundi} '... and others have obtained vaccine.' (R37.3)

/báarogoshe/ {Rwanda} 'They having shaven ...' (Kimenyi 2002:201)

/twáákúbuuye/ {Rundi} 'We having swept before today ...' (JN, Stevick 1965:12)

/niíbwiiraga kó cyaabá cyáarapfúbye/ {Rwanda} 'I assumed that it should have deactivated' (R34.3)

/twáarakóze/ {Rundi} (cf: Cristini 2000:198), /twáarakóze/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:190) 'We having worked ...'

/twáarasómye/ {Rundi} (JN), /twáarasómye/<sup>375</sup> {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:190) 'We having read.'

/báaratábaaye/ {Rundi} (JN), /báaratábaaye/<sup>376</sup> {Rwanda} 'They having defended ...' (Kimenyi 2002:200)

/ikinyarwaanda cyaári cyáaraháriwe/ {Rwanda} 'Kinyarwanda had been dedicated ...' (Bizimana 1998:3)

/iyi mpanuka idasaanzwé ngo yaaba yáratéewe n'ámaferi yaciitse/ {Rwanda} 'This unusual accident, it is believed, may have been caused by defective brakes.' (R16)

/yáraanditse/ {Rundi} 'He having had written ...' (Cristini 2000:197)

/twáaraanditse/ {Rundi} 'We having had written ...' (Cristini 2000:197)

**052 participial negative preterit imperfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:311; Cristini 2000:177; no example in Rodegem 1967:58.

TONE PATTERN:

- 1+2+L S-ta-á-Δ-a {Rundi}
- 1+2+L S-ta-á-Δ-aga {Rwanda}

/tútaákora/ {Rundi} 'We having not worked ...' (Cristini 2000:193)

/tútaákoranaga/ {Rwanda} 'We having not worked together ...' (Overdulve 1975:311)

**053 participial negative preterit perfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:190; Cristini 2000:177, Rodegem 1967:58.

TONE PATTERN:

- 1+2+L S-ta-á-Δ-ye {both}
- 1+T S-ta-a-ra-Δ-ye {Rwanda alt}

/ntaa wusóroma ataárimye/ {Rundi} 'There is no one who reaps having not plowed.'

/tútaákoze/ {both} 'We having not worked ...' (Cristini 2000:193, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:190)

/tútaásomye/ {both} 'We having not read ...' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:190)

/tútaarasómye/ {Rwanda} 'We having not read ...' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:190)

/tútaákoranye/ {Rwanda} 'We having not worked together ...' (Overdulve 1975:311)

<sup>375</sup> Juvenal Ndayiragije (pc) marked /twáarasómye/ "{both}." Given the tonal carryover in Rwanda (discussed by Kimenyi 2002:passim), the phonetic rendition (pronunciation) of Rwanda would indeed be identical to that of Rundi, i.e., [twáarasómye].

<sup>376</sup> Juvenal Ndayiragije (pc) again marked /báaratábaaye/ "{both}." Given the tonal carryover in Rwanda (discussed by Kimenyi 2002:passim), the phonetic rendition (pronunciation) of Rwanda would indeed be identical to that of Rundi, i.e., [báaratábaaye]. See the brief discussion and footnote in §2.2 about double long vowels in Rundi.

#### 8.2.4. Participial Conditional

As was mentioned concerning the indicative conditional, the conditional is a tense in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi, not a mood, expressing some eventuality (in the imperfective it is akin to English *should*) or an unrealized event (in the perfective it is akin to English *would have*).

##### 054 participial affirmative conditional imperfective conjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:241,310; Cristini 2000:168,181, Rodegem 1967:48f.

TONE PATTERN:

- 1+L S-óo-Δ-a {Rundi}
- 1+L S-óo+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}
- 1+L S-áa-Δ-a {Rwanda}
- 1+L S-áa+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/nyuma bakaba **báakomeza kóonka**/ {Rwanda} 'Afterwards, they should continue to be breastfed.' (R6)  
/asaanga **báahiinga umurimá**/ {Rwanda} 'He finds that they would plow the field.' (Overdulve 1975:241, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:294)  
/ubona **vyóokuunda gúte**/ {Rundi} 'In your opinion, how would this be possible?' (Cristini 2000:168, Rodegem 1967:48)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

- 1+L S-óo-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}
- 1+L S-áa-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/je mbona iryo boomba wóor**ikoreesha**.../ {Rundi} 'I really think you should repair (it) that pump...'  
(JN, R23)

##### 055 participial affirmative conditional perfective conjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:310; Rodegem 1967:48f; not in Cristini 2000:168.

TONE PATTERN:

- 1+L S-óo-Δ-ye {Rundi}
- 1+L S-óo+kw-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rundi}
- 1+L S-aa-Δ-ye {Rwanda}
- 1+L S-áa+kw-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/bóovuze ikí mu máaso yíwé/ {Rundi} 'What could they say in his presence?' (Rodegem 1967:48)  
/twóokoranye néézá/ {Rundi} (JN), /twáakoranye néézá/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:310) 'We would have worked well together.'

##### 056 participial affirmative conditional imperfective disjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:310; no disjoint in Rundi.

TONE PATTERN:

- 1+R S-áa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

/twáakórana/ {Rwanda} 'We should work together.' (Overdulve 1975:310)

##### 057 participial affirmative conditional perfective disjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:310

TONE PATTERN:

- 1+R S-áa-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

/twáakóranye/ {Rwanda} 'We could work together.' (Overdulve 1975:310)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

- 1+R S-aa-obj-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

/babá báadufáshe/ {Rwanda} 'They would have been arresting us.' (Overdulve 1975:245)

**058 participial negative conditional imperfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:311; Cristini 2000:177, Rodegem 1967:58.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-t-oo-Δ-a {Rundi}

1+L S-t-aa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/njye nuúmvaga igisaásu kítaakorana n'ímvíra/ {Rwanda} 'I thought that a mine cannot work in the rain.' (R34.3)

/tútaakorana/ {Rwanda} 'We should not work together.' (Overdulve 1975:311)

/nsaanze bátoogeenda/ {Rundi} 'I think that they shouldn't go.' (Cristini 2000:177, Rodegem 1967:58)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-t-oo-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}

1+L S-t-aa-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/kurí jeewé mbona ivyo ntóoy<sub>ye</sub>emera/ {Rundi} 'To my way of thinking, I would not accept that.' (Ntahokaja 1994:194)**059 participial negative conditional perfective**See: Overdulve 1975:311; no Rundi examples or patterns given in Overdulve or Rodegem.<sup>377</sup>

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-t-aa-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

/tútaakoranye/ {Rwanda} 'We not being able to work together ...' (Overdulve 1975:311)

**8.2.5. Participial Future**

Although Rwanda maintains a distinction between conjoint and disjoint, Rundi only uses the equivalent of the disjoint forms.

**060 participial affirmative future conjoint**

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:190.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-zaa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/túzaasoma igitabo/ {Rwanda} 'When we will read the book ...' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:190)/túzaakora akazi/ {Rwanda} 'When we will do the work ...' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:190)**061 participial affirmative future disjoint**

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:190, Kimenyi 2002:176; Cristini 2000:168,181, Rodegem 1967:48.

TONE PATTERN:

1+T S-zoo-Δ-a {Rundi}

1+T+J S-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}

1+T S-zoo+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi alt}

1+R S-zaa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

1+X S-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/umuúsi barayé bázoogéenda/ {Rundi} 'The day before their departure' ...'

/túzaakórana/ {Rwanda} 'We will work together (and) ...' (Overdulve 1975:310)

/bázaaririimba/ {Rwanda} 'When they will sing ...' (Kimenyi 2002:176)

/bázóogosha/ {Rundi} (JN), /bázoogosha/ {Rwanda} (Kimenyi 2002:176) 'When they will shave ...'

/bázookwáandika/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:198), /bázáandika/ {Rundi}, /bázaandika/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'When they will write ...'

<sup>377</sup> Presumably, if the pattern exists in Kirundi it would be 1+L S-t-oo-Δ-ye.

### 062 participial negative future

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:190; Cristini 2000:177, Rodegem 1967:58f.

TONE PATTERN:

1+F+R S-ta-zóo-Δ-a {Rundi}

1+F+R S-ta-záa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/nkeeka bátazóozá vubá/ {Rundi} 'I think that they won't come soon.' (Cristini 2000:177)

/tútazáakórana/ {Rwanda} '... us not going to work together.' (Overdulve 1975:311)

### 8.2.6. Participial Conditional Future {Rwanda only}

Only Kinyarwanda has conditional future forms. In the participial mood only imperfective forms are found, perfective forms are not used.

### 063 participial affirmative conditional future conjoint

See: Bizimana 1998:276; no conjoint/disjoint distinction maintained in Overdulve 1975:310.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-áa-zaa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

/usáanze názaahiinga ibijuumba waambwíira/ {Rwanda} 'If you think that I should cultivate sweet potatoes, you should tell me.' (Bizimana 1998:276)

/twáazaakorana/ {Rwanda} 'We might be working together.' (Overdulve 1975:310)

### 064 participial affirmative conditional future disjoint

See: Bizimana 1998:276; no conjoint/disjoint distinction maintained in Overdulve 1975:310.

TONE PATTERN:

1+F+R S-áa-záa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

/usáanze názáhíinga waambwíira/ {Rwanda} 'If you think that I should cultivate, you should tell me.' (Bizimana 1998:276)

### 065 participial negative conditional future

See: Bizimana 1998:277, Overdulve 1975:311.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-t-aa-zaa-Δ-a

/usáanze bátaazaakora waabahágarikira/ {Rwanda} 'If you find that they will not work, you should watch them.' (Bizimana 1998:277)

/tútaazaakorana/ {Rwanda} 'We might not be working.' (Overdulve 1975:311)

### 8.2.7. Participial Persistent

There is no tonally-marked conjoint/disjoint distinction. Because tonality falls exclusively on the first vowel to follow a consonant, the presence of one or more objects will not make any tonal difference.

### 066 participial affirmative persistent imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:190,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:220; Cristini 2000:168, Rodegem 1967:48f.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-ki-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {both}

1+L S-gi-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {both}

1+L S-c-Δ-a [vowel verb] {Rundi}

1+L S-cy-Δ-a [vowel verb] {Rwanda}

/inkúrikizi mbí zíívyo biboómbe zikaba zíciibonekeza/ {Rundi} 'The negative effects of these bombs are still attracting notice.' (R37.4)

/bitaama ntiyarí agíca ahabóna/ {Rundi} 'Bitama could no longer be seen anywhere.' (R25.3)

/bágitweenga/ {both} 'By the time he finished talking, they were still laughing.' (R11)  
 /kuva **bákivuuka**/ {both} 'from their birth' (R6)  
 /ntaabá **acáanduza**/ {Rundi} 'He is not infectious anymore.' (R31.3)  
 /ncyáandika/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:197), /ncyáandika/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:220) 'I still writing ...'

### 067 participial affirmative persistive perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:220; no Rundi examples or patterns given in Cristini or Rodegem.<sup>378</sup>

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-ki-Δ-ye [voiced consonant] {Rwanda or both}  
 1+L S-gi-Δ-ye [voiceless consonant] {Rwanda or both}  
 1+L S-cy-Δ-ye [vowel verb] {Rwanda}

/ntituba **túgikoranye**/ {Rwanda} 'We could no longer work together.' (cf: Overdulve 1975:310)

### 068 participial negative persistive imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222; Cristini 2000:177, Rodegem 1967:58.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-ta-ki-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {both}  
 1+L S-ta-gi-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {both}  
 1+L S-ta-c-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}  
 1+L S-ta-cy-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/baagiye **bátakivuga**/ {both} 'They left without talking anymore.' (Cristini 2000:177, Rodegem 1967:58)

/tútagikorana/ {both} 'We not working together anymore ...' (JN, Overdulve 1975:311)

/ntácaandika/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:197), /ntácyandika/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222) 'I not writing anymore ...'

### 069 participial negative persistive perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222; Cristini 2000:177, Rodegem 1967:58.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-ta-ki-Δ-ye [voiced consonant] {both}  
 1+L S-ta-gi-Δ-ye [voiceless consonant] {both}

/numva **bátakivuze**/ {Rundi} 'No doubt they won't say anything anymore.' (Rodegem 1967:58)

/atákirwaaye náaruhúuke **néezá**/ {both} 'He not being sick anymore, he should rest well.' (cf: Cristini 2000:177)

/bátagiteetse/ {both} 'They not cooking anymore ...' (JN, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222)

## 8.2.8. Participial Inceptive

Neither dialect maintains a conjoint/disjoint nor any imperfective/perfective distinction. Although Rundi maintains this construction in both the affirmative (*already*) and negative (*yet*), Rwanda only allows it in the negative.

### 070 participial affirmative inceptive

See: Cristini 2000:168,184, Rodegem 1967:48f; not in Overdulve 1975:310.

TONE PATTERN:

1+R S-raa-Δ-a {Rundi only}

/izúuba **ntiribá ríraakomera**/ {Rundi} 'The sun is usually not strong yet.' (Cristini 2000:168)

<sup>378</sup> Presumably, if this construction existed, it would be the same as that for Rwanda, except for vowel verbs where the pattern in Rundi would be 1+L S-c-Δ-ye.

**071 participial negative inceptive**

See: Overdulse 1975:311, Overdulse & Jacob 1998:224, Kimenyi 2002:180; Cristini 2000:177, Rodegem 1967:58f.

TONÉ PATTERN:

- 1+F+R S-tá-ráa-Δ-a [consonant root strong prefix] {both}
- 1+F+R S-tá-ráa-Δ-a [consonant root weak prefix] {Rwanda}
- 1+R S-tá-raa-Δ-a [consonant root weak prefix] {Rundi}
- 1+F+R S-tá-r'-Δ-a [strong or weak vowel root] {Rwanda}
- 1+P2 S-tá-r'-Δ-a [strong vowel root] {Rundi}
- 1+R S-tá-r'-Δ-a [weak vowel root] {Rundi}

/ntáraavúga urámenya yúukó .../ {Rundi} 'Before I speak, you'd better know that ...' (R27.4, JN)

/igihe mvuutsé ntáraareeba/ {Rwanda} 'When I was born, I still couldn't see.' (R36.2)

/atáraasoonza/ {Rwanda} 'He not being hungry yet ...' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:224)

/atáraahaaga {Rundi} 'He not getting full yet ...' (Cristini 2000:177)

/itáraabágwa naryaga ikí?/ {Rwanda} 'It not being slaughtered yet, what was I eating?' [proverb] (Bizimana 1998:265)

/ntáraandika/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:198), /ntáraandika/ {Rwanda} (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:224) 'I having not yet written ...'

/bátaráririimba/ {both} 'Before they sang ...' [lit. 'They having not yet sung ...'] (Kimenyi 2002:180, JN)

/bátaróogosha/{Rundi} (JN), /bátaróogosha/ {Rwanda} (Kimenyi 2002:180) '... them having not shaved yet.'

/tútarúubaka/ {Rundi} (JN), /tútarúubaka/ {Rwanda} (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:224) '... us having not yet built.'

+ one object

TONÉ PATTERN:

- 1+F+R S-ta-ráa-obj-Δ-a

/narií ntáraabibóna/ {Rwanda} 'I haven't seen that yet.' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:350)

/wari uútaráabyumva/ {Rwanda} 'You haven't heard about it yet.' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:350)

**8.3. Relative**

The relative is the mood of dependent or subordinate clauses that broadly translate as *who*, *which*, or *that* in English. Verbs that follow any of the relative pronouns (§4.5 and Table 61) and many conjunctions (§12.2.1 and Tables 123–4) are in the relative. No tonally-marked conjoint/disjoint distinction obtains. The primary tonality of the relative is the PRULE (high tone on the second syllable of the root).

Kinyarwanda has a special but limited SUBJECT RELATIVE verb form which agrees with the subject of the sentence (/uhágarariye/ *he who represents*) as opposed to a verb agreeing with an object (/ahagárariye/ *the country which he represents*). Because of this distinction, some authors establish OBJECT RELATIVE as opposed to a SUBJECT RELATIVE constructions. The primary tonality of this subject relative is the 1RULE, similar to the participial. The most significant and consistent difference is the treatment of *n1-sg*, which is always **u-** in subject relatives, **w-** before a vowel, and **a-** in object relatives, **y-** before a vowel (see Table 105). This conjugation is limited in two ways: it only occurs after three vowel-initial prefixes (**u-** *n1-sg*, *n2-sg*, **i-** *n2-pl*, *n5-sg*, **a-** *n3-pl*, *n8-pl*, *n9-pl*)<sup>379</sup> and the 1RULE is not maintained in all tenses (the recent and the preterit subject relative overlap tonally with the standard or object relative conjugations). Similar to our treatment of linkage (§8 #5 above), we will only recognize this distinction when it is maintained grammatically and tonally. The fact that the grammatical head of a relative verb is its subject or object will never

<sup>379</sup> With consonant-initial prefixes, even in Kinyarwanda, the tonality of subject-relative constructions follows that for object relative constructions [Prule]. Therefore, /bahagárariye/ is ambiguous for '(they) who represent' and '(the country) which they represent.'

matter in Kirundi and will only be significant in Rwanda if the subject is group 1 singular or the prefix of the verb is a vowel. Otherwise, in Kinyarwanda as always in Kirundi, the term RELATIVE will refer to all OBJECT RELATIVE constructions in both languages and to consonant-initial subject relative constructions in Kinyarwanda.

SUBJECT RELATIVE DISTINGUISHED

/umwáana ukúbita/ [1rule] {Rwanda} 'The child who hits...' (Overdulve 1975:158)

/ugéenda/ [1rule] {Rwanda} 'He who goes ...'

/utaráasoonza/ [1+F+R] 'He who is not yet hungry ...' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:224)

SUBJECT RELATIVE NOT DISTINGUISHED

/ageendá/ [Prule] {Rundi} 'He who goes ...'

/bageendá/ [Prule] {both} 'They who go ...'

/ibijumba biteetswé/ [Prule] {Rwanda} 'The sweet potatoes that are cooked ...' (Overdulve 1975:158)

OBJECT RELATIVE

/umwáana akubíta/ [Prule] {both} '... the child whom he hits.' (Overdulve 1975:158)

/abagabo umuhuúngu ahamágara/ [Prule] {both} '... the men whom the boy calls.' (Overdulve 1975:157)

/ibijumba bateeká/ [Prule] {Rwanda} '... the sweet potatoes that they cook.' (Overdulve 1975:158)

/ataráasoonza/ [F+R] '... him who is not yet hungry.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:224)

Table 105. Subject vs. Object Relative in Kinyarwanda

subject relative	tone	object relative	tone
<b>umuuntu</b> 'person' <i>nI</i> -sg understood		<b>umuuntu</b> 'person' <i>nI</i> -sg understood	
IMMEDIATE AFFIRMATIVE & NEGATIVE (§8.3.1)			
<b>usába</b> 'the person who asks'	1	<b>asabá</b> 'the person whom he asks'	P
<b>udásabá</b> 'the person who does not ask'	1+P	<b>adasabá</b> 'the p. whom he doesn't ask'	P
<b>usábye</b> 'the person who just asked'	1	<b>asabyé</b> 'the person whom he asked'	P
<b>udásabyé</b> 'the p. who did not just ask'	1+P	<b>adasabyé</b> 'the p. whom he didn't ask'	P
RECENT AFFIRMATIVE & NEGATIVE (§8.3.2)			
<b>wasabága</b> 'the person who was asking'	P	<b>yasabága</b> 'the person whom he was asking'	P
<b>utáasabaga</b> 'the person who did not ask'	1+L	<b>ataasabága</b> 'the person whom he did not ask'	P
<b>wasabyé</b> 'the person who asked'	P	<b>yasabyé</b> 'the p. whom he asked'	P
<b>utáasabye</b> 'the person who did not ask'	1+L	<b>ataasabyé</b> 'the p. whom he didn't ask'	P
PRETERIT AFFIRMATIVE & NEGATIVE (§8.3.3)			
<b>wasábaga</b> 'the person who has asked'	2	<b>yasábaga</b> 'the p. whom he has asked'	2+L
<b>utáásabaga</b> 'the p. who had not asked'	1+2	<b>ataásabaga</b> 'the person whom he had not asked'	2+L
<b>utáarasábaga</b> [-ra- form]	1+T		
<b>wasábye</b> 'the person who had asked'	2	<b>yasábye</b> 'the p. whom he had asked'	2+L
<b>utáásabye</b> 'the p. who had not asked'	1+2	<b>ataásabye</b> 'the person whom he had not asked'	2+L
<b>utáarasábye</b> [-ra- form]	1+T		
CONDITIONAL AFFIRMATIVE & NEGATIVE (§8.3.4)			
<b>waasabá</b> 'the p. who might ask'	P	<b>yaasabá</b> 'the p. whom he may ask'	P
<b>utáasaba</b> 'the person who might not ask'	1+L	<b>ataasabá</b> 'the person whom he may not ask'	P
<b>waasabyé</b> 'the person who would ask'	P	<b>yaasabyé</b> 'the p. whom he would ask'	P
<b>utáasabye</b> 'the person who would not ask'	1+L	<b>ataasabyé</b> 'the person whom he would not ask'	P
FUTURE AFFIRMATIVE & NEGATIVE (§8.3.5)			
<b>uzáasaba</b> 'the p. who will ask'	F+R	<b>azáasaba</b> 'the p. whom he will ask'	F+R
<b>utázásaba</b> 'the person who will not ask'	1+F+R	<b>atazásaba</b> 'the person whom he will not ask'	F+R

subject relative	tone	object relative	tone
CONDITIONAL FUTURE AFFIRMATIVE & NEGATIVE (§8.3.6)			
<b>waazáasaba</b> 'the person who might be asking'	F+R	<b>yaazáasaba</b> 'the person whom he might be asking'	F+R
<b>utáazaasaba</b> 'the person who might not be asking'	1+X	<b>ataazáasaba</b> 'the person whom he might not be asking'	F+R
<b>waazáasabye</b> 'the person who would be asking'	F+R	<b>yaazáasabye</b> 'the person whom he would be asking'	F+R
<b>utáazaasabye</b> 'the person who would not be asking'	1+X	<b>ataazáasabye</b> 'the person whom he would not be asking'	F+R
PERSISTIVE AFFIRMATIVE & NEGATIVE (§8.3.7)			
<b>ugísaba</b> 'the person who still asks'	1	<b>agisabá</b> 'the person whom he still asks'	P
<b>utágisaba</b> 'the person who doesn't ask anymore'	1	<b>atagisaba</b> 'the person whom he no longer asks'	L
<b>ugísabye</b> 'the person who still asks'	1	<b>agisabyé</b> 'the p. whom he still asks'	P
<b>utágisabye</b> 'the person who no longer asks'	1	<b>atagisabye</b> 'the person whom he no longer asks'	L
INCEPTIVE/PUNCTUAL NEGATIVE (§8.3.8)			
<b>uráasaba</b> 'the person who has yet to ask'	F+R	<b>aráasaba</b> 'the person whom he has yet to ask'	F+R
<b>utáráasaba</b> 'the person who has not yet asked'	1+F+R	<b>ataráasaba</b> 'the person whom he has not yet asked'	F+R

### 8.3.1. Relative Immediate

In Kinyarwanda, this construction follows the preprefix /ní/ to show a hypothetical condition.<sup>380</sup>

/níbarirúmba/ {Rwanda} 'If they sing ...' (Kimenyi 2002:208) [cf: Rundi: /ní baarirúmba/ RECENT]  
 /níboongéra/ {Rwanda} 'If they repeat ...' (Kimenyi 2002:208) [cf: Rundi /ní boongéra/ RECENT]

#### 072 relative affirmative immediate imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:144, Bizimana 1998:290, Kimenyi 2002:202,207f; Cristini 2000:170, Rodegem 1967:50f.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-Ø-Δ-a {both}

/ukó uteekwá/ {both} '... how it is cooked.' (R18)

/hari ubwó ubwo buhaánga bukenérwa/ {both} 'Sometimes that skill is needed.' (R38.1)

/umwé mu bagaanga bakoréra muri iyo ntáará/ {both} (R20) 'One of the doctors who work in that region ...'

/kukó noonsá abáana nkazó/ {both} '... because I breastfeed my children as they do.' (R28.8)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

P2 S-Ø-obj-Δ-a {both}

/siinzí kw áhikuúnda/ {Rwanda} 'I don't know if he will like it.' (Overdulve 1975:293)

/kukó buri jaambo arisohóra/ {Rwanda} 'Because each word that he utters ...' (Bizimana 1998:31)

/kukó ndazikuúnda/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:170), /kukó nzikuúnda/ {Rwanda} (LN) '... because I love them (the cows).'

/kó tuhyuúmva néezá/ {Rwanda} '... that we understand it well.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:167)

<sup>380</sup> Kimenyi (2002:207f) calls this a REALIS CONDITIONAL. In Kirundi, a hypothetical condition marked by /ní/ is followed by a RELATIVE RECENT (see §8.3.2).



+ two objects

TONE PATTERN:

O2+L S-obj-obj-Δ-a

/kó **babimúkorera**/ {both} '... that they are doing it for him.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:326, JN)

/kó **babimwíiba**/<sup>381</sup> {both} '... that they will steal them from him.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:326)

### 073 relative affirmative immediate perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:144; Cristini 2000:170, Rodegem 1967:50f.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-Ø-Δ-ye

/ahó **yakavúgiye ntárahéza**/ {both} 'For all the time she has been talking, she is not done yet.'

(Ntahokaja 1976:28)

/amakurú **anyúranye**/ {both} 'various news' (R8.1)

/ingéne **watáanzwe**/ {Rundi} '... how it was distributed.' (R35.4)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

P2 S-obj-Δ-ye

/ntaa **báandi bagabo nguhaáye**/ {Rwanda} 'I am not giving you any more witnesses.' (R28.9)

/bugiingo **ayitegúuye iramucakira**/ {Rundi} 'When he released it, it snatched him.' (R27.3)

/ico ní co **kigitaánya n'ibiíndi**/ {Rundi} 'That is the thing that differentiates it from others.' (Ntahokaja 1976:27)

### 074 relative negative immediate imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:145, Bizimana 1998:290, Kimenyi 2002:203; Cristini 2000:177, Rodegem 1967:58f.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-ta-Δ-a {both}

P S-t-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}

/umubiri **mwiizá utagirá ineenge**/ {both} 'a good body that does not have deformity' (R36.4)

/niíbwiiraga kó **niintaboná inkwí...**/ {Rwanda} 'I assumed that if I do not find firewood...' (R34.3)

/imaánza z'ábaantu **batuumvíikana**/ {Rwanda} '... disputes among people who have a misunderstanding' (R40.4)

/ikiintu **tudategéera**/ {Rundi} 'The thing that we don't understand ...' (R33.1)

/ingwáara **idateeyé isóni**/ {Rundi} 'a disease that is not humiliating' (R31.4)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

P S-ta-obj-Δ-a {both}

/iyó **ntakugirá riba ryáaraampúhuye**/ {Rwanda} 'If I did not have you, he would have finished me off!' (R28.5)

/hari **náahó utabashikiira**/ {Rundi} 'It might not even reach them.' (R35.3)

### 075 relative negative immediate perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:145; Cristini 2000:177, Rodegem 1967:58f.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-ta-Δ-ye {both}

P S-t-Δ-ye [vowel root] {both}

/impanuka **idasaanzwé**/ {both} 'an unusual accident' (R8b, R16)

/yakoze **ibiintu bidakwiiyé**/ {both} 'He did inappropriate things.' (Jacob #2 1986:324)

/imvúgo **itávaangávanga indími**/ {both} 'a jargon that does not mix languages' (Bizimana 1998:3)

/ivyó **mudasobáanukiwe mwoobibáza**/ {Rundi} 'You should ask what you don't understand.' (R9)

<sup>381</sup> In the case of a vowel root, the high tone follows the second object, appearing on the first vowel of the root.

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

P2 S-ta-obj-Δ-ye {both}

/bataandeméetse/ {both} '... that they do not put a load on me.' (R19)

### 8.3.1.1. Subject Relative Immediate {Rwanda only}

This Kinyarwanda construction is limited to relative verbs that agree with the subject of the sentence and which have a vowel prefix. Consonant-initial prefixes in Rwanda follow the tonality and grammar of object relatives.

#### 076 subject relative affirmative immediate imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:184–188, Bizimana 1998:290, Kimenyi 2002:202f.

TONE PATTERN:

1 V-Δ-a [vowel prefixes on consonant roots only]<sup>382</sup> {Rwanda only}

/umugabo ukóra/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg-rebsubj* 'the man who works' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)

/umuuntu ubóna igití/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg-rebsubj* 'the man who finds the tree' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:184)

/umwáana uryá/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg-rebsubj* 'the child who eats' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185,289)

/ni jyeewé uvúga/ {Rwanda} *n1-sg-rebsubj* 'I am the one speaking.' (Overdulve 1975:285)

/imibú itéera malaariyá/ {Rwanda} *n2-pl-rebsubj* 'mosquitoes which cause malaria' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:184)

/amazina asóbaanurwa/ {Rwanda} *n3-pl-rebsubj* 'nouns which are explained' (Bizimana 1998:153)

/amashuúri abáanza/ {Rwanda} *n3-pl-rebsubj* 'primary school' [lit. 'schools that start'] (Bizimana 1998:393)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

1 V-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

/ní ukó inyáajwí ikábaanziriza/ {Rwanda} 'It is because the vowel that precedes it ...' (Bizimana 1998:111)

#### 077 subject relative affirmative immediate perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185,268.

TONE PATTERN:

1 V-Δ-ye [vowel prefixes on consonant roots only] {Rwanda only}

/amagaambo asáangiye igicuúmbi/ {Rwanda} 'words that share a root' (Bizimana 1998:153)

/indwáara ikómeye/ [Irule] {Rwanda} 'a serious illness' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:268)

#### 078 subject relative negative immediate imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:186, Bizimana 1998:290.

TONE PATTERN:

1+P V-ta-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {Rwanda only}

1+P V-da-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {Rwanda only}

1+P V-t-Δ-a [vowel verb] {Rwanda only}

/udásabá/ {Rwanda} 'one who does not ask' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:186)

/udákorána/ {Rwanda} 'one who does not work with (another)' (Overdulve 1975:311)

/udátémá/ {Rwanda} 'one who does not cut' (Bizimana 1998:290)

/utáandíka/ {Rwanda} 'the one who does not write' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:18)

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<sup>382</sup> Vowel root verbs will have consonant-initial prefixes and follow the same tonal rule [*Prule*] as for an object relative construction, e.g., /woogósha/ {Rwanda} 'he who shaves' (Kimenyi 2002:203).

**079 subject relative negative immediate perfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:186; not in Bizimana 1998:290.

TONE PATTERN:

1+P V-ta-Δ-ye [voiceless consonant] {Rwanda only}

1+P V-da-Δ-ye [voiced consonant] {Rwanda only}

1+P V-t-Δ-ye [vowel verb] {Rwanda only}

/udásabyé/ {Rwanda} 'one who did not ask' (Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:186)

/utáriiyé/ {Rwanda} 'one who did not eat' (Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:186)

/utáandítse/ {Rwanda} 'the one who did not write' (Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:186)

/imirimo idákoméye/ {Rwanda} 'easy work [lit. 'that is not difficult']' (Overdulve 1975:217)

**8.3.2. Relative Recent**

In Kirundi, the relative recent functions as a conditional. When it follows the prefix /ní/, it shows a hypothetical situation.

/ní nabafáta nzoobahana/ {Rundi} 'If I catch you, I will punish you.' (cf: Cristini 2000:170)

/ní nakirá néeza nzooya/ {Rundi} 'I will come if I recover completely.' (Cristini 2000:170)

/abashitsi ní baageendá nzoorkuuka/ {Rundi} 'When the visitors leave, I will rest.' (Cristini 2000:170)

**080 relative affirmative recent imperfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:178f,310, Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:159; Cristini 2000:170, Rodegem 1967:50f.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-a-Δ-a [weak] {Rundi}

P S-aa-Δ-a [strong] {Rundi}

P S-Ø-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}

P S-a-Δ-aga [weak] {Rwanda}

P S-aa-Δ-aga [strong] {Rwanda}

P S-Ø-Δ-aga [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/abaantu twaakoránaga/ {Rwanda} 'people that we (recently) worked with' (cf: Overdulve 1975:310)/igitabo nasomága/ {Rwanda} 'the book which I (recently) read' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:159)

/mwaandíka/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:197), /mwaandíkaga/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'what you (recently) wrote'

/imirimá baahiingága/ {Rwanda} 'the fields that they were cultivating (today)' (Overdulve 1975:178)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

P2 S-a-obj-Δ-a [weak] {Rundi}

P2 S-aa-obj-Δ-a [strong] {Rundi}

P2 S-a-obj-Δ-aga [weak] {Rwanda}

P2 S-aa-obj-Δ-aga [strong] {Rwanda}

/ibyó twaabasabága ntimúbiduhe/ {Rwanda} 'You should not give us what we asked you for.' (Bizimana 1998:270)/ní nabafatíisha, nzoobahaniisha/ {Rundi} 'If I have them caught, I will have them punished.' (JN, Cristini 2000:170)**081 relative affirmative recent perfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:144, Bizimana 1998:290, Kimenyi 2002:203; Cristini 2000:170, Rodegem 1967:50f.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-a-Δ-ye [weak] {both}

P S-aa-Δ-ye [strong] {both}

/iyó wateetsé inyama nyíinshi/ {both} 'If you cooked a lot of meat ...' (R18)/inyányá watonóye/ {Rwanda} 'tomatoes that you peeled' (R18)

## Chapter 8: Verb Conjugations

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/baavuzé/ {both} '... that they spoke (recently).' (Cristini 2000:13)

/babiri mu baári báakoméretse/ 'Two among those who had been injured ...' (R16)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

P2 S-a-obj-Δ-ye [weak] {both}

P2 S-aa-obj-Δ-ye [strong] {both}

/harabúra n'uumwé yeeméra kó yagatwaáye/ {Rundi} 'There isn't a single person who admits that he took it away.' (R7)

/n'uuyu nyéne yampamágaye/ {Rundi} 'It is the same one that called me.' (Cristini 2000:128)

### 082 relative negative recent imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:178,311; Cristini 2000:177, Rodegem 1967:58

TONE PATTERNS:

P S-ta-a-Δ-aga {Rwanda}

L S-ta-a-Δ-a {Rundi}

/kó bataavuga, ntáco baaróonsé/ {Rundi} 'Because they didn't say anything, they didn't get anything.' (Cristini 2000:177)

/ní ntaabaasha/ {Rundi} 'If I cannot ...' (JN)

/yavuze kó mutaasabága/ {Rwanda} 'He said that you did not ask.' (Bizimana 1998:271)

/tutaakoránaga/ {Rwanda} '... that we were not working together' [habitually] (Overdulve 1975:311)

/imirimá bataahiingága/ {Rwanda} 'the fields that they were not cultivating (today)' (Overdulve 1975:178)

### 083 relative negative recent perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:145, Bizimana 1998:290, Kimenyi 2002:203f; Cristini 2000:177, Rodegem 1967:58

TONE PATTERNS:

P S-ta-a-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

L S-ta-a-Δ-ye {Rundi}

/umuuntu atumviise/ {Rundi} 'a person who did not understand (recently)' (Cristini 2000:177, Rodegem 1967:58) [subject relative]

/umuuntu atumviiise/ {Rwanda} 'a person whom he did not understand' (LN) [object relative]

/ibyó mutaariiyé mwaabitánga/ {Rwanda} 'You should give away what you didn't eat.' (Bizimana 1998:268)

/tutaakoránye/ {Rwanda} '... that we were not (recently) working together.' (Overdulve 1975:311)

#### 8.3.2.1. Subject Relative Recent {Rwanda only}

This Kinyarwanda construction is limited to recent relative verbs that agree with a *nI-sg* subject of the sentence. The semivowel /w-/ is the prefix in the affirmative (where the PRULE tonality is identical to that for object relatives), but /u-/ and 1RULE tonality does appear in the negative.

### 084 subject relative affirmative recent imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185; not in Bizimana 1998:290.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-a-Δ-aga {Rwanda only}

/wasabága/ {Rwanda} 'the one who recently asked' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185)

/waandikaga/ {Rwanda} 'the one who recently wrote' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185)

### 085 subject relative affirmative recent perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185, Bizimana 1998:290.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-a-Δ-ye {Rwanda only}

- /wasabyé/ {Rwanda} 'the one who recently asked' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185)  
 /watemyé/ {Rwanda} 'the one who recently cut' (Bizimana 1998:290)  
 /waanditse/ {Rwanda} 'the one who recently wrote' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185)  
 /wiibyé/ {Rwanda} 'the one who recently stole' (Bizimana 1998:290)

### 086 subject relative negative recent imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:186.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L V-ta-a-Δ-aga {Rwanda only}

- /utáasabaga/ {Rwanda} 'the one who recently did not ask'(Overdulve & Jacob 1998:186)  
 /utáandikaga/ {Rwanda} 'the one who recently did not write'(Overdulve & Jacob 1998:186)

### 087 subject relative negative recent perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:186, Bizimana 1998:290.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L V-ta-a-Δ-ye {Rwanda only}

- /utáatemye/ {Rwanda} 'the one who recently did not cut' (Bizimana 1998:290)  
 /utáasabye/ {Rwanda} 'the one who recently did not ask'(Overdulve & Jacob 1998:186)  
 /utíibye/ {Rwanda} 'the one who recently did not steal' (Bizimana 1998:290)  
 /utáanditse/ {Rwanda} 'the one who recently did not write'(Overdulve & Jacob 1998:186)

### 8.3.3. Relative Preterit

The overriding tone pattern for the relative preterit is on the second mora of the word. The presence or absence of an object will not matter as the tone will still fall on the second mora.

### 088 relative affirmative preterit imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:159; Cristini 2000:170, Rodegem 1967:50f.

TONE PATTERN:

- 2+X S-a-Δ-a [weak] {Rundi}  
 2+X S-aá-Δ-a [strong] {Rundi}  
 2+X S-Ø-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}  
 2+X S-a-Δ-aga [weak] {Rwanda}  
 2+X S-aá-Δ-aga [strong] {Rwanda}  
 2+X S-Ø-Δ-aga [vowel root] {Rwanda}
- /ntaabwo iyo gacaáca yakízaga ku maánza z'úwiishe umuuntu/ {Rwanda} 'That Gacaca never settled a dispute over a person who killed another person.' (R40.5)  
 /nihó yatángura gukóra/ {Rundi} 'That is when he started to work.' (R17.6)  
 /ntaabwo baáhamagaraga umugoré/ {Rwanda} 'They never summoned the wife.' (R40.4)  
 /ubwó zaa gaári ya moóshi ebyiri zaágoonganaga/ '... when two trains collided.' {Rwanda} (R8.2)  
 /ingéne Mwézi yasá/ 'How Mwezi looked.' {Rundi} (R5)  
 /ní twó yatwáara/ {Rundi} 'It is what he took away.' (R25.3)  
 /inzu buúbakaga/ {Rwanda} 'the house which they (formerly) built' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:159)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

- 2+X S-a-obj-Δ-a [weak] {Rundi}  
 2+X S-aá-obj-Δ-a [strong] {Rundi}  
 2+X S-a-obj-Δ-aga [weak] {Rwanda}  
 2+X S-aá-obj-Δ-aga [strong] {Rwanda}
- /insíguuro baáyaha/ {Rundi} 'the explanation that they were giving them' (29.5)

### 089 relative affirmative preterit perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:144, Bizimana 1998:290; Cristini 2000:170, Rodegem 1967:50f.

TONÉ PATTERN:

2+X S-a-Δ-ye [weak] {both}

2+X S-aá-Δ-ye [strong] {both}

2+X S-Ø-Δ-ye [vowel root] {both}

/icó nabúze/ {Rundi} 'What I haven't had ...' (R19)

/twaákoranye/ {Rwanda} '... that we have worked together.' (Overdulve 1975:310)

### 090 relative negative preterit imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311; Cristini 2000:178, Rodegem 1967:58.

TONÉ PATTERN:

A2+L S-ta-á-Δ-a {Rundi}

A2+L S-ta-á-Δ-aga {Rwanda}

/ibyó bataáryaga baábihaga imbwá/ {Rwanda} 'What they didn't eat they used to give to the dogs.' (Bizimana 1998:274)

/ntaa ndwi yahéra adáshooyémwó kimwé/ {Rundi} 'There wasn't a week that went by that he did not sell one of them.' (R25.2)

/imirimá bataáhiingaga/ {Rwanda} 'the fields that they were not cultivating (yesterday)' (Overdulve 1975:178)

### 091 relative negative preterit perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:145, Bizimana 1998:290; Cristini 2000:178, Rodegem 1967:58.

TONÉ PATTERN:

A2+L S-ta-á-Δ-ye

/umuuntu atuúmviise/ {Rundi} 'a person who did not understand' (Cristini 2000:178, JN)

/kó batiíze/ {both} '... that they didn't go to school.' (R38.6)

/inká mutaáguze/ {both} '... cows that you did not buy.' (JN, LN)

/tutaákoranye/ {both} '... that we had not worked together.' (JN, Overdulve 1975:311)

#### 8.3.3.1. Subject Relative Preterit {Rwanda only}

This exclusively Kinyarwanda construction is limited to preterit relative verbs that agree with a *nl-sg* subject of the sentence. The semivowel /w-/ is the prefix in the affirmative (where the overriding tone pattern is on the second mora of the word, 2RULE, which is identical to that for object relatives), but /u-/ and an additional 1RULE tonality does appear in the negative. The presence or absence of an object will not matter as the tone will still fall on the second mora.

### 092 subject relative affirmative preterit imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185.

TONÉ PATTERN:

2+L S-a-Δ-aga [weak only] {Rwanda only}

/wasábaga/ {Rwanda} 'the one who formerly asked' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185)

/waándikaga/ {Rwanda} 'the one who formerly wrote' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185)

### 093 subject relative affirmative preterit perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185, Bizimana 1998:290.

TONÉ PATTERN:

2+L S-a-Δ-ye [weak only] {Rwanda only}

/wasábye/ {Rwanda} 'one who formerly asked' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185)

/watémye/ {Rwanda} 'one who formerly cut' (Bizimana 1998:290)

/waánditse/ {Rwanda} 'one who formerly wrote' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185)

**094 subject relative negative preterit imperfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:186.

TONE PATTERN:

1+2+L V-tá-á-Δ-aga {Rwanda only}

1+T V-t-áara-Δ-aga [alt] {Rwanda only}

/utáásabaga/ {Rwanda} 'one who did not ask' (Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:186)

/utáarasábaga/ {Rwanda} 'one who did not ask' (Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:186)

/utáákoranaga/ {Rwanda} 'one who did not work with (another)' (Overdulve 1975:311)

/utáándikaga/ {Rwanda} 'one who did not write' (Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:186)

/utáarándikaga/ {Rwanda} 'one who did not write' (Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:186)

**095 subject relative negative preterit perfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:186, Bizimana 1998:290.

TONE PATTERN:

1+2+L V-tá-á-Δ-ye {Rwanda only}

1+T V-t-áara-Δ-ye {Rwanda only}

/umutégarúgori utáarasháatse kwiivuga izína/ {Rwanda} 'a woman who wanted to remain anonymous' (R22)

/utáásabye/ {Rwanda} 'one who had not asked' (Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:186)

/utáákoranye/ {Rwanda} 'one who had not worked with (another)' (Overdulve 1975:311)

/utáátemye/ {Rwanda} 'one who had not cut' (Bizimana 1998:290)

/utáarasábye/ {Rwanda} 'one who had not asked' (Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:186)

/utáaráánditse/ {Rwanda} 'one who had not written' (Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:186)

**8.3.4. Relative Conditional**

The conditional tense in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi when in the relative mood can create a polite command with the sense of *please*. Generally, however, it is a subordinate or dependent element expressing some EVENTUALITY (in the imperfective similar to English *should*) or an UNREALIZED EVENT (in the perfective similar to English *would have*). One of its primary functions is as the first part of *if ... then* statements; the RELATIVE CONDITIONAL *if* clause is followed by an INDICATIVE CONDITIONAL *then* clause (§8.1.4). It also serves in some highly idiomatic constructions, such as following the conjunctive /ahó/ with the meaning *instead of*.

**096 relative affirmative conditional imperfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:301, Bizimana 1998:290, Kimenyi 2002:205; Cristini 2000:170, Rodegem 1967:50f.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-oo-Δ-a {Rundi}

P S-aa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/waacecéka/ {Rwanda} 'Would you please be quiet!' (Overdulve &amp; Jacob 1998:301) [POLITE COMMAND]

/ntaa rwo nooshobóra/ {Rundi} 'There is nothing that I can do about it.' (R27.5)/kó bootabáara/ {Rundi} (JN), /kó baatabáara/ {Rwanda} (Kimenyi 2002:205) '... that they would defend.'/baakorá baahéembwa/ {Rwanda} 'If they worked, they would be paid.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:301)/bariifuuza kó haakorérwa ubushaakashaatsi/ {Rwanda} 'They wish that research would be done there.' (R22)/baacaaná, umwíijimá ugahuunga/ {Rwanda} 'If people build a fire, darkness runs away.' (R28.12)/icó umuuntu yooshiimá muri ico gihúgu/ {Rundi} 'What one should praise about that country ...' (R29.9)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

P2 S-oo-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}

P2 S-aa-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/baansabá ibisóbaanuro/ {Rwanda} 'If they ask me for an explanation ...' (R32)

/shaaka ukuúndi waabikorá/ {Rwanda} 'Find another way to do it.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:294)

/ntaa kuúndi afité yaabigeénza/ {Rwanda} 'He has no other way to do it.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:294)

/barashaaka ahó baamuhaamba/ {Rwanda} 'They are looking for a place to bury him.' [lit. 'where they might bury him'] (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:294)

/kó yoorimenyésha ibicíiro aguriishakó/ {Rundi} '... that they should inform it about their sale price.' (R9)

### 097 relative affirmative conditional perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:246,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:301; Cristini 2000:170, Rodegem 1967:50f.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-oo-Δ-ye {Rundi}

P S-aa-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

/ahó yoovuzé ati/ {Rundi} (R11), /ahó yaavuzé ati/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'Instead of saying ...'

/ahó yootabáaje/ {Rundi} (R27.3), /ahó yaatabáaje/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'Instead of calling for help ...'

/twaagizé inká miroongw iné/ {Rwanda} 'If we sold forty cows ...' (Overdulve 1975:246)

/baakozé baahéembwe/ {Rwanda} 'If they worked, they would be paid.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:301)

### 098 relative negative conditional imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Bizimana 1998:290; Cristini 2000:178, Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

L S-t-oo-Δ-a {Rundi}

P S-t-aa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/ivyó batoomenya/ {Rundi} 'What they could not possibly know ...' (Cristini 2000:178, Rodegem 1967:59)

/ibyó utaakenéra waabiguriisha/ {Rwanda} 'What you might not need you should sell.' (Bizimana 1998:268)

/tutaagirá ináama/ {Rwanda} 'If we do not hold a meeting ...' (Overdulve 1975:242)

/tutaakorána/ {Rwanda} '... that we would not work together.' (Overdulve 1975:311)

### 099 relative negative conditional perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311; No examples in Cristini 2000:178, Rodegem 1967:59.<sup>383</sup>

TONE PATTERN:

P S-t-aa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/ibyó mutaariiyé mwaabitáanga/ {Rwanda} 'What you might not eat, you should give away.' (Bizimana 1998:268)

/tutaakoránye/ {Rwanda} '... that we would not have worked together.' (Overdulve 1975:311)

#### 8.3.4.1. Subject Relative Conditional {Rwanda only}

This Kinyarwanda construction is limited to conditional verbs that agree with a *nI-sg* subject of the sentence. The semivowel /w-/ (rather than /y-/) is the prefix in the affirmative (where the PRULE tonality is identical to that for object relatives), but /u-/ and 1RULE tonality (with the loss or root tonality) appears in the negative. Nouns of all other classes are treated the same as object relatives.

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<sup>383</sup> If the construction occurs, the tone pattern should follow that of the imperfective, e.g., L S-t-oo-Δ-ye.



**100 subject relative affirmative conditional imperfective**

See: Coupez 1980:449 #21, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:294, Bizimana 1998:290; disallowed in Overdulve 1975:310.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-aa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

P S-aa+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/nii ndé waavugá kó arí mu Rwaanda hóonyiné bavugá ikinyarwaanda/ {Rwanda} 'Who would say that it is in Rwanda alone that they speak Kinyarwanda?' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:294)

/waatemá/ {Rwanda} 'one who would cut' (Bizimana 1998:290)

/waarasáaga/ {Rwanda} 'one who would incise' (Coupez 1980:449 #21)

/waasogóota/ {Rwanda} 'one who would stab' (Coupez 1980:449 #21)

/waakwiibá/ {Rwanda} 'one who would steal' (Bizimana 1998:290)

**101 subject relative affirmative conditional perfective**

See: Coupez 1980:449 #22; not exemplified in Overdulve & Jacob 1998 or Bizimana 1998; disallowed in Overdulve 1975:310.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-aa-Δ-ye {Rwanda only}

P S-aa+kw-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/waarasáaze/ {Rwanda} 'one who could incise' (Coupez 1980:449 #22)

/waasogóose/ {Rwanda} 'one who could stab' (Coupez 1980:449 #22)

**102 subject relative negative conditional imperfective**

See: Coupez 1980:449 #39, Overdulve 1975:311, Bizimana 1998:290; not exemplified in Overdulve & Jacob 1998.

TONE PATTERN:

1+X V-t-áa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

1+X V-t-áa+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/utáatema/ {Rwanda} 'one who would not cut' (Bizimana 1998:290)

/utáakorana/ {Rwanda} 'one who would not work with (another)' (Overdulve 1975:311)

/utáarasaaga/ {Rwanda} 'one who would not incise' (Coupez 1980:449 #39)

/utáasogoota/ {Rwanda} 'one who would not stab' (Coupez 1980:449 #39)

/utáakwiiba/ {Rwanda} 'one who would not steal' (Bizimana 1998:290)

**103 subject relative negative conditional perfective**

See: Coupez 1980:449 #40, Overdulve 1975:311, not exemplified in Overdulve & Jacob 1998 or Bizimana 1998.

TONE PATTERN:

1+X V-t-áa-Δ-ye {Rwanda only}

1+X V-t-áa+kw-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/utáakoranye/ {Rwanda} 'one who could not work with (another)' (Overdulve 1975:311)

/utáarasaaaze/ {Rwanda} 'one who could not incise' (Coupez 1980:449 #40)

/utáasogoose/ {Rwanda} 'one who could not stab' (Coupez 1980:449 #40)

**8.3.5. Relative Future**

This is the indefinite future tense of relative clauses. In Kinyarwanda, these verbs may follow the conjunction *ní* 'if' to express a REALIS FUTURE CONDITIONAL (Kimenyi 2002:178).

**104 relative affirmative future**

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:144, Bizimana 1998:290, Kimenyi 2002:176f; Cristini 2000:171, Rodegem 1967:50.

TONE PATTERN:

F+T S-zóo-Δ-a {Rundi}

F+A2 S-zóo-kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}

F+R S-záa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

F+X S-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/tukaba twíizeeye kó ivyo bigwaniisho **bizóosáambuurwa**/ {Rundi} '... and we hope that those weapons will be destroyed.' (R37.5, JN)

/amagaambo **azáavúga**/ {Rwanda} 'the words which he will say' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:144)

/bazáaririimba/ {Rwanda} '(that) they will sing' (Kimenyi 2002:176)

/nibazáaririimba/ {Rwanda} 'if they will sing' (Kimenyi 2002:178)

/bazóogosha/ {Rwanda} '(that) they will shave' (Kimenyi 2002:177)

/nibazóogosha/ {Rwanda} 'if they will shave' (Kimenyi 2002:178)

/ni je **nzóobáriira**/ {Rundi} 'It is I who will sew.' (Cristini 2000:171)

/muzóokwaándika/ {Rundi} (JN, Cristini 2000:198), /muzáandika/ (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:144) 'which you will write'

+ one object

tone pattern:

F+T S-zóo-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}

F+O S-záa-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/avuga kó azóobakényerera akabagwaanya/ {Rundi} (R29.7, JN), /avuga kó azáabáhagurukira akabarwaanya/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'He says that he will make every effort to combat them.'

/azáabávugira/ {Rwanda} 'which he will say on their behalf' (LN)

### 105 relative negative future

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:145, Bizimana 1998:290; Cristini 2000:178, Rodegem 1967:59.

tone pattern:

F+T S-ta-zóo-Δ-a {Rundi}

F+T S-ta-zóo-kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}

F+R S-ta-záa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

F+R S-ta-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/kó **tutazóobáriira**, **tuzoorima**/ {Rundi} 'Given that we won't sew, we will plow.' (Cristini 2000:178)

/tutazáakórana/ {Rwanda} '... that we won't work together.' (Overdulve 1975:311)

#### 8.3.5.1. Subject Relative Future {Rwanda only}

This exclusively Kinyarwanda construction is limited to future verbs that agree with a *nl-sg* subject of the sentence. Since the prefix /-záa-/ starts with a consonant, the prefix is /u-/ in both the affirmative and the negative. Nouns of all other classes are treated the same as object relatives.

### 106 subject relative affirmative future

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185, Bizimana 1998:290.

tone pattern:

F+R V-záa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

F+X V-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/uzáatéma/ {Rwanda} 'one who will cut' (Bizimana 1998:290)

/uzáaryá/ {Rwanda} 'one who will eat' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185)

/uzáasaba/ {Rwanda} 'one who will ask' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185)

/uzáandika/ {Rwanda} 'one who will write' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:185)

/uziiba/ {Rwanda} 'one who will steal' (Bizimana 1998:290)

**107 subject relative negative future**

See: Overdulve 1975:311,<sup>384</sup> Overdulve & Jacob 1998:186, Bizimana 1998:290.

TONE PATTERN:

1+F+R V-tá-záa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

1+T V-tá-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/utázáasaba/ {Rwanda} 'one who will not ask' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:186)

/utázátéma/ {Rwanda} 'one who will not cut' (Bizimana 1998:290)

/utázáaryá/ {Rwanda} 'one who will not eat' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:186)

/utázáandika/ {Rwanda} 'one who will not write' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:186)

/utáziiba/ {Rwanda} 'one who will not steal' (Bizimana 1998:290)

**8.3.6. Relative Conditional Future {Rwanda only}**

This tense and affix combination is only found in Kinyarwanda and refers to a conditional action at least one day in the future. Like the indicative and unlike the participial, it is conjugated in both the imperfective and perfective.

**108 relative affirmative conditional future imperfective<sup>385</sup>**

See: Bizimana 1998:277,290, Kimenyi 2002:178, Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:300.

TONE PATTERN:

F+R S-aa-záa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

F+X S-aa-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/nóone waazáatwáara iby'abaáandi/ {Rwanda} 'What if you would take other people's things?' (Bizimana 1998:277)

/umurimá twaazáhíinga/ {Rwanda} 'the field which we would cultivate' (Overdulve 1975:241, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:300)

/twaazáakóra néezá twaazaatsiinda/ {Rwanda} 'If we were to work well, we would succeed.' (Overdulve 1975:242, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:301)

/baazáatabaara/ {Rwanda} '(that) they would defend' (Kimenyi 2002:178)

/baazóongera/ {Rwanda} 'what they would repeat' (Kimenyi 2002:178)

**109 relative affirmative conditional future perfective**

See: Bizimana 1998:277; not in Overdulve 1975:310 nor Overdulve & Jacob 1998.

TONE PATTERN:

F+R S-aa-záa-Δ-ye {Rwanda only}

F+X S-aa-z-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/nk'uúbwo waazáhíinze ukarora kó udakirá/ {Rwanda} 'How about you cultivate and then you'll see if you won't be rich?' (Bizimana 1998:277)

**110 relative negative conditional future imperfective**

See: Bizimana 1998:278,290, Overdulve 1975:311; not Overdulve & Jacob 1998.

TONE PATTERN:

F+R S-t-aa-záa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

/tutaazáakórana/ {Rwanda} '... (that) we would not be working together.' (Overdulve 1975:311)

/inyama ntaazáatéeka zaaba iziíhe?/ {Rwanda} 'Which is the meat that I should not cook? (Bizimana 1998:278)

**111 relative negative conditional future perfective**

See: Bizimana 1998:278; not in Overdulve 1975:311 nor Overdulve & Jacob 1998.

TONE PATTERN:

<sup>384</sup> The only example presented by Overdulve for this particular conjugation is in error: /utázaakorana/ (1975:311) should be /utázáakórana/.

<sup>385</sup> Kimenyi (2002:178) calls this the FUTURE RELATIVE IRREALIS CONDITIONAL.

F+R S-t-aa-záa-Δ-ye {Rwanda only}  
/inyama ntaazáaguze zaaba izihe?/ {Rwanda} 'Which is that meat that I should not buy?' (Bizimana 1998:278)

### 8.3.6.1. Subject Relative Conditional Future {Rwanda only}

This exclusively Kinyarwanda construction is limited to conditional future verbs that agree with a *nI-sg* subject. The semivowel /w-/ (rather than /y-/) is the prefix in the affirmative (where the tonality is identical to that for object relatives), but /u-/ and 1RULE tonality (with the loss of root tonality) appears in the negative. Nouns of all other classes are treated the same as object relatives.

#### 112 subject relative affirmative conditional future imperfective

See: Bizimana 1998:290, Coupez 1980:451 #131; not in Overdulve 1975:310.

TONE PATTERN:

F+R S-aa-záa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}  
/waazáatéma/ {Rwanda} 'one who would cut' (Bizimana 1998:290)  
/waazáasogoota/ {Rwanda} 'one who would stab' (Coupez 1980:451 #131)  
/waazáarásaaga/ {Rwanda} 'one who would incise' (Coupez 1980:451 #131)  
/umwáana waazáakúbita uwuúndi/ {Rwanda} 'the child who would hit another child' (LN)

#### 113 subject relative affirmative conditional future perfective

See: Coupez 1980:451 #132; not in Overdulve 1975:310 nor Bizimana 1998:290.

TONE PATTERN:

F+R S-aa-záa-Δ-ye {Rwanda only}  
/umwáana waazáakúbise uwuúndi/ {Rwanda} 'a child who could hit another child' (LN)  
/waazáasogoose/ {Rwanda} 'one who could stab' (Coupez 1980:451 #132)  
/waazáarásaaze/ {Rwanda} 'one who could incise' (Coupez 1980:451 #132)

#### 114 subject relative negative conditional future imperfective

See: Bizimana 1998:290, Coupez 1980:451 #139; not in Overdulve 1975:311.

TONE PATTERN:

1+X V-t-áa-zaa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}  
1+X V-t-áa-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}  
/utáazaatema/ {Rwanda} 'that he should not cut' (Bizimana 1998:290)  
/utáazaasogoota/ {Rwanda} 'that he should not stab' (Coupez 1980:451 #139)  
/utáazaarásaaga/ {Rwanda} 'that he should not incise' (Coupez 1980:451 #139)  
/umwáana utáazaakubita uwuúndi/ 'the child who would not hit another child' (LN)  
/utáaziiba/ {Rwanda} 'that he should not steal' (Bizimana 1998:290)

#### 115 subject relative negative conditional future perfective

Not in Overdulve 1975:311, Bizimana 1998, nor Coupez 1980.

TONE PATTERN:

1+X V-t-áa-zaa-Δ-ye {Rwanda only}  
/umwáana utáazaakubise uwuúndi/ {Rwanda} 'the child who could not have hit another child' (LN)

### 8.3.7. Relative Persistent<sup>386</sup>

This is the persistent tense of relative clauses. In the affirmative it has the sense of *still* and is tonally marked by the PRULE; while in the negative it has the sense of *no longer, not ... anymore* and is marked by loss of tonality, LRULE.

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<sup>386</sup> Kimenyi (2002:184) calls the negative of this the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE 'NOT ANYMORE' TENSE.

**116 relative affirmative persistive imperfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:190,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:220, Bizimana 1998:290, Kimenyi 2002:204; Cristini 2000:171, Rodegem 1967:50.

TONE PATTERN:

- P S-ki-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {both}
- P S-gi-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {both}
- P S-c-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}
- P S-cy-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/ntaa muuntu ngikuundá/ {both} 'I don't like anybody anymore.' (Bizimana 1998:263)

/tugikorána/ {both} '... that we still work together.' (JN, Overdulve 1975:310)

/bakiririimba/ {both} 'who still sing' (Kimenyi 2002:204)

/bacyoogósha/ {Rwanda} 'who still shave' (Kimenyi 2002:204), /bacoogósha/ {Rundi}

/bacyiibá/ {Rwanda} 'who still steal' (Bizimana 1998:290)

/mucaandika/ {Rundi} '... that you still write.' (Cristini 2000:197)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

- P2 S-ki-obj-Δ-a

/kó bakihigeénza/ {both} '... that they still do it.' (Cristini 2000:171, Rodegem 1967:50)

/ahó tukizibariira/ {both} '... while we are still sewing them (the dresses).' (Cristini 2000:171)

+ two objects

TONE PATTERN:

- O2+L S-ki-obj-obj-Δ-a {both}

/ahó tukizimúbariira/ {both} '... while we are still sewing them (the dresses) for her.' (Cristini 2000:171)

**117 relative affirmative persistive perfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:220; no examples in Cristini 2000:171, Rodegem 1967:50.

TONE PATTERN:

- P S-ki-Δ-ye [voiced consonant] {both}
- P S-gi-Δ-ye [voiceless consonant] {both}
- P S-c-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rundi}
- P S-cy-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/ntaabwo akijé kubéera akazi keénshi/ {Rwanda} 'He is not coming anymore because he has too much work.'

/ntaa mwaavu wúundi ukibonétse/ {Rundi} 'There is no other kind of fertilizer that is still available.' (R35.5)

/tugikoránye/ {both} '... that we are still working together.' (JN, Overdulve 1975:310)

**118 relative negative persistive imperfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222, Bizimana 1998:290, Kimenyi 2002:184,198; Cristini 2000:178, Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

- L S-ta-ki-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {both}
- L S-ta-gi-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {both}
- L S-ta-c-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}
- L S-ta-cy-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/ni twe tutakikubuura/ {Rundi} 'It is us who don't sweep anymore.'

/tutagikorana/ {both} '... that we no longer work together.' (JN, Overdulve 1975:311)

/atagikina/ {both} '... that he doesn't play anymore.' (JN, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:22)

/ntacaandika/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:197), /ntacyaandika/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222) '... that I do not write anymore.'

### 119 relative negative persistive perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222.

TONE PATTERN:

L S-ta-gi-Δ-ye

/tutagikoranye/ {both} '... that we are no longer working together.' (JN, Overdulve 1975:311)

/batagiteetse/ {both} '... who are not cooking anymore.' (JN, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222)

#### 8.3.7.1. Subject Relative Persistive {Rwanda only}

This exclusively Kinyarwanda construction is limited to persistive verbs that agree with a *nl-sg* subject of the sentence. Since the prefixes /-ki-/, /-gi-/ or /-cy-/ start with a consonant, the relative prefix is /u-/ in both the affirmative and the negative. Nouns of all other classes are treated the same as object relatives.

### 120 subject relative affirmative persistive imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:220, Bizimana 1998:290, Kimenyi 2002:204.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L V-ki-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {Rwanda only}

1+L V-gi-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {Rwanda only}

1+L V-cy-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/ukiririimba/ {Rwanda} 'who still sings' (Kimenyi 2002:204)

/ugikorana/ {Rwanda} 'who is still working with' [habitual] (Overdulve 1975:310)

/ugikina/ {Rwanda} 'who is still playing' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:220)

/ucyóngera/ {Rwanda} 'who does again' (Kimenyi 2002:204)

### 121 subject relative affirmative persistive perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:220.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L V-ki-Δ-ye [voiced consonant] {Rwanda only}

1+L V-gi-Δ-ye [voiceless consonant] {Rwanda only}

1+L V-cy-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/ugikoranye/ {Rwanda} 'who is still working with' [current] (Overdulve 1975:310)

/ukirwaaye/ {Rwanda} 'who is still sick' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:220)

### 122 subject relative negative persistive imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222, Bizimana 1998:290.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L V-ta-ki-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {Rwanda only}

1+L V-ta-gi-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {Rwanda only}

1+L V-ta-cy-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/utágikorana naátwe/ {Rwanda} 'who is no longer working with us' (LN; cf: Overdulve 1975:311)

/utágikina/ {Rwanda} 'who does not play anymore' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222)

/utákirya/ {Rwanda} 'who no longer eats' [habitual] (LN)

/utácyaandika/ {Rwanda} 'who doesn't write anymore' [habitual] (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222)

### 123 subject relative negative persistive perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:222.

TONE PATTERN:

1+L V-ta-ki-Δ-ye [voiced consonant] {Rwanda only}

1+L V-ta-gi-Δ-ye [voiceless consonant] {Rwanda only}

1+L V-ta-cy-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/utágikoranye naátwe/ {Rwanda} 'who is no longer working with us' (LN; cf: Overdulve 1975:311)

/utágikinnye/ {Rwanda} 'who is no longer playing' (LN)

/utákiriye/ {Rwanda} 'who is no longer eating' [now] (LN)

/utácyaanditse/ {Rwanda} 'who is no longer writing' [now] (LN)

### 8.3.8. Relative Inceptive or Punctual

A purely affirmative form exists in Rundi. When a negative or an interrogative heads the clause, the equivalent of an affirmative form also appears in Rwanda.

#### 124 relative affirmative inceptive/punctual

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:226, Bizimana 1998:290; Cristini 2000:171,184, Rodegem 1967:50; not in Overdulve 1975:310.

TONE PATTERN:

F+R S-ráa-Δ-a {both}

/ntaa bitooke aráatéera/ {Rundi} 'He still has not planted bananas.' (Cristini 2000:171, Rodegem 1967:50)

/ntaabwo uráabwírwa kuúntamika/ {both} '... yet never are you told to give me a mouthful.' (R36.5, JN)

/ntaa majyaambere uráabóna?/ {both} 'Didn't you see Majyambere yet?' (JN, Bizimana 1998:265)

/ntaa cyo ndáabóna/ {Rwanda} 'I haven't seen anything yet.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:226)

/hari uumurimo aráakóra?/ {Rwanda} 'Has he done any chores yet?' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:226)

#### 125 relative negative inceptive/punctual

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:224, Bizimana 1998:290, Kimenyi 2002:180; Cristini 2000:178, Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

F+R S-ta-ráa-Δ-a {both}

F+X S-ta-r'-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}

/ingoórane zihagaze ku bavyéeyi bataráajíjuuka/ {Rundi} 'Difficulties are based upon parents who do not yet have an open mind.' (R39.4)

/uwó ntaráatónganya agira ngo ngwa néézá/ {Rwanda} 'The one that I did not rebuke yet thinks that I am a nice person.' (Bizimana 1998:265)

/ntaráandika/ {both} '... that I did not yet write.' (Cristini 2000:198, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:224)

/bataróogosha/ {Rwanda} '... that they have not shaved yet.' (Kimenyi 2002:180)

/bataróongera/ {Rwanda} '... that they have not done yet.' (Kimenyi 2002:180)

/tutaráakórana/ {both} '... that we have not yet worked together.' (JN, Overdulve 1975:311)

#### 8.3.8.1. Subject Relative Inceptive {Rwanda only}

Although subject relative constructions only occur in Kinyarwanda when the construction is in the negative, if a negative heads the clause, the equivalent of an affirmative will appear.

#### 126 subject relative affirmative inceptive

Bizimana 1998:290; not in Overdulve 1975:310 nor Overdulve & Jacob 1998:224.

TONE PATTERN:

F+R V-ráa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

F+R V-r-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/ntaa mwáarimú uráaza/ {Rwanda} 'No teacher has come yet.'

/ntaa muuntu uráasoonza/ {Rwanda} 'No one is hungry yet.'

/ntaa munyéeshuúri uráandika gútya/ {Rwanda} 'There is no student who has written like this yet.'

#### 127 subject relative negative inceptive

See: Overdulve 1975:311,<sup>387</sup> Overdulve & Jacob 1998:224, Bizimana 1998:290.

TONE PATTERN

<sup>387</sup> The only example presented for this particular conjugation is in error: /utáraakorana/ (Overdulve 1975:311) should be /utaráakórana/.

1+F+R V-tá-ráa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

1+F+R V-tá-r-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/utaráatéma/ {Rwanda} 'he who has not yet cut' (Bizimana 1998:290)

/utaráasoonza/ {Rwanda} 'he who is not yet hungry' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:224)

/utaráandika/ {Rwanda} 'he who has not yet written' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:224)

### 8.4. Autonome<sup>388</sup>

The autonome is the mood that changes a fully inflected verb into a noun. It is used in all tenses to designate *the one who VERBs* or *those who VERB* (with appropriate tense changes, e.g., who VERBED, who will VERB, etc.). The primary tonality of the autonome is the ARULE (high tone on the first vowel after the prefix). Neither dialect distinguishes conjoint from disjoint in this mood.

#### 8.4.1. Autonome Immediate

The highest frequency use of the autonome is in the immediate tense, referring to habitual actions or permanent states, the present, the immediate past, the immediate future, or the narrative.

#### 128 autonome affirmative immediate imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:231f, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289, Bizimana 1998:291, Kimenyi 2002:193f,201f; Cristini 2000:171f, Rodegem 1967:52f.

TONE PATTERN:

A+L cl-Δ-a {both}<sup>389</sup>

A2+L cl-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}

U+X uú-Δ-a {both}<sup>390</sup> *nI*-sg special prefix – the single vowel becomes double

/ahíitwa inoseenti hó mu butaliyaáni/ {both} 'a place called Innocenti in Italy' (R6)

/abanywá kanyaanga/ {both} 'those who drink Kanyanga (moonshine)' (R24.5)

/úúsaba ntíyihúta/ {Rwanda} 'The one who asks for something does not hurry up.' (Bizimana 1998:172)

/ubutáaha/ {both} 'next time' (JN, Bizimana 1998:233, Kimenyi 2002:7)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

A+L cl-obj-Δ-a {both}

A+X cl-obj-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}

/uwubáanka ntaákaraambe!/ {Rundi} 'May anyone who hates you not live a long life!' (Cristini 2000:203f)

/ababípfá ní ababísaangira/ {both} 'Those who quarrel over them are the ones who share them.' (JN, Bizimana 1998:330)

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<sup>388</sup> Kimenyi (2002:193–7) uses the term HEADLESS RELATIVE. He states (Op.cit.:193) "The headless relative verb – called *autonomous* by Coupez and Meeussen – is always lowered on the stem in the following tenses: present, recent past, remote past, future, present conditional, future conditional, 'not yet' tense and 'still'/not anymore' tense." Stevick (1965:267–9) has an excellent summary of what he calls AUTONOMOUS FORMS for Kirundi. Overdulve, in his otherwise comprehensive verb table (1975:310–311), fails to exemplify the autonome because his paradigms are limited to the first person plural pronoun (*we*) and the autonome only agrees with noun classes, not pronouns. He does present a few paradigms for what he terms CAS I. Even in his most recent edition (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:288–291) he prefers to designate this mood as *relatif subjectif substantivé* (nominalized subject relative), using AUTONOME as an alternate term.

<sup>389</sup> Kimenyi (2002:201) associates the tonal placement with first syllable high tone assignment [our *Trule*]. We interpret the high tonality to be introduced by the autonome prefix. Much like the *Irule* seems to be characteristic of participial conjugations, the *Arule* seems to be the tonal hallmark of autonomes.

<sup>390</sup> This construction is also recognized by Kimenyi (2002:193f,201f) but we associate it with the *Xrule* (loss of a subsequent high tone) rather than the *Lrule* (intrinsic low tone).



/bitaama ntiyarí agíca ahabóna/ {both} 'Bitama dropped out of sight.' [lit. 'He was not passing anymore through a visible area there.'] (R25.3)

/ntihazóobúra uwuhávníkira/ {Rundi} 'Someone is quite likely to get hurt there.' (R23)

/abayínywa/ {both} 'the ones who drink it' (R24.4)

/harihó abayíroonka bagaca báinyegeza/ {Rundi} 'There are those who get it and hide it right away.' (R33.6)

### 129 autonome affirmative immediate perfective

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289; Cristini 2000:172, Rodegem 1967:52f.

TONE PATTERN:

A+L cl-Δ-ye {both}

A2+L cl-Δ-ye [vowel root] {both}

U+X uú-Δ-ye {both} *nI*-sg special prefix

/uúhagarikiwe n'íngwe aravooma/ {both} 'He who is protected by a leopard fetches water.' (Cristini 2000:172, Rodegem 1967:52)

/gisaabo yaámbye ibisáanzwe/ {both} 'Gisabo wore casual attire.' (R5)

/urasa n'úurwaaye/ {Rwanda} 'You look like someone who is sick.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:290)

+ one object

/daatá azáaguhé urugúkwiye/ {Rwanda} 'May my father give you the love you deserve.' (R36.10)

/ikínéezereje nuukó nsaanzé dúhuuje/ {both} 'What makes me happy is that I see we agree.' (R1, JN)

### 130 autonome negative immediate imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:231f, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289, Bizimana 1998:291; Cristini 2000:180, Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

A+P cl-tá-Δ-a {both}

A+P cl-t-Δ-a [vowel verb] {both}

U+P uú-ta-Δ-a {both, mainly Rwanda} *nI*-sg special prefix

U+P uú-t-Δ-a [vowel verb] {both, mainly Rwanda} *nI*-sg special prefix

/ntaa kitágirá akamaro ndemá/ {both} 'Nothing I create is unimportant.' (R28.10)

/abadáshobóra kuroonka amafaraanga/ {Rundi} 'the ones who cannot obtain the money' (R35.2)

/asiinziriye ibidáshirá/ {both} 'He sleeps too much.' (Bizimana 1998:331)

/abatáandika/ {both} 'those who do not write' (Cristini 2000:199, Overdulve 1975:232)

/úteeméra/ {both} 'one who does not believe' (Cristini 2000:180, LN)

### 131 autonome negative immediate perfective

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289; Cristini 2000:180, Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

A+P cl-tá-Δ-ye {both}

A+P cl-t-Δ-ye [vowel verb] {both}

U+P uú-ta-Δ-ye {both, mainly Rwanda} *nI*-sg special prefix

U+P uú-t-Δ-ye [vowel verb] {both, mainly Rwanda} *nI*-sg special prefix

/ahatáahiye/ {both} 'the places that did not burn' (Cristini 2000:180)

/uwutákubúuye n'úmunebwe/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:180), /úutakubúuye n'úmunebwe/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'One who does not sweep is lazy.'

/uwudáfisé/ {Rundi} 'one who does not have' (R33.4)

/abadásabyé/ {Rwanda} 'those who do not ask' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)

/ibitíihúuse imáana irabihuuta/ {Rwanda} 'Those which aren't rushed God pushes along.' [proverb] (Bizimana 1998:211)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

A+P2 cl-tá-Δ-ye {both}

/hari ahó bishiká kó biizéera uwutá**ij**shobóye/ {Rundi} (R11), /...uútab**ij**shobóye/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'It can happen that people rely upon someone who is not up to it.'  
/abatá**ij**kúunze/ {both} 'those who do not like them' (LN)

### 8.4.2. Autonome Recent

The tense marker is short /a/ in weak inflections (those that start with a semivowel) and long /aa/ in strong inflections (those that start with a consonant); it is lost with vowel initial verbs. Note that while Kirundi has the simple imperfective suffix **-a**, Kinyarwanda has **-aga**. This construction refers to an action that has been completed on the same day of speaking about it. It can also refer to a habitual event in the recent past. Note that the number of objects does not affect the tone pattern: the one and only high tone falls on the second mora after the prefix in the affirmative (A2RULE) and immediately after the prefix (ARULE) in the negative.

#### 132 autonome affirmative recent imperfective

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289, Bizimana 1998:291, Kimenyi 2002:193; Cristini 2000:172,195, Rodegem 1967:52f.

tone pattern:

- A2+L cl-a-Δ-a [weak] {Rundi}
- A2+L cl-aa-Δ-a [strong] {Rundi}
- A2+L cl-Ø-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}
- A2+L cl-a-Δ-aga [weak] {Rwanda}
- A2+L cl-aa-Δ-aga [strong] {Rwanda}
- A2+L cl-Ø-Δ-aga [vowel root] {Rwanda}

Note: the *nl*-sg special prefix **uú-** becomes **uw-** before the recent marker and follows the A2 tone rule.<sup>391</sup>

- /aba**á**bariira baaroonse agahéembo/ {Rundi} 'Those who have sewn received a small wage.' (Cristini 2000:172)
- /aba**á**vuga/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:195), /aba**á**vugaga/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'the ones who spoke (recently)'
- /uwasá**á**baga/ {Rwanda} 'one who just asked' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)
- /aba**á**sabaga/ {Rwanda} 'those who just asked' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)
- /uwa**á**ndika/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:199), /uwa**á**ndikaga/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'one who just wrote'
- /abu**ú**baka/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:199), /abu**ú**bakaga/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'those who just built'

#### 133 autonome affirmative recent perfective

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289, Bizimana 1998:291, Kimenyi 2002:194; Cristini 2000:172, Rodegem 1967:52f.

tone pattern:

- A2+L cl-a-Δ-ye {both}
- A2+X cl-Ø-Δ-ye [vowel root] {both}

Note: the *nl*-sg special prefix **uú-** becomes **uw-** before the recent marker and follows the A2 tone rule.

- /uwasá**á**vye/ {Rundi} (JN), /uwasá**á**bye/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289) 'one who recently asked'
- /uwi**í**vye/ {Rundi} (JN), /uwi**í**bye/ {Rwanda} (Bizimana 1998:291) 'one who was stealing (recently)'
- /abi**í**vye/ {Rundi} (JN), /abi**í**bye/ {Rwanda} (Bizimana 1998:291) 'the ones who were stealing (recently)'
- /aba**á**kubuu**ye** baari abakoóbwa/ {both} 'The ones who swept were girls.' (Cristini 2000:172, JN, LN)
- «nta cyizere ko n'abakomeretse bashobora kuzakira» {Rwanda} 'There is no hope that even the ones who were injured might survive.' (R8.2)

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<sup>391</sup> Kimenyi (2002:194) proposes that "after syllabification, this tone is assigned ... to the third vowel from the left." Our characterization is that tone falls on the second mora after the prefix [A2rule]. Either is essentially correct. Here, as everywhere, the student should use the interpretation that assists him or her in learning proper tone placement.

«nta bwo yakizaga ku manza z'uwishe umuntu» {Rwanda} 'It never settled a dispute over someone who killed another person.' (R40.5)

/abaátabaaye/ {both} 'those who defended' (Kimenyi 2002:194)

/aboógoshe/ {both} 'those who shaved' (Kimenyi 2002:194)

/aboóngeye/ {both} 'those who did again' (Kimenyi 2002:194)

+ three objects

TONE PATTERN:

A2+L cl-a-obj-obj- $\Delta$ -ye {both}

/hari uwahámuundaangiye/ {both} 'Somebody showed him to me there.' (Ntahokaja 1994:116)

### 134 autonome negative recent imperfective

See: Overdulse & Jacob 1998:289; Cristini 2000:180, Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

A+L cl-tá-a- $\Delta$ -a {Rundi}

A+L cl-tá-a- $\Delta$ -a-ga {Rwanda}

U+L uú-ta-a- $\Delta$ -a-ga *nI*-sg special prefix {mainly Rwanda}

/uwutáakubuura yar' ikigáabá/ {Rundi} 'The one who did not sweep was disobedient.' (Cristini 2000:180)

/uútaasabaga/ {Rwanda} 'one who did not ask (recently)' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:289)

/abatáasabaga/ {Rwanda} 'the ones who have not asked (recently)' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:289)

### 135 autonome negative recent perfective

See: Overdulse & Jacob 1998:289, Bizimana 1998:291, Kimenyi 2002:195; Cristini 2000:180, Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

A+L cl-tá-a- $\Delta$ -ye {both}

U+L uú-ta-a- $\Delta$ -ye *nI*-sg special prefix {Rwanda}

/uútaasabye/ {Rwanda} 'one who has not asked (recently)' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:289)

/uútaatemye/ {Rwanda} 'one who did not cut (recently)' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/uútiibye/ {Rwanda} 'one who did not steal (recently)' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/abatáasavye/ {Rundi} (JN), /abatáasabye/ {Rwanda} (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:289) 'those who have not asked (recently)'

/abatáatemye/ {both} 'those who did not cut (recently)' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/ahatáahiye/ {both} 'a place that did not burn' (Rodegem 1967:59)

#### 8.4.3. Autonome Preterit

The tonality of the autonome affirmative preterit forms winds up in most instances to be identical to that of the autonome recent.

### 136 autonome affirmative preterit imperfective

There is no distinction between recent and preterit forms in the affirmative.

See: Overdulse & Jacob 1998:289, Bizimana 1998:291; Cristini 2000:172, Rodegem 1967:52f.

TONE PATTERN:

A2+L cl-a- $\Delta$ -a {Rundi}

A2+L cl-a- $\Delta$ -aga {Rwanda}

Note: the *nI*-sg special prefix **uú**- becomes **uw**- before the recent marker and follows the A2 tone rule.

/abaábariira baaroonse agahéembo/<sup>392</sup> {Rundi} 'Those who had sewn received a small wage.' (Cristini 2000:172)

/uwasábaga/ {Rwanda} 'he who asked' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:289)

/abaásabaga/ {Rwanda} 'they who asked' (Overdulse & Jacob 1998:289)

<sup>392</sup> Compare this with the example in #132.

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

A2+L cl-a-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}

A2+L cl-a-obj-Δ-aga {Rwanda}

/wiigaanzuuye uwakúgaanza/ {Rundi} (R21.3), /wiigaanzuuye uwakúgaanzaga/ {Rwanda} 'You overcame the one who had dominated you.'

### 137 autonome affirmative preterit perfective

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289, Kimenyi 2002:195; Cristini 2000:172, Rodegem 1967:52f.

TONE PATTERN:

A2+L cl-a-Δ-ye {both}

/guhéembeera uwazímye/ {both} 'to try to smooth out a desperate situation' (JN, Jacob #1 1984:481)

/umwáana avuutsé kurí umwé mu baároongoranye/ {Rundi} 'a child who was born to only one of the married couple' (R13)

«hari iryakomotse ku kirwa cyitwa Tobago» {Rwanda} 'There was the kind that originated on an island called Tobago.' (R26.1)

/sinaménye ibyaákurikiyehó/ {Rwanda} 'I did not realize what happened next.' (R34.4)

/abaáshaakanye/ {Rwanda} 'those who got married' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:290)

/akaáje karémerwa/ {Rwanda} 'What has come about must be accepted.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:345)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

A2+L cl-a-obj-Δ-ye {both}

Note: the *nI*-sg special prefix **uú**- becomes **uw**- before the preterit marker

/icaákuriiye ntúkigéra inkoni/ {Rundi} 'You do not threaten with a stick that which has bitten you.' [proverb] (Rodegem 1967:52)

/igihúza umwáana n'ábaámuvyaaye/ {Rundi} '... that which unites the child with those who gave him birth.' (R13)

/sinzáanga uwankúunze/ {Rwanda} 'I will not hate the one who loved me.' (Bizimana 1998:257)

/n'úwaáguhaanze aguhoré haáfi/ {Rwanda} '... and may your creator always be close to you.' (R36.10)

/ntaa waánka uwamúhaaye/ {Rundi} 'No one hates his benefactor.' [lit. 'There is no one who hates the one who gave him']

+ two objects

TONE PATTERN:

A2+L cl-a-obj-Δ-ye [weak]

/uwakúumpaaye/ {both} 'he who gave you to me' (Cristini 2000:156)

### 138 autonome negative preterit imperfective

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289, Bizimana 1998:291; Cristini 2000:180, Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

A+A2+L cl-tá-á-Δ-a {Rundi}

A+A2+L cl-tá-á-Δ-a-ga {Rwanda}

U+A2+L cl-ta-á-Δ-a-ga *nI*-sg special prefix {Rwanda}

/uwutáákubuura yarágiye mw'iisóko/ {Rundi} 'The one who did not sweep went to the marketplace.' (Cristini 2000:180)

/útaásabaga/ {Rwanda} 'one who did not ask (formerly)' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)

/abatáásabaga/ {Rwanda} 'the ones who did not ask (formerly)' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)

### 139 autonome negative preterit perfective

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289, Kimenyi 2002:195; Cristini 2000:180, Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

A+A2+L cl-tá-á-Δ-ye

A+A2+L cl-t-Ø-Δ-ye [vowel root]

U+A2+L uú-ta-á-Δ-ye {both} *nI*-sg special prefix

U+A2+L uú-t-Ø-Δ-ye [vowel root] {both} *nI*-sg special prefix

/umwáana yavyáawe n'ábatáároongoranye/ {Rundi} 'a child born to unmarried people' (R13)

/úútaávyaaye ntátumágiza/ {Rundi} 'One who has not been a parent cannot easily get help.' [lit. 'cannot continually give orders' – proverb] (Cristini 2000:180)

/úútaásabye/ {Rwanda} 'one who has not asked (formerly)' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)

/úútiíbye/ {Rwanda} 'one who did not steal (formerly)' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/abatáásabye/ {Rwanda} 'those who have not asked (formerly)' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)

/abatííbye/ {Rwanda} 'those who did not steal (formerly)' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/abatóógoshe/ {Rwanda} 'those who did not shave' (Kimenyi 2002:195)

/abatóóngeye/ {Rwanda} 'those who did not shave' (Kimenyi 2002:195)

#### 8.4.4. Autonome Conditional

The conditional tense in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi when in the autonome creates a nominal expressing some EVENTUALITY or ACTUAL POSSIBILITY realizable on the same day of speaking (in the imperfective similar to English *one who would*) or an UNREALIZED EVENT or an UNFULFILLED POSSIBILITY (in the perfective similar to English *one who would have*).

#### 140 autonome affirmative conditional imperfective

See: Overdulve 1975:244,246, Bizimana 1998:291, Kimenyi 2002:196; Cristini 2000:172,199, Rodegem 1967:52.

TONE PATTERN:

A2+L cl-oó-Δ-a {Rundi}

A2+L cl-oó+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}

A2+L cl-aá-Δ-a {Rwanda}

A2+L cl-aá+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

Note: the *nI*-sg special prefix **uú**- becomes **uw**- before the conditional marker.

/icó nabúze ni uwoóva haasí ngo ambuúranire/ {Rundi} 'What I've never had is anyone to stand up for me and take my side.' (R19)

/uwoóbariira náagiré gúrtyo/ {Rundi} 'He who would sew should do it that way.' (Cristini 2000:172, JN)

/uwaáshiiuuta inká/ {Rwanda} 'one who would steal cows' (Overdulve 1975:244,246)

/uwaákwiiba/ {Rwanda} 'one who would steal' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/aboókwuubaka/ {Rundi} 'those who would build' (Cristini 2000:199)

/abaákwoogosha/ {Rwanda} 'those who would shave' (Kimenyi 2002:196)

/abaákwoongera/ {Rwanda} 'those who would do again' (Kimenyi 2002:196)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

A2+L cl-oó-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}

A2+L cl-aá-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

Note: the *nI*-sg special prefix **uú**- becomes **uw**- before the conditional marker.

/ngo tugeendé tureebé icyaátumara impaká/ {Rwanda} 'Come, let's go find some way to settle our dispute.' (R28.2)

/uwaámpa ijaambo muu náama/ {Rwanda} 'If someone would let me speak at a meeting ...' (R32)

/ico ómpa ntaázoozé/ {Rundi} 'I wish [lit. 'It would give me] he would not come!' (Cristini 2000:282)

#### 141 autonome affirmative conditional perfective

See: Overdulve 1975:245

TONE PATTERN:

A2+L cl-aá-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

Note: the *nI*-sg special prefix **uú**- becomes **uw**- before the conditional marker.

/uwaáshiiuuse inká/ {Rwanda} 'the one who would have stolen cows' (Overdulve 1975:245)

+ two objects

TONE PATTERN:

A2+L cl-oó-obj-obj-Δ-ye {Rundi}

A2+L cl-aá-obj-obj-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

/uwoózitubariiriye/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:172), /uwaázitubariiriye/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'one who could sew it for us'

### 142 autonome negative conditional imperfective

See: Bizimana 1998:291, Kimenyi 2002:196; Cristini 2000:180, Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

A+L cl-t-oo-Δ-a {Rundi}

A+L cl-t-aa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

U+L uú-t-aa-Δ-a {Rwanda} *nI-sg* special prefix

U+L uú-t-aa+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] *nI-sg* special prefix

/uwutóokubuura yooba mubí/ {Rundi} 'One who would not sweep is negligent.' (Cristini 2000:180)

/abatóovuga/ {Rundi} 'those who would not speak' (Cristini 2000:195)

/abatáatema/ {Rwanda} 'those who would not cut' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/uútaatema/ {Rwanda} 'one who would not cut' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/abatáakwiiba/ {Rwanda} 'those who would not steal' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/uútaakwiiba/ {Rwanda} 'one who would not steal' (Bizimana 1998:291)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

A+L cl-t-oo-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}

A+L cl-t-aa-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

U+L uú-t-aa-obj-Δ-a {mostly Rwanda} *nI-sg* special prefix

/uútaagukuunda ntaacyo yaabá amáze/ {Rwanda} 'He who would not love you would be useless.'  
(R36.8)

/abatáabjitema/ {Rwanda} 'those who would not cut them' (LN)

### 143 autonome negative conditional perfective

See: Coupez 1980:450 #40, Cristini 2000:180, Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

A+L cl-t-óo-Δ-ye {Rundi}

A+L cl-t-áa-Δ-ye {Rwanda}

/abatóokubuuye baashitse kare/ {Rundi} 'Those who would not sweep have arrived late.' (Cristini 2000:180)

/abatáasogoose/ {Rwanda} 'those who would not stab' (Coupez 1980:450 #40)

/abatáarasaaze/ {Rwanda} 'those who would not incise' (Coupez 1980:450 #40)

#### 8.4.5. Autonome Future

This mood and tense combination creates an ANTICIPATORY NOMINAL implying that the action will occur tomorrow or later.<sup>393</sup> There is no tonally-marked conjoint/disjoint distinction.

### 144 autonome affirmative future

See: Overdulve 1975:231, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289, Bizimana 1998:291; Cristini 2000:172,185,195, Rodegem 1967:52.

TONE PATTERN:

A+T cl-zóo-Δ-a {Rundi}

A+T cl-zóo+kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}

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<sup>393</sup> The "today" future is expressed by the immediate with **-ra-** (§8.1.1).

- A+R cl-záa-Δ-a {Rwanda}  
 A+X cl-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}  
 U+F+R uú-záa-Δ-a [consonant root] {Rwanda} *nI-sg* special prefix  
 U+L uú-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}<sup>394</sup> *nI-sg* special prefix  
 /abazóosángwa/ {Rundi} 'those who will be found' (Cristini 2000:185)  
 /voomera zóóse ntúbá uzi **izizóokwéera** kare/ {Rundi} 'Water all of them, because you don't know which one will bear fruit first.' (Cristini 2000:172); /izizéera/ {Rwanda} 'those which will bear fruit' (LN)  
 /úúzáashobora kwímura undí azáamwiímure/ {Rwanda} 'Whoever will be able to throw the other out, should do so.' (R28.10)  
 /abazáakórerera/ {Rwanda} 'those who will serve' (Overdulve 1975:231)  
 /úúzáatéma/ {Rwanda} 'one who will cut' (Bizimana 1998:291)  
 /abaziiba/ {Rwanda} 'those who will steal' (Bizimana 1998:291)  
 /úúzáakóra/ {Rwanda} 'one who will work' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)  
 /úúzáasaba/ {Rwanda} 'one who will ask' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)  
 /úúziiba/ {Rwanda} 'one who will steal' (Bizimana 1998:291)

### 145 autonome negative future

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289, Bizimana 1998:291; Cristini 2000:180, Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

- A+T cl-ta-zoo-Δ-a {Rundi}  
 A+F+R cl-tá-záa-Δ-a {Rwanda}  
 U+F+R uú-ta-záa-Δ-a {Rwanda} *nI-sg* special prefix  
 U+R uú-ta-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda} *nI-sg* special prefix  
 /uwutázoobárira/ {Rundi} 'the one who won't sew' (Cristini 2000:180)  
 /ngiicó ikitázoobúra/ {Rundi} 'That is the one thing that will never lack.' (Ntahokaja 1976:27)  
 /abatázáakóra/ {Rwanda} 'those who will not work' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)  
 /abatázáasaba/ {Rwanda} 'those who will not ask' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)  
 /úútazáatéma/ {Rwanda} 'he who will not cut' (Bizimana 1998:291)  
 /úútaziiba/ {Rwanda} 'he who will not steal' (Bizimana 1998:291)

#### 8.4.6. Autonome Conditional Future {Rwanda only}

This tense and affix combination is only found in Kinyarwanda and refers to a nominalized conditional action at least one day in the future. Like the indicative and relative and unlike the participial, it is conjugated in both the imperfective and perfective.

### 146 autonome affirmative conditional future imperfective

See: Bizimana 1998:291, Kimenyi 2002:196f.

TONE PATTERN:

- A2+L cl-aá-zaa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}  
 U+L uú-t-aa-zaa-Δ-a {Rwanda only} *nI-sg* special prefix  
 /uwaázaatema/ {Rwanda} 'one who would cut' (Bizimana 1998:291)  
 /abaázaatema/ {Rwanda} 'the ones who would cut' (Bizimana 1998:291)  
 /abaáziiba/ {Rwanda} 'the ones who would steal' (Bizimana 1998:291)  
 /abaázaatabaara/ {Rwanda} 'the ones who would defend' (Kimenyi 2002:197)  
 /abaázaakwoogosa/ {Rwanda} 'those who would shave' (Kimenyi 2002:197)  
 /úútaaziiba/ {Rwanda} 'one who would not steal' (Bizimana 1998:291)

<sup>394</sup> Kimenyi (2002:194) in speaking of headless relatives with the **uú-** prefix states that "high tone on the vowel prefix but low tones elsewhere are noted in the affirmative future tense, affirmative and negative conditional, 'still' and 'not anymore' tenses." He does not give supporting examples for the future tense, which has other tone rules when the full autonome prefix (**aba-**, **aka-**, **ubu-**, etc.) is present. The stated tonality (U+L) for autonome affirmative future applies only to vowel roots, consonant roots have a different tonal pattern (U+F+R).

**147 autonome affirmative conditional future perfective**

TONE PATTERN:

A2+L cl-aá-zaa-Δ-ye {Rwanda only}

/abaázaatemye/ {Rwanda} 'the ones who would cut'

/abaáziibye/ {Rwanda} 'the ones who would steal'

**148 autonome negative conditional future imperfective**

See: Bizimana 1998:291, Kimenyi 2002:197.

TONE PATTERN:

A+L cl-t-áa-zaa-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

A+L cl-t-áa-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

U+L uú-t-aa-zaa-Δ-a {Rwanda only} *nl-sg* special prefix

U+L uú-t-aa-z-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only} *nl-sg* special prefix

/úútaazaatema/ {Rwanda} 'one who would not cut' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/úútaaziiba/ {Rwanda} 'one who would not steal' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/abatáazaaririimba/ {Rwanda} 'those who would not sing' (Kimenyi 2002:197)

/abatáaziiba/<sup>395</sup> {Rwanda} 'those who would not steal' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/abatáazoogosh/<sup>396</sup> {Rwanda} 'those who would not shave' (Kimenyi 2002:197)

**149 autonome negative conditional future perfective**

TONE PATTERN:

A+L cl-t-áa-zaa-Δ-ye {Rwanda only}

U+L uú-t-aa-zaa-Δ-ye {Rwanda only} *nl-sg* special prefix

/úútaazaatemye/ {Rwanda} 'one who would not cut'

/abaátaaziibye/ {Rwanda} 'those who would not steal'

**8.4.7. Autonome Persistentive**

This mood and tense combination creates a PERSISTIVE NOMINAL. In the affirmative it has the sense of *one who still VERBs* and in the negative it has the sense of *those who no longer VERB, one who does not VERB anymore*. All are marked by high tone immediately after the prefix (ARULE), excepting *uú-*, and loss of any root tonality (LRULE). There is no tonally-marked conjoint/disjunct distinction. Because tonality falls exclusively on the first vowel after the prefix, the presence of one or more objects will not make any tonal difference.

**150 autonome affirmative persistentive imperfective**

See: Overdulve 1975:190, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289, Bizimana 1998:291, Coupez 1980:450 #51, Kimenyi 2002:194; Rodegem 1967:52.

TONE PATTERN:

A+L cl-kí-Δ-a [voiced consonant]

A+L cl-gí-Δ-a [voiceless consonant]

A+L cl-c-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rundi}

A+L cl-cy-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

U+L uú-ki-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {mostly Rwanda} *nl-sg* special prefix

U+L uú-gi-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {mostly Rwanda} *nl-sg* special prefix

U+L uú-cy-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda} *nl-sg* special prefix

/úwukíbaasha kwíirega yooshikiira umusáserdoóti/ {Rundi} 'One who can still confess should see a priest.' (Rodegem 1967:52)

/abagítema/ {both} 'those who still cut' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/abagísaba/ {both} 'those who still ask' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)

/abacyíiba/ {Rwanda} 'those who still steal' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/uúgisaba/ {Rwanda} 'one who still asks' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)

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<sup>395</sup> Erroneously cited as /abaátaaziiba/.

<sup>396</sup> Erroneously cited as /abatáakwoogosh/.



/uúcyiiba/ {Rwanda} 'one who still steals' (Bizimana 1998:291)

### 151 autonome affirmative persistive perfective

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289, Coupez 1980:450 #52; Cristini 2000:172.

TONE PATTERN:

A+L cl-kí-Δ-ye [voiced consonant] {both}

A+L cl-gí-Δ-ye [voiceless consonant] {both}

A+L cl-c-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rundi}

A+L cl-cy-Δ-ye [vowel root] {Rwanda}

U+L uú-gi-Δ-ye [voiceless consonant] *nI*-sg special prefix

/uwukírwaaye naagumé i muhirá/ {Rundi} 'One who is still sick should stay at home.' (Cristini 2000:172)

«byutsa ukiryamye» {Rwanda} 'Wake up the one who is still asleep!'

/abagísabye/ {both} 'those who still ask' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)

/uúgisabye/ {Rwanda} 'one who still asks' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)

### 152 autonome negative persistive imperfective

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289, Bizimana 1998:291, Coupez 1980:450 #59, Kimenyi 2002:193f; Cristini 2000:180, Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

A+L cl-tá-ki-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {both}

A+L cl-tá-gi-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {both}

U+L uú-ta-gi-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {mostly Rwanda}

U+L uú-ta-cy-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/ingwaano igahera ubutágisubiira/ {Rundi} '... and the war comes to an end once and for all.' (R37.6)

/uútakivuga/ {both} 'he who is not talking anymore' (Rodegem 1967:59)

/uwutákikubuura n'áasomé/ {Rundi} 'He who is no longer sweeping should read.' (Cristini 2000:180, JN)

/abatágisaba/ {both} 'those who no longer ask' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)

/uútagisaba/ {Rwanda} 'one who no longer asks' [habitual] (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)

/uútagitema/ {Rwanda} 'one who no longer cuts' (Bizimana 1998:291)

/uútacyiiba/ {Rwanda} 'one who no longer steals' (Bizimana 1998:291)

### 153 autonome negative persistive perfective

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289, Coupez 1980:450 #60; Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

A+L cl-tá-ki-Δ-ye [voiced consonant] {both}

A+L cl-tá-gi-Δ-ye [voiceless consonant] {both}

U+L uú-ta-ki-Δ-ye [voiced consonant] {mostly Rwanda}

U+L uú-ta-gi-Δ-ye [voiceless consonant] {mostly Rwanda}

/abatákirwaaye/ {both} 'those who are no longer sick' (Rodegem 1967:59)

/abatágisogoose/ {Rwanda} 'those who don't stab anymore' (Coupez 1980:450 #60)

/uútagisabye/ {Rwanda} 'one who no longer asks' [current] (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)

#### 8.4.8. Autonome Inceptive

This mood and tense combination creates an INCEPTIVE NOMINAL. A purely affirmative form exists in Rundi with the meaning *one who has already VERBed*. When a negative or an interrogative heads the clause, the equivalent of an affirmative form also appears in Rwanda. Both dialects have a negative form with the meaning of *one who has not yet VERBed*. Neither dialect maintains a conjoint/disjoint nor any imperfective/perfective distinction.

### 154 autonome affirmative inceptive {mostly Rundi}

See: Cristini 2000:172, Rodegem 1967:52.

TONE PATTERN:

F+R cl-ráa-Δ-a {both}

/abaráabariira/ {Rundi} 'Those who would have already sewn...!' (Cristini 2000:172)

/ntaa kiráakórwa/ {both} 'Nothing has been done so far.' (JN, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:290)

### 155 autonome negative inceptive

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289, Bizimana 1998:291, Kimenyi 2002:194; Cristini 2000:181, Rodegem 1967:59.

TONE PATTERN:

A+F+R cl-tá-ráa-Δ-a {both}

U+F+R uú-ta-ráa-Δ-a {Rwanda} *ni*-sg special prefix

/uwutaráavúga/ {Rundi} 'he who has not yet spoken' (Cristini 2000:195)

/úutaráahaaga/ {both} 'he who is not yet full' (Rodegem 1967:59)

/abataráavúga/ {both} 'those who have not yet spoken' (Cristini 2000:195)

/abataráakóra/ {both} 'those who have not yet worked' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:289)

A+R cl-tá-raa-Δ-a {Rundi alt}<sup>397</sup>

/uwutáraabariira ntaátahe/ {Rundi} 'He who did not sew yet should not go home.' (Cristini 2000:181)

/akatáraabóneka/ {Rundi} (JN), /akatáraabóneka/ {Rwanda} (Jacob 1987 #3:281) 'excellence, superbness; [atr] without precedent or equal' [lit. 'what is not yet seen']

## 8.5. Subjunctive

The subjunctive is broadly used to express a wish or an obligation.<sup>398</sup> It is used for all other verbs following an imperative (see §8.7). There is no tonally-marked conjoint/disjoint distinction. In Rundi, first person singular constructions always have **-ra-**, i.e., **nda-** AFFIRMATIVE or **sinda-** NEGATIVE.

### 8.5.1. Immediate Subjunctive

The immediate subjunctive expresses a wish or an obligation perceived in the present. Following the preprefix **ni** it carries the meaning *should*, and is used in giving ENCOURAGEMENT or making a POLITE COMMAND.

/nimusabé muzooaabwa/ {Rundi} 'Ask and you shall receive.' (Cristini 2000:206)

/nimukuundáne/ {both} 'Love one another.' (Cristini 2000:207, LN)

/nidusomé/ {Rwanda} 'We should read.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:86)

/nibaandike/ {Rwanda} 'We should write.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:86)

Preceded by a construction implying some future event, it indicates a CONSECUTIVE ACTION.

/mu cyúumweéeru gitaahá bazaaza tugiré ináama dusuuzúme/ {Rwanda} 'They will come next week and we will hold a meeting and we will investigate.' (Overdulve 1975:250)

### 156 subjunctive affirmative immediate

See: Overdulve 1975:250,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:86,171, Bizimana 1998:248, Kimenyi 2002:206; Cristini 2000:204–209, Rodegem 1967:66f.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-Δ-e

/erega bahuúngu dutaahé/ {both} 'Hey, guys, let's go home!' (R14)

/nimugeendé mutuuráne/ {both} 'You should go and be neighbors.' (R28.10)

<sup>397</sup> Juvenal Ndayiragije (pc) brought this alternate Kirundi tone pattern to our attention. It may be that forms without high tone on the /-raa-/ are functioning as TRUE NOUNS with the A+R rules rather than AUTONOMES with the A+F+R rules. One such example is /intáraabóna/ {both} 'inexperienced person' (see §3.1.2.3). Also see the example /akatáraabóneka/ {Rundi} 'excellence' immediately below.

<sup>398</sup> See Overdulve & Jacob (1998:305f) for an excellent overview.

/tugwaanyé ingwáara y'ígituúntu/ {Rundi} 'Let's combat tuberculosis.' (R31)  
 /yüigáye/ {both} 'He should be ashamed of himself.' (Cristini 2000:204)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

P2 S-obj-Δ-e

/imáana imwaákiire mu bwaámi bwáayo/ {both} 'May God receive her into His kingdom.' (R17.8, JN)  
 /hoshi dusaangé imáana idukizé/ {both} 'Let's go find God, so that he should settle our dispute.' (R28.9)  
 /dukiraanure utubwiire uúrusha undí akamaro/ {both} 'Settle our dispute and tell us who is more important.' (R28.10, JN)  
 /ndab~~ah~~amágare?/ {Rundi} 'Should I call them? ' (Cristini 2000:205)  
 /mb~~ik~~oré ubu nyíne?/ {Rwanda} 'Should I do it right now?' (LN)

+ two or three objects

TONE PATTERN:

O2+L S-obj-obj-obj-Δ-e {both}

/ndab~~ib~~ábwíire?/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:205), /mb~~ib~~ábwíire?/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'Should I tell it to them?'  
 /ab~~ik~~úumpere/ {both} 'He should give them to you for me.' (Ntahokaja 1994:116)

### 157 subjunctive negative immediate<sup>399</sup>

The negative subjunctive is used to give NEGATIVE COMMANDS or wishes. It also has a special function expressing NEGATIVE SEQUENCE CONSTRUCTIONS (i.e., without the sequence marker **-ka-**, see §8.12 below).

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:172,217f, Kimenyi 2002:188; Cristini 2000:205, Rodegem 1967:67.

TONE PATTERN:

2+L nti-S-Δ-e {both}

/ntuúbeere/ {Rwanda} 'Be impartial!' (R28.3)  
 /ntuúrye inyama/ {both} 'You should not eat meat.' (Cristini 2000:205)  
 /ntimúraabe/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:205), /ntimúreebe/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'Don't look!'  
 /ntiwíibe/ {both} 'You should not steal!' (Rodegem 1967:67)

Here are some examples of SEQUENTIAL statements.

/abagabo barakóra abáana ntibákore/ {both} 'Men work, but children do not.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:218, JN)  
 /akora buhóro ntaábone igihéembo/ {Rwanda} 'He works slowly so he does not earn any salary.' (Overdulve 1975:250, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:217)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

2+L nti-S-obj-Δ-e {both}

/ariko nyaa súkaári ntitúyibone/ {Rundi} '... but we could not get that sugar.' (R33.2, JN)  
 /waahuurá n'íizúuba ntuúrive imbere/ {Rwanda} 'If you meet the sun and yet don't get out of its way ...' (R28.1)

<sup>399</sup> Kimenyi (2002:188) calls this the NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE NEAR FUTURE.

### 8.5.2. Future Subjunctive

The future subjunctive expresses a wish or an obligation which should be completed or carried out at some point in the future. In many instances it can be translated by English *would*. However, since English lacks any equivalent construction, conveying its exact sense may literally have to include words such as *in the future*.

#### 158 subjunctive affirmative future

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:171, Bizimana 1998:248, Kimenyi 2002:206; Cristini 2000:205, Rodegem 1967:67f.

TONE PATTERN:

F+P S-zóo-Δ-e {Rundi}

F+P S-záa-Δ-e {Rwanda}

F+P S-z-Δ-e [vowel root]

/abaári báaratáangiye bazáakoméze/ {Rwanda} 'The ones who had started should continue.' (Bizimana 1998:298)

/azóogarúke/ {Rundi} 'He would return.' (Cristini 2000:205)

/uúzáashobora kwíimura undí azáamwíimure/ {Rwanda} 'Whoever will be able to throw the other out, should do so.' (R28.10)

/uzóohéreze iyi báruwá/ {Rwanda} 'You should send this letter.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:173)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

F+P2 S-zóo-obj-Δ-e {Rundi}

F+P2 S-záa-obj-Δ-e {Rwanda}

/uzóontabáare/ {Rundi} 'You would help me.' (Cristini 2000:205)

/daatá azáaguhé urugúkwiye/ {Rwanda} 'May our father give you the one (love) you deserve.' (R36.10)

/uúzáashobora kwíimura undí azáamwíimure/ {Rwanda} 'Whoever will be able to throw the other out, he should expel him.' (R28.10)

#### 159 subjunctive negative future

See: Overdulve 1975:311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:172, Bizimana 1998:248, Kimenyi 2002:187; Cristini 2000:205, Rodegem 1967:67.

TONE PATTERN:

2+T nti-S-zoo-Δ-e {Rundi}

2+L nti-S-zaa-Δ-e {Rwanda}

2+L nti-S-z-Δ-e [vowel root] {Rwanda}

/síinzookóre/ {Rundi} 'I would not work (in the future).' (Cristini 2000:205)

/ntuúzaakore/ {Rwanda} 'You should not work (in the future).' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:172)

/ntaázoogáruke/ {Rundi} 'He should not come back anymore.' (Cristini 2000:205)

/ntimúzoomére nkaábo/ {Rundi} 'You should not be like them!' (Cristini 2000:205)

/ntibázoongere/ {Rwanda} 'They should not do again.' (Kimenyi 2002:187)

/ntuúzaange/ {Rwanda} 'You should not refuse.' (R28.8)

In Kinyarwanda, this can also function as a sequential statement, in which the prefix **-ka-** does not appear.

/ntibázaataahe ku gihe/ {Rwanda} '... and they will not come back on time.' (Overdulve 1975:250)

### 8.5.3. The Gerund Construction

Essentially the gerund is an AUXILIARY CONSTRUCTION composed of the COPULATIVE **-rí** (always inflected with a high tone) plus a SUBJUNCTIVE verb invariably in *n8-sg*. Rundi uses a *n8-sg* subjunctive verb in an adverbial construction similar to the kind described in §3.2.8.4 which is interpreted by Cristini to be an invariable relative participle. Its present tense form, the most

common, implies that an action is expected to occur within the same day of speaking. In the past, it implies an anticipated action in a previous time frame.<sup>400</sup>

### 160 gerundive adverbial {Rundi only}

See: Cristini 2000:210, Rodegem 1967:68.

TONE PATTERN:

P bu-Δ-e

/barakóra **bukoré**/ 'They work with all their might.' (Cristini 2000:210)

/nyáa mwáana yakóze **bukoré**/ 'That child has worked with all his might.' (Rodegem 1967:68)

/bataangaara **butaangaare**/ {Rundi} 'They are surprised beyond surprise.' (Cristini 2000:210)

### 161 gerundive affirmative present

See: Bizimana 1998:292–3, Coupez 1980:458, Overdulve 1975:169–70,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:198f, Kimenyi 2002:207; Cristini 2000:210, Rodegem 1967:68f.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-rí bu-Δ-e

/arí **bupfé**/ {both} 'He is about to die.' (Cristini 2000:210)

/abará **bukiré**/ {both} 'Those who will survive ...' (Cristini 2000:210)

/izó **urí buteeké**/ {both} 'Some that you will cook ...' (R18)

«nibwiraga ko ab'imuhira **bari buburare**» {Rwanda} 'I assumed that my family would go to bed hungry.' (R34.3)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

P2 S-rí bu-obj-Δ-e {both}

/abaantu **barí buumpé akazi**/ {both} 'The people are going to give me work.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:199, JN)

/incutí yaanjye irí **buunsuúre**/ {Rwanda} 'My friend is going to visit me.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:199)

/baragerageza ukuuntu **barí bubigeenze**/ {both} 'They are trying a way that they will deal with it.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:199, JN)

+ two objects

TONE PATTERN:

O2+L S-rí bu-obj-obj-Δ-e {both}

/barí **bubidúhe ku buuntu**/ {both} 'They will give it to us for free.' (Bizimana 1998:334)

### 162 gerundive negative present

Note that the negative marker occurs on the auxiliary verb **-rí**, never the gerund.

See: Overdulve 1975:169–70 (not in Overdulve 1975:311), Overdulve & Jacob 1998:198, Bizimana 1998:293; Cristini 2000:210, Rodegem 1967:68.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-ta-rí bu-Δ-e {both}

/sindí **buvugé**/ {both} 'I will not talk.' (Cristini 2000:210, Ntahokaja 1976:15)

/ntarí **bugiré iruungu**/ {both} 'He won't feel lonely.' (Cristini 2000:210)

/nta **kiindi ndí bugiré**/ {Rundi} 'There is nothing else that I can do.' (Cristini 2000:210)

<sup>400</sup> Cristini 2000:210 makes it clear that Kirundi only has two gerundive tenses: present and past. Kimenyi 2002:207 states that Kinyarwanda has three: "present, future and past." However, he only exemplifies the affirmative present, giving no indication of what the tonality of the future might be. Coupez, the largest Kinyarwanda grammar, only treats the gerund in its present or immediate tense (1980:458). The same is true for Overdulve 1975:169f and Overdulve & Jacob 1998:198f. It is only the monolingual grammar of Kinyarwanda (Bizimana 1998:293) that presents any data for the FUTURE GERUND, which refers to an eventual action and has the tonal pattern F+P in both the affirmative and negative.

## Chapter 8: Verb Conjugations

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/mubwiire yúukó **ntarí buuzé**/ {both} 'Tell him that I will not come.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:198, JN)

/aba banyéeshuúri **ntíbarí bwiigé**/ {both} 'These students are not going to study.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:199, JN)

/ikiintu **tutarí bukoré**/ {both} 'the thing which we are not going to make' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:199, JN) [relative construction]

/bagiye i kigali **ntíbarí bugarúke vubá**/ {both} 'They're going to Kigali and they will not come back soon.' (Overdulve 1975:170, JN)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

P2 S-ta-rí bu-obj-Δ-e {both}

/ntíbarí **bugusigé**/ {both} 'They won't leave you (behind).' (Bizimana 1998:293)

### 163 gerundive affirmative past

See: Cristini 2000:210f, Rodegem 1967:68; not in Overdulve 1975:310.

TONE PATTERN:

1+P S-rí bw-áa-Δ-e

/twaari **bwáapfé**/ {both} 'We would have died.' (Cristini 2000:210)

/náakavúuka ntáho **narí bwáavyuúmve**/ {Rundi} 'In my life [lit. and I having been born] I had never heard such a thing.' (Cristini 2000:213)

### 164 gerundive negative past

See: Cristini 2000:210f, Rodegem 1967:68; not in Overdulve 1975:311.

TONE PATTERN:

1+P nti-S-rí bw-áa-Δ-e

Note: This has the sense of the inceptive negative, but in the past, i.e., *not yet*.

/ntivyaári **bwáashiké**/ {Rundi} 'It had never happened before.' (Cristini 2000:211)

/sinarí **bwáabibóne**/ {both} 'I had never seen that.' (Cristini 2000:211)

/ntibaari **bwáavyuuké**/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:211), /ntibaari **bwáabyuuké**/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'They were not up yet.'

† gerundive future {Rwanda only, not commonly used}

See discussion in footnote 396 ABOVE and Bizimana 1998:293, Kimenyi 2002:207; not in Overdulve 1975, Coupez 1980:458, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:198.

TONE PATTERNS:

F+P S-rí bu-záa-Δ-e {Rwanda only, affirmative}

F+P nti-S-rí bu-záa-Δ-e {Rwanda only, negative}

/ndí **buzáamutumé**/ {Rwanda} 'I will eventually send him off'. (Bizimana 1998:293)

/sindí **buzáamutumé**/ {Rwanda} 'I will not eventually send him off'. (Bizimana 1998:293)

## 8.6. Infinitive

An INFINITIVE fully shares the properties of verb and noun. It can be translated either by *to VERB* or by *VERBing*. Although the basic infinitive form loses the preinitial vowel of the *n9* prefix, this vowel is restored in copulative and certain absolute constructions. Coordination of infinitives is accomplished with the conjunction /**nó**/.

/umwuuga wáabo ní **uguhúga nó kuróba**/ {both} 'Their livelihood is hunting and fishing.' (38.1, JN)

/kuvúga nó kwúumva/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:325), /kuvúga nó kúumva/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'to speak and to listen'

### 165 infinitive affirmative immediate

See: Overdulve 1975:62,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:285f, Kimenyi 2002:172,198; Cristini 2000:209, Rodegem 1967:63f.

## TONE PATTERN:

- R ku-Δ-a [before voiced consonant] {both}
- R gu-Δ-a [before voiceless consonant] {both}
- R kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}
- R k-Δ-a [before **o** or **u**] {Rwanda}

/twiiháatire **gusoma**/ {Rwanda} 'We should make every effort to read.' (R4)

«**niko gufata akandi gatelefone ka mugenzi we**» {both} 'So then he took another cell phone from his friend.' (R7)

«**i Kibungo habereye umuhango wo kurekura abagororwa**» {Rwanda} 'In Kibungo, a ceremony was held releasing 148 prisoners.' (R8.1)

/kwóogosha/ {both} 'to shave' (Kimenyi 2002:172)

/kwítaabara/ {both} 'to defend oneself' (Kimenyi 2002:198)

**infinitive full affirmative**

See: Overdulve 1975:112f, Cristini 2000:209.

## TONE PATTERN:

- R uku-Δ-a [before voiced consonant] {both}
- R ugu-Δ-a [before voiceless consonant] {both}
- R ukw-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}
- R uk-Δ-a [before **o** or **u**] {Rwanda}

/kókó uri mwiizá sí **ukubéshya**/ {Rwanda} 'You are truly good, it is no lie.' (R36.1)

/**ukubáza guteera ukumenya**/ {Rundi} 'To ask causes to know.' (Cristini 2000:209, Rodegem 1967:63)

/ukubahó/ {both} 'existence' [lit. 'to be there'] (Rodegem 1967:130)

/ukoongeera/ {Rwanda} 'to add' (Jacob #2 1986:507)

/ukwíikuza kwaawe/ {both} 'your boasting' (R28.2)

+ one object

## TONE PATTERN:

- O ku-obj-Δ-a {both}

/ukiiriinda **kubúkubaganya**/ {both} '... and you avoid disturbing them.' (R18)

/yanániwe **kuyigumiisha mu muhaánda**/ {Rwanda} 'He failed to keep it on the road.' (R16)

/ashobora **kugúkubita**/ {both} 'She can hit you.' (R22)

/abaantu ahó **kuunshiimira bariitweengera**/ {both} 'Instead of thanking me, people just laugh.' (R19)

/inkezi zikaama zíiza **kubúrya**/ {Rundi} 'Mice continually came to eat it.' (R27.1)

/kugira babaandánye **kubaziimba**/ {Rundi} '... so that they can continue overcharging them.' (R35.5)

/si **ukukíbuuranira**/ {both} 'It is not to defend it (the language).' (Ntahokaja 1976:i, LN)

+ two objects

## TONE PATTERN:

- O+T ku-obj-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}
- O+R ku-obj-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/mu **kubíturúungikira**/ {Rundi} 'in sending them to us' (Cristini 2000:188,209)

/**kubímukórerera**/ {both} 'to do it for him' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:326, JN)

/**kukibásomera**/ {Rwanda} 'to read it for them' (LN)

**166 infinitive negative immediate**

See: Overdulve 1975:227f,311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:285f, Kimenyi 2002:205; Cristini 2000:209, Rodegem 1967:64.

## TONE PATTERN:

- A+P ku-tá-Δ-a [before voiced consonant] {both}
- A+P ku-dá-Δ-a [before voiceless consonant] {both}
- A+P ku-t-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}

/ubukené eka nó **kutáményá**/ {Rundi} 'poverty and ignorance' (R31.2)

/**kutiigáanda mfásha n'ábaándi**/ {Rwanda} 'not to delay in helping others' (R36.7)

## Chapter 8: Verb Conjugations

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/yaríyaamirije icítwaazo c'úbukené có kutáruungíka abáana kwiishuúre/ {Rundi} 'He rejected poverty as an excuse not to send children to school.' (39.4)  
/kudáshiimá/ {both} 'not to be satisfied' (Cristini 2000:209, LN)

### infinitive full negative

See: Bizimana 1998:148, Ntahokaja 1994:72.

/ukutábwirírikanya ní kwo kutubúza gutéera imbere/ {both} 'The lack of consultation is the reason why we don't advance.' (Ntahokaja 1994:72)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

A+P2 ku-tá-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}

A+T ku-tá-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/kutáb<sup>h</sup>ishíima/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:209, Rodegem 1967:64), /kutáb<sup>h</sup>ishíima/ 'not to be satisfied with them'

/kutáb<sup>h</sup>isába/ {Rwanda} 'not to ask for them' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:285, JN)

### 167 infinitive affirmative future

See: Overdulve 1975:227,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:285f; Cristini 2000:209, Rodegem 1967:64.

TONE PATTERN:

F+T ku-zóo-Δ-a {Rundi}

L ku-zaa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/kuzóoróonka/ {Rundi} 'to receive in the future' (Cristini 2000:209, Rodegem 1967:64)

«bakemera kugura ibiro bike cane ku vyo bategekanya kuzogura» {Rundi} 'And they resign themselves to buying fewer kilos than what they were looking forward to buying.' (R35.4)

«ayo makomite abwirizwa kuzojijura abanyagihugu» {Rundi} 'Those committees must convince citizens.' (R39.5)

/kuzóokóra/ {Rundi}, /kuzaakora/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:285) 'to work (in the future)'

«nta cyizere ko n'abakomeretse bashobora kuzakira» {Rwanda} 'There was no hope that the injured might survive.' (R8b)

### 168 infinitive negative future

Not only are the Kirundi and Kinyarwanda forms tonally distinct, the Rwandan infinitive negative future (which can have up to three high tones) is totally distinct from the affirmative (which is low-toned throughout).

See: Overdulve 1975:228,311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:285f; Cristini 2000:209, Rodegem 1967:64.

TONE PATTERN:

A+T ku-tá-zoo-Δ-a {Rundi}

A+F+R ku-tá-záa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/kutázoogéenda/ {Rundi} 'not to go in the future' (Cristini 2000:209)

/kutázootóora/ {Rundi} 'not to choose in the future' (Cristini 2000:209, Rodegem 1967:64)

/kutázáakóra/ {Rwanda} 'not to work in the future' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:285)

/kutázáaza kwaawe bizaambabaza/ {Rwanda} 'Your not coming will make me feel bad.' (Bizimana 1998:210)

## 8.7. Imperative

The IMPERATIVE mood expresses an order or command, but the subject or doer (*you* understood) is never expressed. There are other ways to give orders that can use a subject pronoun, such as the subjunctive /mugeendé/ {both} 'You should go!', but the linguistic characteristic of imperative forms is that no pronoun appears, e.g., English *Stop!*, not *You stop!* The imperative of Kirundi and Kinyarwanda is one of the most simple of verb forms, characterized by two kinds of reduction:



TONE LOSS (if the imperative form is first in a phrase or sentence) and VOWEL SHORTENING (if the root begins with a long vowel). Out of politeness, a command is limited to a single imperative. If one gives a SERIES OF COMMANDS, the following verbs must be in the SUBJUNCTIVE (§8.5).

/injira wiicáre/ {Rwanda} 'Come in and sit down!' (Overdulve 1975:250)

/geenda ubazé/ {both} 'Go and ask!' (Cristini 2000:202, LN)

/guma hamwé, uryaamé, uruhúuke, uzóovyuké ejó/ {Rundi} 'Stay put, lie down, rest, and (don't) get up until tomorrow!' (Cristini 2000:202)

### 8.7.1. Imperatives with -a

Imperative forms ending with the suffix -a are either simple verbs or verbs with a first person singular object attached.

#### 169 imperative affirmative

See: Overdulve 1975:100f,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:85f,274, Bizimana 1998:280, Kimenyi 2002:182f; Cristini 2000:200f, Rodegem 1967:65.

TONE PATTERN:

N+L Ø-Δ-a {both}

N+L Ø-[VL]Δ-a {both} [the long initial vowel of a vowel root with gets a shortened]

/soma/ {both} 'Read!' (Overdulve 1975:100)

/kora/ {both} 'Work!' (Overdulve 1975:100,285, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:86)

/tabaaza/ {both} 'Call for help!' (R27.9)

/vuza impuúndu/ {both} 'Rejoice!' (R21.3)

/voomera zóóse/ {Rundi} (Rodegem 1967:65), /voomera zóóse/ {Rwanda} 'Water all of them!'

/iga/ {both} 'Study!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:274)

Note that high tone appears on the first vowel if the imperative is not the first word. However, /ati/ {both} 'he said' is followed by a pause and blocks the appearance of high tone.

/níibá unániwe rúhuuka/ {both} 'If you are tired, rest!' (JN, LN)

/níibá uhiinga híinga néezá/ {Rwanda} 'If you're going to plow, plow well!' (Overdulve 1975:243)

/ati: nyugururira/ {both} 'Open for me, he said.' (Cristini 2000:201)

/aravúg' ati kora/ {both} 'He said, "Work!"' (Overdulve 1975:100)

#### 170 imperative affirmative with first person object

See: Overdulve 1975:150, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:177; Cristini 2000:201, Rodegem 1967:65.

TONE PATTERN:

N+L Ø-N[pro-1sg-obj]-Δ-a {both}

/mfasha/ {Rwanda} 'Help me!' (Overdulve 1975:150)

/oya nyéreka/ {Rundi} 'No, show me!' (Cristini 2000:201, Rodegem 1967:65)

/mbisa/ {both} 'Make room for me!' (Overdulve 1975:291)

/mpa/ {both} 'Give me!' (Overdulve 1975:150, Cristini 2000:201)

### 8.7.2. Imperatives with -e

Imperative forms ending with the suffix -e are either reflexive verbs (íi-, §8.13) or verbs with any object infix (except first person singular, #170) attached.

#### 171 reflexive verbs have an imperative with the suffix -e

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:274; Cristini 2000:201.

TONE PATTERN: Ø-i-Δ-e {both}

/ifuuze/ {both} 'Wish (for it)!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:274)

/igeendere/ {Rwanda} 'Just go!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:274)

### 172 imperative object-embedded verbs

+ one object

See: Overdulve 1975:150–1, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:177; Cristini 2000:201, Rodegem 1967:65f.

TONE PATTERN:

N+L Ø-obj-Δ-e {both}

/t**u**bw*i*ire n*í*bá arí w*o*wé m*u*gaanga/ {Rwanda} 'Tell us whether you are the doctor.' (Overdulve 1975:255)

/n*í*bá arí kó ushaaká k*á*jyaane/ {Rwanda} 'If it's what you want, take it!' (LN)

/n*í*bá ub*í*izi b*í*vuge/ {both} 'If you know it, say it!' (Jacob #2 1986:396)

/d*u*kiraanure/ {both} 'Settle our dispute!' (R28.10)

/m*u*hanuure/ {both} 'Reprimand him!' (Cristini 2000:201, Rodegem 1967:65)

/m*u*fashe/ {both} 'Help him!' (Overdulve 1975:150, JN)

/m*u*bise/ {both} 'Make room for him!' (Overdulve 1975:291, JN)

+ two objects

TONE PATTERN:

N+L Ø-obj-obj-Δ-e {both}

/b*i*mweereke/ {both} 'Show it to him!' (JN, Cristini 2000:201, Rodegem 1967:65)

Only Rundi has some alternate imperatives with the suffix *-e* without any object expressed.

/fate/ {Rundi only} 'Take!' (Cristini 2000:202)

/geende/ {Rundi only} 'Go!' (Cristini 2000:202)

There is no NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE, i.e., a negative subjectless command. There are, of course, many ways to express a negative order, such as by means of the negative subjunctive or with any of several auxiliary verbs.

/reka kubésha/ {Rundi} 'Don't lie!' (Cristini 2000:202, Rodegem 1967:65)

/reka guseka/ {both} 'Don't laugh!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:88)

/gezaho gukóra/ {both} 'Stop working!' (Cristini 2000:202)

### 8.8. Jussive (-ii-) {Rwanda only}

The jussive in Kinyarwanda is used to express negative wishes or expectations and can often be translated as *should not*. It is sometimes treated as a negative imperative (e.g., Overdulve 1975:184f), but applies to all persons and noun classes and therefore does not have the zero-marking required of a true imperative. The second person forms (**wii-** or **mwii-**) are semantically the closest means of expressing a negative command.

### 173 negative jussive verbs

See: Overdulve 1975:101,150–2,184–5,266,311, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:86f,178f, Bizimana 1998:248,280, Kimenyi 2002:207.

TONE PATTERN:

P S-ii-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

P S-iikw-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/wiiugá níngoga/ {Rwanda} 'Don't speak fast!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:179)

/biiririimba/ {Rwanda} 'They should not sing!' (Kimenyi 2002:207)

/yiikwaambára/ {Rwanda} 'He should not dress up!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:87)

/wiikwaangá/ {Rwanda} 'Don't refuse!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:179)

/biikwoongéra/ {Rwanda} 'They should not do again!' (Kimenyi 2002:207)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

R S-ii-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda only}

- /w i i ŋ k ú b i t a/ {Rwanda} 'Don't hit me!' (Overdulve 1975:150)  
 /w i i t u b w i i r a i b i n y o m á/ {Rwanda} 'Don't tell us lies!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:179)  
 /m w i i m u k ú b i t a/ {Rwanda} 'Don't (you all) hit him!' (Overdulve 1975:150)  
 /m w i i y a m é n a/ 'Don't (you all) pour it (the water)!' (Overdulve 1975:152)

### 8.9. Hortative<sup>401</sup>

A HORTATIVE is a form of urging or encouragement; it generally represents a POLITE COMMAND. As such, it does not express a wish, which is the role of an optative construction (see §8.10 below). *Good night!* is hortative, while *I hope you have a good night!* or *May you have a good night!* is optative. The preverb **-ra-** is involved in all these constructions.

#### 8.9.1. Hortative Immediate (-ra-Δ-a) {Rundi}, (-ra-Δ-e) {Rwanda}

##### 174 hortative affirmative immediate

See: Overdulve 1975:251f,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:306f, Kimenyi 2002:187; Cristini 2000:202f, Rodegem 1967:64f.

TONE PATTERN:

- N+L S-ra-Δ-a {Rundi}  
 N+L S-ra-Δ-e {both}  
 N+L S-r-Δ-e [vowel root] {both}

- /uramuuntaahiriza/ {Rundi}, /uramuuntaahirize/ {Rwanda} 'Give him my regards!'  
 /muraramuke hó/ {Rwanda} 'Good night!' (ALO:252f)  
 /níibá urwáaye uriivuuzá/ {Rundi} (JN), /níibá urwáaye uriivuuze/ {Rwanda} (Bizimana 1998:385)  
 'If you are sick, you should get yourself treated.'  
 /barongere/ {Rwanda} 'They should do again.' (Kimenyi 2002:187)

#### 8.9.2. Hortative Future (-ra-zoo-Δ-a) {Rundi}, (-ra-zaa-Δ-e) {Rwanda}

##### 175 hortative affirmative future

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:307; Cristini 2000:203, Rodegem 1967:65f.

TONE PATTERN:

- N+L S-ra-zoo-Δ-a {Rundi}  
 N+L S-ra-zaa-Δ-e {Rwanda}

- /urazooza/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:203), /urazaaze/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'Come when you want' [lit. 'you should come in the future']  
 /murazootiinya umwéenda/ {Rundi} 'you should be afraid of debt' (R21.5)  
 /ejó múrazaaba múhari/ {Rundi} (JN), /ejó múrazaabe múhari/ {Rwanda} 'you should be there tomorrow' (Overdulve 1975:251f)

### 8.10. Optative<sup>402</sup>

An optative expresses a wish on the part of the speaker, e.g., *If only horses could fly!*, *May you recover soon!*, *I hope you have a great birthday!*<sup>403</sup> Such wishes can be positive (a BLESSING) or negative (a CURSE). These constructions are treated here because they are similar in meaning to the imperatives, jussives, and hortatives discussed above, even if they are probably formed with the **-ka-** sequence prefix (and would equally belong in §8.12 below).

<sup>401</sup> Overdulve 1975:251f,310 and later Overdulve and Jacob 1998:306f call this construction OPTATIVE (*optatif*), Cristini 2000:202f and Rodegem 1967:64f call it ADHORTATIVE (*adhortatif*). Kimenyi 2002:187 terms the immediate form SUBJUNCTIVE NEAR FUTURE.

<sup>402</sup> In contrast to all other authors cited, Kimenyi (2002:185–6) calls these constructions HORTATIVE.

<sup>403</sup> Contrastively, *Have a great birthday!* would be HORTATIVE.

### 8.10.1. Optative Affirmative (-ra-ka-, -ra-ga-, -ra-k-) {both}

#### 176 optative affirmative

See: Overdulve 1975:265, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:307f, Kimenyi 2002:185; Cristini 2000:203, Rodegem 1967:66f.

TONE PATTERN:

L S-ra-ka-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {both}

L S-ra-ga-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {both}

L S-ra-k-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}

/urakaraamba/ {both} 'May you live long!' (Cristini 2000:203, LN)

/urakavuna umuheto/ {both} 'May you break your bow!' [curse = May you lose your eldest son!] (Cristini 2000:203, LN)

/murakaroota néezá/ {both} 'May you dream well!' (Overdulve 1975:265, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:308)

/aragapfa/ {both} 'So he should die!' (Overdulve 1975:252, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:308)

/baragatsiinda/ {both} 'I hope they win!' (Overdulve 1975:265, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:308)

/murakagwiira múragaheezagirwa n-íimáana/ {Rundi} 'May you all multiply and be blessed by God!' (Cristini 2000:203)

/barakoogosha/ {Rwanda} 'May they shave!' (Kimenyi 2002:185)

/barakoongera/ {both} 'May they do again!' (JN, Kimenyi 2002:185)

### 8.10.2. Optative Affirmative (-áa-ká-, -óo-ká-) {Rwanda only}

Verbs with these two prefixes never come first in a sentence. The affixes are used in traditional blessings and curses; any tone of the verb is lost, with only the tonality of this affix prevailing.

#### 177 optative affirmative alternate

See: Overdulve 1975:265f (but not in table p.310), Overdulve & Jacob 1998:308, Kimenyi 2002:186.<sup>404</sup>

TONE PATTERN:

F+L S-óo-ká-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {Rwanda only}

F+L S-óo-gá-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {Rwanda only}

F+A S-óo-k-Δ-a [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/wóokábyaara/ {Rwanda} '... and may you have children!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:30)

/bóokáririmba/ {Rwanda} '... and they should sing!' (Kimenyi 2002:186)

/bóogátabaara/ {Rwanda} '... and they should defend!' (Kimenyi 2002:186)

/bóokóogosha/ {Rwanda} '... and they should shave!' (Kimenyi 2002:186)

### 8.10.3. Optative Affirmative (Ø-ka-Δ-e) {Rwanda only}

This construction does not have a subject marker and is always addressed to the second person. It is therefore structurally like a SUBSECUTIVE IMPERATIVE and is identified as such by Coupez.<sup>405</sup> Because its primary semantic effect is a wish (rather than a command), we treat it as optative.

#### 178 optative affirmative alternate

See: Coupez 1980:410–12 (#207), Kimenyi 2002:185.

TONE PATTERN:

L Ø-ka-Δ-e {Rwanda only}

L Ø-k-Δ-e [vowel root] {Rwanda only}

/kabyaare/ {Rwanda} 'May you have children!' (LN)

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<sup>404</sup> Kimenyi 2002:186 calls this construction CONSECUTIVE HORTATIVE.

<sup>405</sup> Coupez 1980:410–12 identifies construction #207 as a MODIFIED IMPERATIVE (*affirmatif impératif modifié*).

/kaririimbe/ {Rwanda} 'May you sing!' (Kimenyi 2002:185)  
 /kuubake neeza/ {Rwanda} 'I hope you start a family without any problems!' (LN)  
 /kiizeere imáana/ {Rwanda} 'May you trust in God!' (LN)

#### 8.10.4. Optative Affirmative Expressions (Ø-nya-ku-Δ-a)

There are two special constructions consisting of the preprefix **nya-** and the prefix **ku-**. Neither carries a subject prefix. Although the latter part may appear similar to an infinitive construction, it is tonally quite distinct.<sup>406</sup> If addressed to the SECOND PERSON, i.e., *may you VERB* or *you who should VERB*, there is high tone on the **kú-**, if it is spoken about a THIRD PERSON, i.e., *may he or she VERB* or *one who should VERB*, the entire form is low toned. The second person forms could equally be interpreted as VOCATIVE constructions, following the Vrule (see §3.6.5.2), while the third person forms are sometimes used as nouns in Group 1a (§3.2.1a.2).

#### 179 optative affirmative third person (alternatively *nla*)

See: Kimenyi 2002:112,186; Cristini 2000:81, Ntahokaja 1994:44.

TONE PATTERN:

L Ø-nya-ku-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {both}  
 L Ø-nya-gu-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {both}  
 L Ø-nya-kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}

/nyakubyaara/ {Rwanda} 'one who should bear children' (Bizimana 1998:166, Kimenyi 2002:112)  
 /nyakunyagwa/ {both} 'one who should be dispossessed' (Kimenyi 2002:112, JN)  
 /nyagupfa/ {both} 'one who should die; [atr] worthy of death, about to be hung' (Ntahokaja 1994:44)  
 /nyakwuubahwa/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:81), /nyakuubahwa/ {both} (JN, LN) 'one who should be respected; excellency; reverend'

#### 180 optative affirmative second person (alternatively *nla-voc*)

See: Kimenyi 2002:112; Cristini 2000:81, Ntahokaja 1994:44.

TONE PATTERN:

A+X Ø-nya-kú-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {both}  
 A+X Ø-nya-gú-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {both}  
 A+X Ø-nya-kw-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}

/uraaho nyakúumpemukira/ {both} 'Good day, you who betrays my trust!' (JN, Jacob #2 1986:430)  
 /nyakúvyaara/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:81), /nyakúbyaara/ {Rwanda} (Kimenyi 2002:112) 'Oh you who should bear children!'  
 /nyakúnyagwa/ {both} 'Oh one who should be dispossessed!' (JN, Kimenyi 2002:112)  
 /nyagúpfa/ {both} 'I wish you would die!' (Ntahokaja 1994:44)  
 /nyagúhuumirwa/ {Rundi} 'May you be cursed!' (Cristini 2000:81)  
 /nyakwúubahwa/ {both} (Kimenyi 2002:112), /nyakúubahwa/ {both} (JN, Overdulse & Jacob 1998:309) 'May you be respected! [opt]; Oh you who are worthy of respect!; [voc] Your excellency!'

#### 8.10.5. Optative Negative (nti-S-ka-Δ-e)

This construction is used to express wishes in the negative. Overdulse & Jacob suggest it is a modified negative subjunctive (1998:305 – *subjonctif négatif modifié*) whereas Cristini treats it twice: as the OPTATIVE NEGATIVE (2000:203f – *optatif au négatif*) and the SUBSECUTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE IMMEDIATE (2000:214 – *subsécutif de subjonctif immédiat*).

<sup>406</sup> Kimenyi 2002:186 calls this NYA+INFINITIVE. While the infinitive is associated with the tone-retaining *Rrule*, he proposes that it "has a tone neutralizing effect because it lowers the verb stem." (Op.cit.:112)

### 181 optative negative (subsecutive negative subjunctive immediate)<sup>407</sup>

See: Overdulve & Jacob 1998:305, Kimenyi 2002:188; Cristini 2000:203f,214, Rodegem 1967:66.

TONE PATTERN:

2+L nti-S-ka-Δ-e {both}

2+L nti-S-k-Δ-e [vowel root]

/uwubáanka **ntaákaraambe**/ {Rundi} 'May someone who hates you not live long!' (Cristini 2000:203)

/ntirikabe/ {both} 'May it never happen!' (Cristini 2000:214, LN)

/ntuúkabwiire/ {both} 'Please don't tell!' (Cristini 2000:204, LN)

/ntuúgatoongane/ {both} 'May you not quarrel!' (Cristini 2000:204, LN)

/ntuúkabyaare/ {Rwanda} 'May you not have children!' (Bizimana 1998:282)

/ntuúgatuke abageenzi/ {Rwanda} 'You should not insult travelers!' (Bizimana 1998:282)

/ntuúkarware/ {both} 'May you never be sick!' (JN, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:305)

/ntuúkaanke/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:204), /ntuúkaange/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'May you not refuse!'

### 8.11. Exclamative Constructions {Rwanda only}

Kinyarwanda has a special form to express surprise, astonishment, or some other exclamation directly through the verb. It is only used in the affirmative. Note that both conjoint and disjoint forms are distinguished tonally.

/mwaahiinga/ [Rrule] {Rwanda} 'How you plow!' (Overdulve 1975:252)

/mwaahiinga néézá/ [Lrule] {Rwanda} 'How well you plow!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:308)

### 182 Exclamative conjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:252,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:308

TONE PATTERN:

L S-aa-Δ-a

L S-a-Δ-a [alt weak forms]

/waba umupfú/ {Rwanda} 'How stupid you are!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:308)

/yaba mubí/ {Rwanda} 'How evil he is!' (Overdulve 1975:252)

/baakora cyaane/ {Rwanda} 'How hard they work!' (Overdulve 1975:252)

### 183 Exclamative disjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:252,310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:308

TONE PATTERN:

R S-aa-Δ-a

/waasara/ {Rwanda} 'How foolish you are!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:308)

/twaakorána/ {Rwanda} 'How we work together!' (Overdulve 1975:310)

### 8.12. Sequence or Subsecutive Constructions

The prefix series **-ka-**, **-ga-**, **-k-** has a SEQUENCE function; it links a verb to a previously expressed action. It functions like an internal conjunction meaning *and* or *then*. Grammatically speaking, it can occur in most constructions discussed above: indicative, participial, relative, and subjunctive. There are both conjoint and disjoint forms in most conjugations. Although Kirundi has a full series of affirmative and negative forms, Kinyarwanda tends to use the NEGATIVE SUBJUNCTIVE for negative sequences (see §8.5.1 #157). There is a subtle distinction between a SEQUENCE construction (with CHRONOLOGICAL connections) and a NARRATIVE construction (with LOGICAL connections, see §8.1.9), as illustrated by the following examples:

/yatéeye imbúto **ziramera zirakúra zihinduka ibití binini**/ {Rwanda} 'He planted some seeds, they germinated, they grew, they become transformed into great trees.' [narrative] (Overdulve 1975:188)

/ateera imbúto **zikamera zigakúra zigahiinduka ibití binini**/ {Rwanda} 'He plants some seeds, they germinate, they grow, they are transformed into great trees.' [sequence] (Overdulve 1975:189)

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<sup>407</sup> Kimenyi (2002:188) calls this the NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE HABITUAL.

/yatéeraga imbúto zikamera zigakúra zigahiinduka ibití biníni/ {Rwanda} 'He was planting some seeds, they were supposed to germinate and grow and become transformed into great trees.' [sequence] (Overdulve 1975:189)

### 184 subsecutive indicative affirmative immediate conjoint

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:217f, Kimenyi 2002:192f; Cristini 2000:212, Rodegem 1967:68f.

TONE PATTERN:

L S-ka-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {both}  
 L S-ga-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {both}  
 L S-k-Δ-a [vowel root] {both}

/akabona amafaraanga meénshi/ {both} '... and he earned a lot of money.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:217)

«Mu gikonjo Gisabo yambara imiringa ibiri y'isenga, nini na ntayi, igafatwa n'urubare rw'umujumbu» {Rundi} 'On his wrist Gisabo wore two amulets, one large and one small, held by a very thin copper wire.' (R5)

/abahiinga baroongera bakavuga/ {Rundi} 'And moreover experts repeatedly say ...' (R37.5)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

L S-ka-obj-Δ-a {both}

/ukawuroonga néézá/ {both} '... then you rinse it nicely.' (R18, JN)

«bashingirayo, cyangwa se bakahakura abageni» {Rwanda} 'They marry their children off there or else they get brides from there.' (R38.9)

### 185 subsecutive indicative affirmative immediate disjoint<sup>408</sup>

See: Overdulve 1975:310, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:217f, Kimenyi 2002:175; Cristini 2000:211–215, Rodegem 1967:68f.

TONE PATTERN:

R S-ka-Δ-a {both}  
 R S-k-Δ-a [vowel root]

/abaantu bóóse / bóóse ahó bavá bakagera/ {both} 'all people without exception' (Rodegem 1967:68)

/bakanézeerwa/ {both} '... then they would be happy.' (JN, Overdulve 1975:246)

«n'ibindi bacanira, bigakama» {both} '... and others things that they heat which then evaporate.' (R24.1)

«ndubaka rigasenya» {both} 'I build and then he destroys.' (R28.6)

/ateera imbúto zikamera zigakúra/ {Rwanda} 'He plants the seeds, then they sprout and they grow.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:218)

/uriinyweera ukiibyinira/ {Rwanda} 'You are just drinking and dancing.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:274)

/ejo mu iishuúri narásomaga nkaandika/ {Rwanda} 'Yesterday at school I read and I wrote.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:218)

/bakóogosha/ {both} '... and then they shave.' (Kimenyi 2002:175)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

O+L S-ka-obj-Δ-a {both}

«uramenya yuko uca rubi nkakurya» {Rundi} 'You'd better know that if you arbitrate poorly, then I'll eat you.' (R27.4)

/akabibona/ {both} '... and he sees it.' (Cristini 2000:187)

/twaashiimúuta inká bakadúfata/ {Rwanda} 'If we were to steal some cows, then they would arrest us.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:301)

/akadúcuungura/ {Rundi} '... and he saves us.' (Cristini 2000:187)

<sup>408</sup> Kimenyi (2002:175) calls this the COMPLEMENTLESS NARRATIVE/CONSECUTIVE TENSE.

+ two objects

TONE PATTERN:

O+T S-ka-obj-obj-Δ-a {Rundi}

O+R S-ka-obj-obj-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/akabíturúungikira/ {Rundi} '... and he is sending it to us.' (Cristini 2000:188)

/tukabímukórerera/ {both} '... and we are doing it for him.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:326, JN)

### 186 subsecutive indicative affirmative recent disjoint

See: Cristini 2000:213, Rodegem 1967:69.

TONE PATTERN:

R S-a-ka-Δ-a

/amatá araryóoha, aríko yakaryóoha, ahórwakó akabíiha/ {Rundi} 'Milk is tasty, but although it is tasty, taken all the time, it then tastes bad.' (Cristini 2000:213)

### 187 subsecutive indicative affirmative preterit perfective

See: Cristini 2000:213.

TONE PATTERN:

2+L S-á-ka-Δ-ye

/erega yakábaaye mwézi ariwe mwaámi/ {Rundi} 'Truly, he was Mwezi, he being the king.' (Cristini 2000:213)

### 188 subsecutive indicative affirmative conditional

See: Bizimana 1998:138, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:300

TONE PATTERN:

R S-aa-ka-Δ-a

/utwo duseke ní twiizá waakatuguze/ {Rwanda} 'Those little baskets are beautiful, so you should buy them.' (Bizimana 1998:138)

/mwaakaroreera/ {Rwanda} 'You should stop.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:300)

### 189 subsecutive indicative affirmative future<sup>409</sup>

See: Bizimana 1998:278, Coupez 1980:410–11 (#192), Kimenyi 2002:189, Overdulve 1975:310; Cristini 2000:214f, Rodegem 1967:69.

TONE PATTERN:

F+R S-zóo-ka-Δ-a {Rundi}

L S-ka-zoo-Δ-a {Rundi}

L S-ka-zaa-Δ-a {Rwanda}

/aratúnyuze twaazaakamugize/ {Rwanda} 'He pleases us so we should have him.' (Bizimana 1998:257)

/urahiinga ukazaasaaruura/ {Rwanda} 'You cultivate and then you will reap.' (Bizimana 1998:278)

/tukazaakorana/ {Rwanda} '... and then we will work together.' (Overdulve 1975:310)

/bakazaaririimba/ {Rwanda} '... and then they will sing.' (Kimenyi 2002:189)

/imiísi ikazoomara/ {Rundi} '... and the days will endure.' (Cristini 2000:214)

/izóokakúbita/ {Rundi} '... and then it will hit.' (cf: Cristini 2000:214)

### 190 subsecutive indicative negative inceptive

Note: This construction does not normally occur in Rwanda, the NEGATIVE SUBJUNCTIVE is used instead (see §8.5.1 #157). However it can be used with the presupposition or connotation of an excuse (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:227). Coupez (1980:406–7 #180) calls this a "MODIFIED NEGATIVE INDICATIVE INCEPTIVE,"<sup>410</sup> disestablishing it from a subsecutive construction.

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<sup>409</sup> Kimenyi (2002:189) calls this the CONSECUTIVE FUTURE.

<sup>410</sup> French *NÉGATIF INDICATIF INCEPTIF MODIFIÉ*.



See: Coupez 1980:406–7 #180, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:227; Cristini 2000:214.

TONE PATTERN:

F+R nti-S-ráa-ka-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {both}

F+R nti-S-ráa-ga-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {both}

/ntíturáagakóra/ {Rundi} 'We are not working yet.' (Cristini 2000:214)

/sindáakavooma/ {Rwanda} 'And so I have not fetched water yet.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:227)

/byáa biintu wadusabyé ntíturáakabiizana/ {Rwanda} 'Those things that you asked of us we have not brought yet.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:227)

/ntíturáagasogoota/ {both} '... and we did not even stab yet.' (Coupez 1980:406–7 #180)

/ntíturáakarásaaga/ {both} '... and we did not even inject yet.' (Coupez 1980:406–7 #180)

### 191 subsecutive participial affirmative preterit perfective conjoint

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-áa-ka-Δ-ye {both}

/vyáakabaaye keéra aréemera kó arí we yíivye/ {Rundi} 'And finally [lit. and it having become a long while] he admits [narrative] that he was the one who stole.' (Cristini 2000:213)

/háakabaaye keéra/ {both} 'at long last' (JN, LN)

### 192 subsecutive participial affirmative preterit imperfective disjoint

TONE PATTERN:

1+R S-áa-ka-Δ-a {both}

/náakavúuka ntáho narí bwáavyúumve/ {Rundi} 'In my life [lit. and I having been born] I would never have heard such a thing.' (Cristini 2000:213)

/náakavúuka/ {Rwanda} 'Since I was born ...' (LN)

### 193 subsecutive participial affirmative conditional

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-aa-ka-Δ-a

/mwáakarya mútaakarya ntímuhaagá/ {both} 'Whether you eat or do not eat, you don't get full.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:300, JN)

### 194 subsecutive participial negative conditional

TONE PATTERN:

1+L S-t-aa-ka-Δ-a

/mwáakarya mútaakarya ntímuhaagá/ {both} 'Whether you eat or do not eat, you don't get full.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:300, JN)

### 195 subsecutive participial affirmative future

TONE PATTERN:

1+R S-zoo-ka-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {Rundi}

1+R S-zoo-ga-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {Rundi}

1+R S-zaa-ka-Δ-a [voiced consonant] {Rwanda}

1+R S-zaa-ga-Δ-a [voiceless consonant] {Rwanda}

/bázoogakóra n'úukó badaheembwá/<sup>411</sup> {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:214), /bázaagakóra n'úukó badaheembwá/ (LN) 'They would also work, it's just that they don't get paid.'

### 196 subsecutive relative affirmative preterit perfective

See: Bizimana 1998:257, Cristini 2000:213.

TONE PATTERN:

2+L S-aá-ka-Δ-ye

/baáryaamaga ukó baákaambaye/ {Rwanda} 'They used to sleep as they had been dressed.' (Bizimana 1998:257)

<sup>411</sup> Cristini's rendition is /bázoogakóra n'úuko badaheembwa/. With the help of Juvenal Ndayiragije (email of 29 July 2005), we have corrected the tonality of the conjunction and the following negative relative construction.

## Chapter 8: Verb Conjugations

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/ibirémwa vyóóse vyó mw-ijuru ukó vyaákabaaye/ {Rundi} 'All the creatures that are in heaven without exception [lit. such as they were] ...' (Cristini 2000:213)

### 197 subsecutive autonome affirmative recent perfective

See: Rodegem 1967:52(footnote 1)

TONE PATTERN:

A2+L cl-a-ká-Δ-ye

/uwakáriye we araryá akiibagira ikiboondo cíiwé/ {Rundi} 'How is it that one who eats to the full eats and forgets his own child?' (Rodegem 1967:52)

+ one object

TONE PATTERN:

A2+L cl-a-ká-obj-Δ-ye

/uwaká**ib**abaye wé ari héhé/ {Rundi} 'The one who cared so much about it, where is he?' (Rodegem 1967:52)

### 8.13. Reflexive (ii-) {both}<sup>412</sup>

The prefix /ii-/ indicates that the agent(s) or subject(s) are performing the action either upon themselves or by themselves.<sup>413</sup> Many languages, such as English, have a series of reflexive pronouns (*oneself, myself, yourself, themselves*), but in Bantu languages a verb prefix usually conveys this meaning. The REFLEXIVE comes immediately before the root and stands for a special kind of object concord; it therefore takes an imperative in -e (rather than -a, see §8.7.2). This prefix has its own tone pattern (*Irule*, §2.4.21) and strips any high-toned root of its tonality. Before vowel roots the form is /iíy-/ and any initial long vowel is shortened.

/-iíkuunda/ {both} 'love oneself' < /-kúunda/ {both} 'like, love'

/-iíyereka/ 'show oneself, exhibit oneself in public, parade, dance' < /-éereka/ {both} 'show s.t. to s.o.'

There are some instances when an entirely different English word or phrase will more accurately capture its sense.

/-iíyica/ {both} 'commit suicide' < /-iíca/ {both} 'kill'

/-iíbwiira/ {both} 'assume, conjecture, suppose' < /-bwíira/ {both} 'say s.t. to s.o., tell'

The combination of this prefix with a BENEFACTIVE augment (see §8.14.1 below) yields a special meaning: *just VERB, do VERB calmly, easily, happily* implying a simple, non-adverse action: an action done willingly or freely on one's own behalf.<sup>414</sup>

/-iígiira/ {both} *v-refl-ben* 'go away (on one's own), betake oneself, get oneself hence'

/-iísonera/ {both} *v-refl-ben* 'read s.t. to or by oneself'

/-iíyicarira/ {both} *v-refl-ben* 'sit oneself down, be seated; [ext] loaf, be idle, sit around (doing nothing)'

/iyumvire/ {both} *v-refl-ben-imp* 'Just listen!' (R37.4)

/wiikwiigéendera/ {Rwanda} *v-refl-ben-jussive* 'Don't go away!' (Overdulve 1975:221)

/kwíibeera mu ishyaamba/ {Rwanda} (R38.7), /kwíibeera mu ishaamba/ {Rundi} *v-refl-ben-inf* 'to just go on living in the forest'

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<sup>412</sup> Treated for Kirundi in Stevick 1965:xxii, Rodegem 1967:42,141, Ntahokaja 1994:117, Cristini 2000:156,201, 256,268f and for Kinyarwanda in Hands 1952:258–9, Hurel 1959:80f, Overdulve 1975:220f,264, Bizimana 1998:81, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:271–74, Kimenyi 2002:247–51.

<sup>413</sup> Having the sense of *by oneself* or *by itself* prompts Overdulve 1975:221 to treat the combination of REFLEXIVE ii- + CAUSATIVE -z- as having a special meaning of *spontaneously, without external help*, as in /igisebe kiríikiza/ {Rwanda} 'A wound heals spontaneously' or /ubwaátsi buríimeza/ {Rwanda} 'Tall grass grows spontaneously.' However, this combination does not regularly yield such a specialized sense, e.g., /iíbonekeza/ {both} 'attract notice, distinguish oneself' or /iívuuza/ {both} 'get oneself treated, seek medical attention.'

<sup>414</sup> Kimenyi 1980:64 refers to these constructions as the MIDDLE VOICE.

- /barítweengera/ {both} *v-refl-ben-ind-imm-dis* 'They just laugh.' (R19)  
 /usaanga abaantu bávuga byó kwívugira/ {Rwanda} *v-refl-ben-inf* 'You find people talking just for the sake of talking.'  
 /inkwí zó kwíteekera/ {both} *v-refl-ben-inf* 'firewood just for cooking' (R34.4)

Note that all reflexive verbs are VOWEL ROOTS which sometimes have special tonal patterns [e.g., the *A2rule* or the *Jrule*] and which cause affixes that precede them to lose their vowel. The high tonality of reflexives will be affected in the same way as other high-toned verbs are by various mood and tense combinations. The one exception is that in the INDICATIVE IMMEDIATE the presence of one or more object infixes ahead of the reflexive prefix brings two tones to the derivation: one falls on the reflexive prefix itself [*Irule*] and the other on the first syllable of the root, which is the second syllable of the reflexive stem [*Prule*].<sup>415</sup>

- /jye niikuundira umwíjima/ [*Lrule*] {Rwanda} *v-ind-imm-con* 'I prefer darkness.' (R28.3)  
 /abíbuumbye/ [*A2rule*] {Rwanda} *auto-nl-pl-imm-perf* 'people who united' (R10)  
 /bíshimikije/ [*Irule*] {Rundi} *v-part-aff-imm-perf* 'they relying upon' (R39.2)  
 /iyó bahiigá baba bíyambariye udukabutura/ [*Irule*] {Rwanda} *v-part-aff-imm-impf* 'When they hunt, they wear short pants.' (R38.2)  
 /atíivúuza/ [*Irule* + *Prule*] {both} *v-part-neg-imm-impf* 'He not getting himself treated ...' (R31.3)  
 /wiíbyariye/ [*2rule*] {Rwanda} (R36.9), /wiívyariye/ {Rundi} *v-ind-pret-perf* 'You having brought forth (into the world) ...'  
 /baárahámwíhaangaaniye/ [*2rule* + *O2rule* + *Lrule*] {Rwanda} *v-ind-aff-pret-perf-dis+objx2* 'They have resigned themselves there for him.' (Overdulve 1975:264)  
 /bamwé barabvíbóhera/ [*Irule* + *Prule*] {Rwanda} *v-ind-aff-imm-impf-dis-refl+obj* 'Some weave them for themselves.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:274)  
 /arayíbwíira/ [*Irule* + *Prule*] {both} *v-ind-aff-imm-impf-dis-refl+obj* 'He says them to himself.' (Overdulve 1975:264, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:327)  
 /turabíirégesha/ [*Irule* + *Prule*] {Rundi} *v-ind-aff-imm-impf-dis-refl+obj* 'We confess to you.' (Cristini 2000:156)  
 /bíiririimbiishaga/ [*Jrule*] {Rwanda} *v-ind-aff-recent-impf-dis-refl* 'They were making themselves sing.' (Kimenyi 2002:249)  
 /imáana ifasha abaantu bíifásha/ [*Prule*] {both} *v-rel-imm* 'God helps those who help themselves.' (Overdulve 1975:220)

#### 8.14. Valence (Verb Augments or Extensions)

In Kirundi and Kinyarwanda, as in Bantu languages generally, a series of suffixes can be added to a verb root in order to add another noun satellite or case relationship to the sentence (see §1.8.5).

- /-úubaka/ {both} *v-tr* 'build something' > /-úubakira/ *v-ben* 'build something for someone' + beneficiary  
 /-vúga/ {both} *v-tr* 'say something' > /-vúgiisha/ *v-caus* 'make someone speak' + caused actor  
 /-rima/ {both} *v-tr* 'cultivate land' > /-rimiisha/ *v-caus* 'cultivate land with (a tool)' + instrument  
 /-menya/ {both} *v-tr* 'know something' > /-menyana/ *v-recip* 'know each other' + reciprocal

<sup>415</sup> If one considers that *ii-* is itself an object-like form and that it is a high-toned root, the tonal placement is reasonably straightforward, and not nearly as complex as Overdulve implies: "If the reflexive infix *-ii-* is accompanied by other infixes the rules of tonality are extremely complicated. We will not describe them." (1975:221) [translation by S. Harrell] Their more recent work (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:271) summarizes the tonal situation very clearly.

### 8.14.1. Benefactive or Applicative (-ir-, -er-, -irir-, -erer-)

The suffix **-er-** is added to stems that have the mid vowels /e/ or /o/, while **-ir-** is added to those with /i/, /u/ or /a/. It is called the APPLIED or APPLICATIVE in many textbooks.<sup>416</sup> Its most general sense of doing something *for*, *to*, or *on behalf of* someone has prompted our use of the term BENEFACTIVE.

- /-vúgira/ {both} 'speak for, talk on behalf of someone' < /-vúga/ {both} *v-tr* 'say something, speak'  
/-somera/ {both} 'read something to someone' < /-soma/ {both} *v-tr* 'read'  
/-séenyera/ {both} 'gather firewood on behalf of someone' < /-séenya/ {both} *v-tr* 'gather firewood'  
/-sabira/ {both} 'ask someone for something on behalf of someone else' < /-saba/ {both} *v-ditr* 'ask someone for something, request something of someone'  
/asabira umugaanga umurwáayi umutí/ {both} 'He asks the doctor for a remedy for the patient.'  
(Overdulve 1975:283, JN)  
/mumuteékere/ {both} 'You should cook for him.' < /-téeka/ {both} *v-tr* 'cook, prepare food'

One must be aware that, based on context, the addition of this suffix does not always imply that the act is to someone's advantage, it can also have a negative implication (*to the detriment of*).

- /yaámpemukiye/ {both} 'He failed me.' < /-hemuka/ {both} *v-tr* 'break (a promise), disappoint someone'  
/igifátira mu mahahá/ {Rundi} 'one that attacks the lungs' (R31.1) < /-fáta/ {both} *v-tr* 'catch, seize'

In the perfective forms of both, the /r/ is dropped yielding /-iye/ or /-eye/.

- «Mwezi Gisabo yarwaniye Uburundi» {both} 'Mwezi Gisabo defended Burundi.' (R3)  
«Béatrice yavukiye i Gitega» {both} 'Beatrice was born in Gitega.' (R17.1)  
«barondeye uwo batuma ijambo barabura» {both} 'They looked for someone to speak on their behalf, but they couldn't find anyone.' (R11)  
/bakeneye intaanga ngo biibónere utwáana/ {Rwanda} 'They need sperm to have children.' (R22)

MONOSYLLABIC VERBS with these extensions have long vowels; a few undergo distinctive sound changes.

- /-giira/ {both} *v-ben* 'go for or on behalf of someone, go after' < /-ja/ {Rundi}, /-jya/ {Rwanda} *v-intr* 'go'  
/-hiira/ {both} *v-ben* 'be cooked or ripened for someone; burn at a specific place' < /-shá/ {Rundi}, /-shyá/ {Rwanda} *v-inch* 'get burned; be cooked, be ripe'  
/-nywéera/ {both} *v-ben* 'drink from (a vessel); drink at (a specific place)' < /-nywá/ {both} *v-tr* 'drink'  
/-riira/ {both} *v-ben* 'eat on or at' < /-ryá/ {both} *v-tr* 'eat'  
/-téera/ {both} *v-ben* 'throw something to someone; discard something for someone; lose something at (a specific location)' < /-tá/ {both} *v-tr* 'drop, let something fall; throw (away)'

Sometimes, an entirely different English word may more accurately capture its sense, as with:

- /-kórrera/ {both} 'serve' < /-kóra/ {both} 'work'  
/-ririra/ {both} 'mourn' < /-rira/ {both} 'cry'  
/-rwaanira/ {both} 'defend, protect' < /-rwaana/ {both} 'fight'

<sup>416</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:249–51 (APPLIED), Hurel 1959:78 (APPLICATIVE, French *verbes applicatifs*), Overdulve 1975:206ff and Overdulve & Jacob 1998:248–52 (APPLICATIVE, French *l'applicatif*), Kimenyi 1980:5 (APPLICATIVE), Dubnova 1984:55 (DIRECTION SUFFIX); for Kirundi, see Bagein 1951:77f (APPLICATIVE, French *verbes applicatifs*), Rodegem 1967:148 (French *applicatif*), Ntahokaja 1976:16 and 1994:121 (French *l'applicatif*), Cristini 2000:257f (French *l'applicatif*).

Note that the addition of this suffix can make a simple transitive verb DITRANSITIVE, i.e., it will take two objects.

/-**aandikira**/ {both} *v-ditr* 'write s.t. to s.o., send a letter to s.o.' < /-**aandika**/ {both} *v-tr* 'write'  
 /-:**zanira**/ {both} *v-ditr* 'bring s.t. to or for s.o.' < /-:**zana**/ {both} *v-tr* 'bring, come with'

The addition of these suffixes can express the REASON, goal, or purpose of an action.<sup>417</sup>

/-**kórerera**/ {both} 'do s.t. for (a reason)'  
 /-**kúbitira**/ {both} 'hit s.o. for (a reason)'  
 /**ubácaaniira**/ {Rwanda} 'who is the reason they light a fire' (R28.2)

With motion verbs it marks a DESTINATION meaning *to* or *towards*, otherwise it expresses a locality associated with an action.<sup>418</sup> The place is usually marked by an appropriate preposition (§3.6.4).

/-**geendera**/ {Rundi} 'visit, frequent,' {Rwanda} 'go to; reach, arrive at' < /-**geenda**/ {both} *v-intr* 'go'  
 /-**írukira**/ {both} 'run to some place' < /-**íruka**/ {both} *v-intr* 'run, move quickly'  
 /-**aambarira**/ {both} 'dress up in or at (a given place)' < /-**aambara**/ {both} *v-tr* 'wear, put on (clothing)'  
 /**aragíteerera ku rutúgu**/ {Rundi} 'He throws it over his shoulder.' (R5)  
 «**mugabo har'aho batonorera mu kanwa**» {Rundi} 'However, there are times they peel straight into their mouths.' (R15)  
 /**bakoréra muri iyo ntáará**/ {both} '... who work in that region.' (R20)  
 /**ubu ageendera ku mbago**/ {Rwanda} 'Now she walks on crutches.' (R34.1)

It can express a certain or indefinite time, especially in constructions headed by /**ahó**/ or /**ahw**/.

«**sinz' ahw azaazira**» {Rwanda} 'I do not know when he will come.' (Hands 1952:251)  
 /**simenyá ahó nzóoshikira**/ {Rundi} 'I do not know when I will arrive.' (Cristini 2000:258)  
 /**ahó yakóreye aranézerewe**/ {Rwanda} 'Since he is working, he has been happy.' (Overdulve 1975:207)  
 /**tuzaaseengera mu ruseengero ku cyúumwéeru**/ {Rwanda} 'We will pray in church on Sunday.'  
 (Overdulve 1975:207)

The combination of this suffix with a word containing /**z**/ will result in sound-switching or METATHESIS (see §2.5.16).

/-**bárima**/ {Rundi} 'ask about, investigate into' < /-**báza**/ [**\*bazira**] {both} 'ask, question'  
 /-**taangaariza**/ {Rwanda} 'inform s.o. about s.t.' < /-**taangaaza**/ [**\*taangaazira**] {Rwanda} 'disseminate information, broadcast, announce, declare'  
 /-**kíriza**/ {both} 'cure s.o. for s.o. else; save s.o. for (a reason)' < /-**kíza**/ [**\*kizira**] {both} 'heal, cure'  
 /-**komereza**/ {both} 'continue s.t. for s.o.' < /-**komeza**/ [**\*komezera**] {both} 'continue s.t., carry on (with)'

A root can be inflected with either of these suffixes doubled, e.g., /-**erer-**/ or /-**irir-**/.

/-**geenderera**/ {Rwanda} 'visit, go to see someone' < /-**geenda**/ {both} 'go, leave'  
 /-**híingirirana**/ {Rwanda} 'cultivate for each other reciprocally and habitually' < /-**híinga**/ 'dig, cultivate'  
 /**ahó yagúririyé umurwáayi imiti ntíyakize**/ {Rwanda} 'Ever since he bought medicines for the patient, the latter did not get well.' (Overdulve 1975:207) < /-**guririra**/ {Rwanda} 'buy s.t. for s.o. for a reason or over a given period of time'  
 «**ari nawe witiriwe uburozi buba mu itabi bwitwa "Nikotini."**» {Rwanda} '... after whom the active ingredient in tobacco, nicotine, was named.' (R26.2) < /-**ítirira**/ {both} 'attribute s.t. to s.o.; name s.o. for or because of'  
 «**Iyumviririze namwe inkuru ya Bitama.**» {Rundi} 'Just listen to the story about Bitama.' (R25.1)  
 /**abasirikari beénshi baápfiriye igihúgu cyáabo**/ {Rwanda} 'Many soldiers have died for their country.' (Overdulve 1975:208)

<sup>417</sup> For example, see Kimenyi 1980:86–8.

<sup>418</sup> For example, see Kimenyi 1980:33,91.

When the adverb /**hamwé**/ 'together' appears, the benefactive suffix is often used.<sup>419</sup>

/ntashobóra **gukórerá hamwé n'ábaándi**/ {Rwanda} 'He is unable to work together with others.' (Hands 1952:251)

Cf: /bakoongera **bagakora hamwé**/ {Rundi} 'Moreover they worked together.' (R17.8)<sup>420</sup>

«hari n'ubwo **batekera hamwe**» {Rwanda} 'There are times when they cook together.' (R38.3)

/abáana bató **bagaburirwa hamwé na baanyina**/ {both} 'Young children are fed together with their mothers.' (R38.3, JN)

/baravúgira **hamwé**/ {both} 'They are speaking together.' (Cristini 2000:258, JN, LN)

/turirímbire **hamwé**/ {both} 'Let's sing together.' (JN, Overdulve 1975:208)

/tuzateeranira **hamwé**/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:208), /tuzoteeranira **hamwé**/ {Rundi} (JN) 'We will get together.'

The use of this construction depends on context; /**hamwé**/ does not always trigger or require a benefactive verb.

«gushika aho bazoheba **bakaja hamwe n'abandi**» {Rundi} 'Until they will finally join the others.' (R29.7)

/ishírahámwe, amashírahámwe/ {Rundi} 'association' (R9)

/intérahámwe/ {Rwanda} 'look-a likes (things of the same size or value); cronies (people of the same generation or with the same interests), mates (people who understand each other very well); [ext] Hutu political party; militia men' (R29.7)

#### 8.14.2. Causative (-iish-, -eesh-)

The suffix **-eesh-** is added to stems that have the mid vowels /e/ or /o/, while **-iish-** is added to those with /i/, /u/ or /a/.<sup>421</sup> English does not have a simple causative system,<sup>422</sup> such as that found in Kirundi and Kinyarwanda. These two augments are commonly used with a wide variety of verbs with the implication that the action is *made to happen* or *caused to occur*. The extra noun case introduced refers to the CAUSED ACTOR.

/-fáshiisha/ {both} *v-caus* 'have someone help' < /-fásha/ {both} *v-tr* 'help, assist'

/-óonkeesha/ {both} *v-caus* 'make someone breastfeed' < /-óonka/ {both} *v-intr* 'suckle'

/-ruhiisha/ {both} *v-caus* 'fatigue, tire someone out' < /-ruha/ {both} *v-inch* 'get tired'

/-téেকেesha/ {both} *v-caus* 'have someone cook something' < /-téeka/ {both} *v-tr* 'cook'

/kó **voorimenyéesha ibicíiro aguriishakó**/ {Rundi} '... that they should inform it about the sale prices.' (R9)

/ivyúuma **bikoréeshwa**/ {Rundi} 'tools that are used' (R37.2)

/ababikoreesha/ {both} 'the ones who use them' (R26)

/ndayígutéesha/ {both} 'I make you abandon them.' (R36.2)

/daatá **aririimbiisha abashyitsi**/ {Rwanda} 'Papa is making the visitors sing.' (Overdulve 1975:209)

<sup>419</sup> According to Overdulve 1975:208 this construction is obligatory: "If a verb is directly followed by ... **hamwé** meaning 'together,' the verb must be in the applicative" (Translation by S. Harrell). Hands 1952:251 also reports that one of the functions of this construction is "to express co-ordination."

<sup>420</sup> Juvenal Ndayiragije (email Aug 12, 2005) advises that it would have been better put as: /bakoongera **bagakorera hamwé**/.

<sup>421</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:254–7, Hurel 1959:78f, Overdulve 1975:209–12, Kimenyi 1980:5,17, Dubnova 1984:54, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:254–6; for Kirundi, see Rodegem 1967:146, Ntahokaja 1976:17 and 1994:123, Cristini 2000:259f.

<sup>422</sup> Causatives in English are spread across several grammatical systems. Some verbs function in an intransitive and transitive/causative role, such as *the water is boiling* or *I am boiling the water*, *the horse is running* or *he is running the horse*. A few verbs have completely different causative counterparts, e.g., *die – kill*, *see – show*, *eat – feed*, *enter – insert*. There are also causative auxiliary constructions, like *make me do it*, *let him work*, *have them go*.

This extension also introduces the INSTRUMENT of an action.<sup>423</sup>

- /-áashiisha/* {both} *v-caus* 'chop something (with a tool)' < */-áasa/* {both} *v-tr* 'chop'
- /-íiciisha/* {both} *v-caus* 'use something to kill' < */-íica/* {both} *v-tr* 'kill'
- /-rimiisha/* {both} *v-caus* 'cultivate land with (a tool)' < */-rima/* {both} *v-tr* 'dig, cultivate'
- /temeesha icyo gití intóorezo/* {Rwanda} 'Cut this tree with an ax.' (Overdulve 1975:209)
- /caaniisha umuriro ziríya nkwí/* {Rwanda} 'Light the fire with that firewood.' (Overdulve 1975:210)
- /ndagukubitiisha inyuundo/* {both} 'I'm hitting you with a hammer.' (Cristini 2000:260)

MONOSYLLABIC VERBS with these extensions have long vowels; a few undergo distinctive sound changes.

- /-giisha/* {both} *v-caus* 'make s.o. or s.t. go' < */-ja/* {Rundi}, */-jya/* {Rwanda} *v-intr* 'go'
- /-híisha/* {both} *v-caus* 'make s.o. burn s.t.; cause s.o. to get burned; let s.t. be cooked' < */-shá/* {Rundi}, */-shyá/* {Rwanda} *v-inch* 'burn oneself, get burned'
- /-nywéesha/* {both} *v-caus* 'have s.o. drink s.t.; give s.o. s.t. to drink; make s.o. drink' < */-nywá/* {both} *v-tr* 'drink'
- /-pfúusha/* {both} *v-caus* 'kill; let s.o. die; lose (relative, friend) in death' < */-pfá/* {both} *v-st* 'die'
- /-téeshá/* {both} *v-caus* 'cause to lose; make s.o. abandon s.t.; cause s.t. that has been started to fail; interrupt' < */-tá/* {both} *v-tr* 'drop; discard'

In the perfective forms of both, an extra syllable is added and the /y/ changes to /j/, yielding */-iishije/* or */-eesheje/*.<sup>424</sup>

- /umutwaáre yakóreesheje igitáramo iwé/* {Rwanda} 'A chief threw a party at his palace.' (R14) < */-kóreesha/* {both} 'employ; use; throw (a party)'
- /haárakoreeshejwe/* {Rundi} (R37.4), */haákoreeshejwe/* {both} (JN, LN) 'There has been used ...'
- /baáwuguriishije/* {both} 'They sold it.' (R35.1) < */-guriisha/* {both} 'sell'
- /bábiciishije/* {both} 'They making it pass ...' (R35.1) < */-cíisha/* {both} 'cause to cut; make s.t. pass'
- /-ríishije/* {both} < */-ríisha/* {both} 'feed; make s.o. eat; eat s.t. with an utensil' < */-ryá/* {both} *v-tr* 'eat'

Sometimes, an entirely different English word may more accurately capture its sense.

- /-guriisha/* {both} *v-caus* 'sell' (R9, R33, R35) < */-gura/* {both} *v-tr* 'buy'
- /-bóneeshá/* {both} *v-caus* 'show, demonstrate' (R37.3) < */-bóna/* {both} *v-tr* 'see, find, acquire'
- /-aandikiisha/* {both} *v-caus* 'register, enroll someone in (a program)' < */-aandika/* {both} *v-tr* 'write'

### 8.14.3. Causative or Factitive (+y-)

The addition of *-y-* or palatalization is sometimes closer to what is called a FACTITIVE construction, rather than a causative one, i.e., the action is or has become a fact.

- /-bábaza/* {both} *v-caus* 'hurt someone, cause someone to be in pain' < */-bábara/* {both} *v-st* 'be hurt'
- /-kíza/* {both} *v-caus* 'cure, heal, make well; save (s.o.); enrich' < */-kíra/* {both} *v-st* 'heal, be healed or cured; be in good health; be saved or delivered from s.t. troublesome or annoying'
- /-geenza/* {both} *v-tr* 'make s.o. go or walk; drive (vehicle); conduct oneself; treat, behave towards; deal with (a matter), manage (affairs)' < */-geenda/* {both} *v-intr* 'go, walk'
- /-óoza/* {both} *v-tr* 'wash, rinse' < */-óoga/* {both} *v-intr* 'immerse, be in water; bathe'
- /-gumya/* {Rundi} *v-caus* 'keep, preserve, maintain,' {Rwanda} 'hold tightly, hold with both hands; [ext] be stingy or miserly' < */-guma/* {both} *v-intr* 'be firm, hard, solid, stable'
- /-yobyá/* {Rwanda} *v-caus* 'lead s.o. into error' < */-yoba/* {both} *v-intr* 'lose (one's way), get lost; err (in counting or speaking)'

<sup>423</sup> See additional examples and discussion in Kimenyi 1980:32f,79–83.

<sup>424</sup> Technically the full form of the suffix is *-iishiz-ye* or *-eeshez-ye*. The combination *-z-* and *-y-* yield *-j-* (see 2.5.8).

## Chapter 8: Verb Conjugations

Unlike formations in **-iish-** or **-eesh-**, the factitive can be highly idiomatic. In some cases the verbs so derived can have drastically different meanings which can only be differentiated by context.

- /-rwáaza/ {both} *v-caus* 'sicken, make s.o. sick' < /-rwáara/ {both} *v-st* 'be sick, feel ill; ache'  
/ibi byókuryá birarwáaza umwáana/ {Rwanda} 'This food will make the child sick.' (Overdulve 1975:210)  
/-rwáaza/ {both} *v-tr* 'nurse, aid or help s.o. who is sick; have s.o. who is sick in one's household'  
/uyu mugabo ararwáaza umwáana/ {both} 'This man helps the sick child.' (Overdulve 1975:210)  
/uyu mugabo arwaaje umwáana/ {both} 'This man has a sick child.' (Overdulve 1975:211)  
/-ramutsa/ {both} *v-tr* 'greet, salute; wish s.o. well; welcome' < /-ramuka/ {both} *v-intr* 'rise, get up in the morning'  
/ava haasí aramutsa amahoro» {Rundi} 'He stood up and gave the greeting "Peace!"' (R11)

The following exemplify the contrast of **-sh-** and **-y-** forms.

- /-vúgiisha/ {both} *v-caus* 'make s.o. speak, cause to speak; chat, talk with s.o., have a conversation'  
/-vúza/ {both} *v-caus* 'have s.o. speak, whistle; play (instrument), beat (a drum); make s.t. sound'  
/arahámagaza umwáana/ {both} 'He is sending for the child.' (LN)  
/arahámagariisha umwáana ingoma/ {both} 'He is summoning the child by means of a drum.' (LN)

When the stem ends in **-r**, the perfective forms of these factitives are unpredicable and will have to be memorized for each individual verb. Otherwise, the original stem consonant returns (for roots with **d**, **g**, **m**), an extra syllable with /i/ or /e/ is added (a disyllabic imperfective becomes a trisyllabic perfective stem), and the /y/ or /z/ changes to /j/ yielding /-ije/ or /-eje/.

- g > z /-haagije/ < /-haaza/ {both} *v-caus* 'suffice, be enough; cause to become full or sated' < /-haaga/ {both} 'eat enough'  
/yáa mafaranga yarahaagije/ {both} 'That money was enough.' (Overdulve 1975:211)  
g > z /-óogeje/ < /-óoza/ {both} *v-tr* 'wash, rinse' < /-óoga/ {both} *v-intr* 'immerse, be in water; bathe'  
d > z /-geenjeje/ < /-geenza/ {both} *v-tr* 'make s.o. go or walk' < /-geenda/ {both} *v-intr* 'go, walk'  
d > z /-tiindije/ < /-tiinza/ {Rwanda} 'delay, make s.o. late' < /-tiinda/ {both} *v-intr* 'be late'  
m + y /-gumije/ < /-gumya/ [see ABOVE] < /-guma/ {both} *v-intr* 'be firm, hard, solid, stable'  
t > sh /-rushije/ < /-rusha/ {both} *v-tr* 'surpass, excel' < /-ruta/ {both} *v-tr* 'exceed'  
r > z /-éjeje/ < /-éeza/ {both} *v-caus* 'whiten, brighten' < /-éera/ {both} *v-st* 'be or become white'  
r > z /-kíjije/ < /-kíza/ {both} *v-caus* 'cure, heal' [see ABOVE] < /-kíra/ {both} *v-st* 'be healed'

EXCEPTIONS (extra syllable not added)

- r > z /-bábaje/ < /-bábaza/ *v-caus* 'hurt' [see ABOVE] < /-bábara/ {both} *v-st* 'be hurt'  
r > z /-húuje/ < /-húuza/ {both} *v-caus* 'put in contact, unite, cause people to come together' < /-húura/ {both} *v-st* 'come together, meet'  
r > z /-rwáaje/ < /-rwáaza/ {both} *v-caus* 'sicken' [see ABOVE] < /-rwáara/ {both} *v-st* 'be sick'  
r > z /-tiije/ < /-tiiza/ {both} *v-caus* 'lend s.t. to s.o.' < /-tiira/ {both} *v-tr* 'borrow, ask for a loan'

Sometimes, an entirely different English word may more accurately capture its sense.

- /-aanduza/ {both} *v-caus* 'contaminate, infect' < /-aandura/ {both} *v-st* 'get dirty; contract (disease)'  
/-éemeza/ {both} *v-caus* 'confirm, attest, acknowledge' < /-éemera/ {both} *v-tr* 'agree, accept'  
/-guza/ {Rwanda} *v-caus* 'borrow money, ask for a loan' < /-gura/ {both} *v-tr* 'buy, purchase'



## 8.14.4. Reciprocal, Mutual, or Associative Verbs (-an-)

The addition of the suffix **-an-** generally indicates that the agents or subjects are doing an action to each other (MUTUAL) or with one another (RECIPROCAL).<sup>425</sup> In these instances the SUBJECT is always PLURAL.

- /-geendana/* {both} *v- recip* 'go together' < */-geenda/* {both} *v-intr* 'go, walk'  
*/-kúundana/* {both} *v- recip* 'love one another' < */-kúunda/* {both} *v-tr* 'love'  
*/tuzaabonana ubuúndi/* {Rwanda} 'We will see each other at some other time.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:259)  
*/umwáana avuutsé kurí umwé mu baároongoranye/* {Rundi} 'A child who was born to only one of the married couple.' (R13)  
*/twaámenyaniye mu kazi/* {both} 'We have known each other at work.' (Jacob #2 1986:347)  
*/ubwó zaa gaári ya moóshi ebyiri zaágoonganaga/* {Rwanda} 'When two trains collided ...' (R8b)  
*/imaánza z'ábaantu batuumvíikana bapfá ibiintu bitóoyá nkó gusuuzugurana, gutúkana/* {Rwanda} 'Disputes among people who have a misunderstanding, who quarrel over trivial matters such as criticizing each other, insulting one another.' (R40.4)

With a direct object, using an **-an-** verb implies that the object does not participate in the action; however, if the following noun is marked with **na-** it implies the action is mutual. Note that in these instances the SUBJECT may be SINGULAR.

- /impumyi igeendana inkoni/* {both} 'A blind person walks with a cane.' (Overdulve & Jacob 199:261)  
*/yariirukanye ibitéero vy'áabáarabú/* {Rundi} 'He pursued the Arab troops.' (R3)  
*/kukó navúukanye amaguru abiri nk'ábaándi/* {both} '... because I was born with two legs like other people' (R34.2)  
*/umubyéeyi ageendana akáana ké/* {Rwanda} 'The mother walks with her baby.' [it is on her back and is not itself walking] (Overdulve 1975:212)  
*/umubyéeyi arageendana n'úumwáana wé/* {Rwanda} 'The mother is walking with her child.' [it is also walking] (Overdulve 1975:213)  
*/yakorana néézá n'ábaándi/* {Rundi} (R17.7), */yakoranaga néézá n'ábaándi/* {Rwanda} (LN) 'She worked well with others.'  
*/peetéro ajaana abáana/* {Rundi} 'Peter escorts the children.' (Cristini 2000:264)<sup>426</sup>  
*/peetéro ajaana n'áabáana/* {Rundi} 'Peter goes with the children.' (Cristini 2000:264)

It also expresses the MANNER of an action.<sup>427</sup>

- /uyu mwaána arageendana ubwóoba/* {both} 'This child walks with fear.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:260)  
*/umugoré aravúgana agahiinda/* {both} 'The woman is talking with sorrow.' (Kimenyi 1980:84)  
*/abakózi báacu bakorana umweéte/* {both} 'Our workers work with dedication' (Overdulve 1975:212)

MONOSYLLABIC VERBS with these extensions have long vowels, but no distinctive sound changes.

- /-báana/* {both} *v-cop- recip* 'be with one another; live together' < */-bá/* {both} *v-cop* 'be, become'  
*/-háana/* {both} *v- recip* 'give to each other, exchange' < */-há/* {both} *v-ditr* 'give s.t. to s.o.'  
*/-nywáana/* {both} *v- recip* 'drink together; [fig] be friends' < */-nywá/* {both} *v-tr* 'drink'

<sup>425</sup> Note that Hurel 1959:81 and Hands 1952:252f erroneously interpret the suffix as **-na**. Otherwise, for Kinyarwanda, see Dubnova 1984:54, Kimenyi 1980:5, Overdulve 1975:212f, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:259; for Kirundi, see Rodegem 1967:146 Ntahokaja 1976:18 and 1994:126f, Cristini 2000:263.

<sup>426</sup> Overdulve (1975:213) gives parallel examples in Rwanda: */turajyaana abáana/* 'We are taking the children away.' (the children are not doing anything themselves); */turajyaana n'áabáana/* 'We are going with the children.' (the children are walking too).

<sup>427</sup> See Kimenyi (1980:83–6) for examples and certain constraints.

The perfective forms are regular: /n/ + /ye/ yields /-nye/.

- /twaazananye/ {Rundi} (JN), /twaazanye/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:261) 'We came together.'  
/baárazánye inzogá/ {Rundi} 'They brought the beer.' (Cristini 2000:264)  
/uríiya musóre twaáriiganye/ {both} 'I studied together with that young man.' [lit. 'That young man we studied together.'] (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:261, JN)  
/abasirikari beénsi haápfaanye muu ntaambara/ {both} 'Many soldiers died together in the fight.' (Overdulve 1975:213, JN)  
/urí uwo aguráanye ijana/ {Rundi} 'You being the one from whom he borrows one hundred.' (R25.3)

Sometimes, the idea of reciprocity does not carry over into the English translation.

- /háno hari iimbwá iryáana/ {both} 'Beware of dog!' [lit. 'Here there is a dog that bites.'] (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:261, JN)  
/ahorana inzara/ {both} 'He is always hungry.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:261)

### 8.14.5. Attributive or Stative (-ik-, -ek-)

The suffix **-ek-** is added to stems that have the mid vowels /e/ or /o/,<sup>428</sup> while **-ik-** is added to those with /i/, /u/ or /a/, and **-k-** is added to verbs ending in /-ra/. This construction is called NEUTER in many publications,<sup>429</sup> but that term normally refers to nouns that are neither masculine nor feminine (i.e., gender-neutral) or else to verbs that are neither active nor passive (i.e., voice-neutral). However, these two suffixes have the force of turning a verb into an adjective-like or attributive construction (§6.5), the translation of which is often closest to the English suffixes *-able* or *-ible*. In other instances, the resulting verb may be translated as *get or become VERB* or even *be easy to VERB*.

- /-bóheka/ {both} *v-atr* 'be easily tied' < /-bóha/ {both} *v-tr* 'tie, bind'  
/máanyuka/ {both} *v-atr* 'be broken, get disrupted' < /-máanyura/ {both} *v-tr* 'break (up, into pieces), fracture; detach;' cf: /ikimaányu/ {both} *n4-sg* 'slice, piece, fraction, portion, morsel'  
/seeseka/ {both} *v-atr* 'be spread out (beyond borders)' < /-seesa/ {both} *v-intr* 'pour, spread; throw out onto the ground'  
/uwuhávunikira/ {Rundi} *auto-n1-sg-imm+obj* 'one who breaks a bone there' (R23) < /-vúnika/ {both} *v-atr* 'get broken, be fractured'  
/uyu murimá urahíngika/ {Rwanda} 'This field is easy to cultivate.' (Overdulve 1975:235)  
«Uwo muhisi yari umuntu yitaho umwuga wiwe bimwe biboneka» {Rundi} 'The departed was a person who obviously cared for her profession.' (R17.7)

MONOSYLLABIC VERBS with these extensions have long vowels and are formed from the perfective stem.

- /-pfuuka/ {both} *v-atr* 'be dead (of hair), get defeathered' < /-pfá, -pfúuye/ {both} *v-st* 'die'  
/rúika/ {both} *v-atr* 'be edible; get eaten' < /-ryá, -rúye/ {both} *v-tr* 'eat'  
/seeka/ {both} *v-atr* 'be grindable, be easily ground' < /-sya, -seeye/ {both} *v-tr* 'grind'

The perfective forms regularly exhibit a single sound change: /k/ + /ye/ yields /-tse/.

- /navunitse ukuguru/ {both} 'I fractured my leg.' (Overdulve 1975:236) < /-vúnika/ {both} *v-atr* 'get broken; be fractured'

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<sup>428</sup> One exception is /-gororoka/ *v-atr* {both} 'be straight; be righteous,' which shows ASSIMILATION (VOWEL HARMONY) to the two previous o's.

<sup>429</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:282f (NEUTER or QUASI-PASSIVE), Hurel 1959:80 (NEUTER, French *verbes neutres*), Overdulve 1975:235f and Overdulve & Jacob 1998:283 (STATIVE, French *statif*), Kimenyi 1980:5,17 (NEUTRAL) but Kimenyi 2002:263 (STATIVE), Dubnova 1984:54 (QUASI-PASSIVE); for Kirundi, see Rodegem 1967:146 (NEUTER, French *causatif-neutre*), Ntahokaja 1994:124f (POSITIONAL, French *positionnel*), Cristini 2000:261f (NEUTER, French *neutre*).

/amaferi **yacítse**/ {Rwanda} 'defective brakes' (R16) < /-cíika/ {both} *v-atr* 'break, rupture'  
 «ivyiyumviro **bigayitse vy'ihonyabwoko**» {Rundi} 'the despicable ideas of genocide' (R29.7) <  
 /-gayika/ {both} 'be despicable, contemptible'

#### 8.14.6. Reversives (Transitive -uur-, -oor-; Intransitive -uuk-, -ook-)

The augment **-uur-** is added to stems that have the vowels /a/, /e/, /i/, or /u/, while **-oor-** to stems that have /o/. These have the effect of creating a TRANSITIVE VERB with the REVERSE MEANING of the root, similar to English prefixes such as *un-* or *dis-*.<sup>430</sup> The augment **-uuk-** is suffixed on stems that have the vowels /a/, /e/, /i/, or /u/, while **-ook-** on stems that have /o/. These latter augments create an INTRANSITIVE VERB. This system is not used on all verbs<sup>431</sup> (i.e., it is not as productive as the benefactive or causative augments) and the appropriate English meaning is not readily predictable. The student will have to learn which verbs can take these suffixes and should carefully study their meanings.

/-áanura/ {both} *v-rev-tr* 'bring things in from (the sun, the rain)' < /-áanika/ {both} *v-tr* 'expose to the sun, put s.t. out into the sun (to dry)'  
 /-fuunguura/ {both} *v-rev-tr* 'open' < /-fuunga/ {both} *v-tr* 'close, shut'  
 /-híshuura/ {both} *v-rev-tr* 'disclose, reveal' < /-hísha/ {both} *v-tr* 'hide, conceal'  
 /-pfúkuura/ {both} *v-rev-tr* 'uncover; disclose' < /-pfúka/ {both} *v-tr* 'cover'  
 /-rogoora/ {both} *v-rev-tr* 'give s.o. an antidote (to a poison)' < /-roga/ {both} *v-tr* 'cast a spell (upon)'  
 /-róotoora/ {both} *v-rev-tr* 'relate or tell a dream; explain a dream' < /-róota/ {both} *v-tr* 'dream'  
 /-ruhuuka/ {both} *v-rev-intr* 'rest, relax' < /-ruha/ {both} *v-inch* 'get tired, be fatigued or exhausted'  
 /-taahuuka/ {both} *v-rev-intr* 'come back home after a long absence, come back from afar' < /-taaha/ {both} *v-intr* 'go home, come back'  
 /-tebuuka/ {both} *v-rev-intr* 'rush, hurry' < /-teba/ {both} *v-intr* 'be late, loiter'  
 /-uururuka/ {both} *v-rev-intr* 'climb down, descend' < /-úurira/ {both} *v-tr* 'climb, go up s.t.'<sup>432</sup>  
 /-bóhooka/ {both} *v-rev-intr* 'come untied, get undone (knot)' < /-bóha/ {both} *v-tr* 'tie, bind'  
 /-bóhoora/ {both} *v-rev-tr* 'untie; release, set free' < /-bóha/ {both} *v-tr* 'tie, bind'  
 /-kiinguura/ {both} *v-rev-tr* 'open; unlock' < /-kiinga/ {both} *v-tr* 'close, shut (window); lock (door)'  
 /-kiinguuka/ {both} *v-rev-st* 'be open, get opened; be unlocked' < /-kiinga/ {both} *v-tr* 'close'  
 «woweho ni **uguhugura**.» {Rwanda} 'As far as you're concerned, you only need a refresher course.' (R4)  
 «wagira ngo **nca nkurekura**?» {Rundi} 'Did you think that I would immediately release you?' (R27.3)

The perfective forms regularly exhibit the expected sound changes: /r/ + /ye/ yields /-ye/ (the /r/ drops) and /k/ + /ye/ yields /-tse/.

/-aambuye/ {both} < /-aambura/ *v-rev-ditr* 'undress, remove clothing'  
 /-rekuye/ {both} < /-rekura/ *v-rev-tr* 'release, set free'  
 /-kosooye/ {both} < /-kosoora/ *v-rev-tr* 'fix up, correct a mistake'  
 /-tóoye/ {both} < /-tóora/ *v-rev-tr* 'choose, pick out, select' < /-tá/ {both} *v-tr* 'drop; discard, get rid of'  
 /-áagutse/ {both} < /-áaguka/ *v-rev-st* 'become enlarged; be vast, spacious' < /-áaga/ {both} *v-st* 'be narrow'  
 /-húguutse/ {Rwanda} < /-húguuka/ *v-rev-st* 'pay attention' < /-húga/ {Rwanda} 'be distracted'  
 /-nóhotse/ {Rundi} < /-nóhoka/ *v-rev-st* 'get thin, waste away' [Cf: **umunóho**/ {Rundi} *nI-sg* 'glutton']  
 /-raandutse/ {both} < /-raanduka/ *v-rev-st* 'get uprooted' < /-raanda/ {both} *v-intr* 'creep (of a plant)'  
 /-ruhuutse/ {both} < /-ruhuuka/ *v-rev-intr* 'rest, relax' [ABOVE]

<sup>430</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:288,293, Hurel 1959:80, Overdulve 1975:225–27, Kimenyi 1980:5, Dubnova 1984:55, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:282; for Kirundi, see Rodegem 1967:146, Ntahokaja 1994:129–32, Cristini 2000:266f.

<sup>431</sup> For example, it is not found on a single monosyllabic root.

<sup>432</sup> Note the unexplained shift in root tonality from /-úurira/ to /-uururuka/.

8.14.7. Intensive or Repetitive (-agur-, -agir-, -agagur-, -agar-)

The augment **-agur-** is added to a limited number of stems of more than one syllable that have the vowels /e/, /o/, or /u/, while **-agir-** appears on a few stems with /a/ or /i/. Monosyllabic roots are inflected with **-agagur-**.<sup>433</sup> There is also a less commonly used alternate **-agar-**. These affixes imply that an action is repeated many times or takes place over a long period of time.<sup>434</sup> They may also serve simply to intensify a verb.

- /-hoondagura/ {both} *v-repet* 'flog, thrash, hit again and again' < /-hoonda/ {both} *v-tr* 'beat, hit, strike'
- /-kúbitagura/ {both} *v-repet* 'thrash soundly, strike again and again' < /-kúbita/ {both} *v-tr* 'beat, hit'
- /-ménagura/ {both} *v-repet* 'break s.t. to bits or into several pieces, crush to smithereens' < /-ména/ {both} *v-tr* 'break, shatter'
- /-rimagura/ {both} *v-repet* 'dig quickly, with short strokes' < /-rima/ {both} *v-tr* 'dig, hoe, cultivate land'
- /-kinagira/ {both} *v-repet* 'play hard,; play and play' < /-kina/ {both} *v-tr* 'play, enjoy oneself'
- /-cáagagura/ {Rwanda} *v-repet* 'cut into small pieces' < /-cá/ {both} *v-tr* 'cut, slice'
- /-nyaagagura/ {Rwanda} *v-repet* 'defecate often, constantly go to the toilet' < /-nnya/ {both} *v-tr* 'defecate'
- /-ryáagagura/ {Rundi} *v-repet* 'insult s.o., speak harsh words to s.o.;' {Rwanda} 'eat voraciously, eat without stopping' < /-ryá/ {both} *v-tr* 'eat'
- /-táagagura/ {Rwanda} *v-repet* 'lose things here and there; squander (one's wealth)' < /-tá/ {both} *v-tr* 'drop; throw away, discard'
- /-téembagara/ {both} *v-repet* 'topple, tumble down or over' < /-téemba/ {both} *v-intr* 'slope (downwards)'
- /ikakigaragura/ {both} *v-repet-seq-narr+obj* 'Then it stirs it around again and again.' (R12)
- /báatémaguranye/ {both} *v-repet-part-recent-perf* 'They having (recently) cut each other to pieces ...' (R24.4)
- /indiriimbo ihayágiza igihúgu/ {Rundi} 'the national anthem' [-hay-agir/z-a; lit. 'song that sings the praises of the country'] (R29.1)
- /tutiiriwe turadóondagura háno/ {Rundi} '... that we do not take the trouble to narrate in detail.' (R37.3)

The perfective forms regularly exhibit the expected sound changes: /r/ + /ye/ yields /-ye/ (/r/ > Ø).

- /-gaandaguye/ < /-gaandagura/ {Rundi} *v-repet* 'kill, liquidate'
- /-síragiye/ < /-síragira/ {Rwanda} *v-repet* 'come and go repeatedly; go back and forth often'
- /-témaguye/ < /-témagura/ {both} *v-repet* 'shred, cut up (into smaller pieces)'

8.14.8. Durative or Frequentative (-iriz-, -erez-)

The suffix **-erez-** is added to stems that have the mid vowels /e/ or /o/, while **-iriz-** is added to those with /i/, /u/ or /a/. These DURATIVE or FREQUENTATIVE verb augments have the sense of *do VERB persistently, repeatedly, or over a prolonged time*.<sup>435</sup>

- /-henereza/ {both} *v-freq* 'keep bending over with one's butt protruding (bare-topped or naked)' < /-hena/ {both} *v-intr* 'bend over (showing one's butt, but not necessarily bare), moon; [ext] be naked'
- /-kórereza/ {Rwanda} *v-freq* 'make a living from day to day by farming for others (day labor)' < /-kóra/ {both} *v-tr* 'work'
- /-hítiriza/ {Rundi} *v-freq* 'pass by unnoticed, sneak through' < /-híta/ {both} *v-intr* 'pass (by, over)'

<sup>433</sup> Only four are known to do so, see examples below.

<sup>434</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:288 (-gira, -gura), Hurel 1959:82 (-gura), Overdulve 1975:235 (-agur-), Overdulve & Jacob 1998:284, Kimenyi 2002:263,266 (ITERATIVE -agur-); for Kirundi, see Rodegem 1967:146, Cox 1970:21, Ntahokaja 1994:132–34, Cristini 2000:267f (-agir-, -agar-, -agur-). Those authors who propose that these suffixes are -gur- and -gir-, ignore the fact that all augments are VOWEL INITIAL (-ir-, -iish-, -an-, -ik-, etc.) and these truly fit that pattern.

<sup>435</sup> The only authors to discuss these augments are: Hands 1952:288 (PERSISTIVE), Hurel 1959:81 (INTENSIVE, French *verbes intensifs*), and Kimenyi 2002:263 (FREQUENTATIVE) for Kinyarwanda, and Cox 1970:22 for Kirundi. Both Overdulve 1975:239 and Cristini 2000:257 refer to the APPLICATIVE (our BENEFACTIVE) + CAUSATIVE or FACTITIVE function of this combination, i.e., -er- or -ir- + -y- > -erez- or -iriz-.

*/-sibiriza/* {both} *v-freq* 'beg without stop, ask for s.t. repeatedly; live like a beggar' < */-saba/* {both} *v-ditr* 'ask, request'  
*/-úumviriza/* {both} *v-freq* 'listen carefully, pay close attention' < */-úumva/* {both} *v-tr* 'hear, listen'  
*/-ziririza/* {both} *v-freq* 'scrupulously observe taboos' < */-zira/* {both} *v-st* 'be forbidden, prohibited, taboo'

The perfective forms regularly substitute */-je/* for */-za/*.

*/-gumirije/* < */-gumiriza/* {both} *v-freq* 'continue s.t. indefinitely'  
*/-henereje/* < */-henereza/* {both} *v-freq* 'keep bending over' [ABOVE]  
*/-sibirije/* < */-sibiriza/* {both} *v-freq* 'beg without stop' [ABOVE]

### 8.14.9. Multiple Augments

Most of the verb extensions detailed in the above sections can co-occur, but rarely in the high number of combinations exemplified in some of the textbooks.<sup>436</sup> Table 106, derived from Overdulve (1975:237), outlines the order in which multiple augments are generally placed. Note that the order of benefactive and reciprocal augments can be inverted.

Table 106. Typical Order of Co-occurring Verb Augments

REPET -agur- / -agir- / - agagur-	CAUS -iish- / -eesh-	BEN -ir- / -er- -irir- / -erer-	RECIP -an-	CAUS (FACT) -y- -z- -ez-	PASS -w-
REV -uuk- / -ook- -uur- / -oor-	ATR -ik- / -ek-	RECIP -an-	BEN -ir- / -er-		

However, there cannot be hard and fast rules, because it depends on the nature of the verb stem, e.g., is it a causative verb with a reciprocal augment?, or is it a reciprocal verb with a causative augment?

*/-kóreeshanya/* {both} *v-caus+recip* 'make work together'  
*/-áankaniisha/* {Rundi}, */-áanganiisha/* {Rwanda} *v-recip+caus* 'excite hatred among, turn s.o. against another'  
*/-menyaniisha/* {both} *v-recip+caus* 'introduce s.o. to s.o. else' [lit. 'make people know each other']

The following represent some "real world" instances of two or more affix combinations.

«*Abadandaza bawugurishiriza mu kinyegero ku giciro c'umurengera*» {Rundi} *v-caus+ben+fact* 'Merchants sell it secretly at an excessive price.' (R35.1)  
*/azooshikirizwa/* {Rundi} *v-ben+fact+pass* 'They will be forwarded to ...' (R9)  
*/baragerekeranye/* {both} *v-ben+recip* 'They are on top of one another.' (R31.2)  
*/haarakoreeshejwe/* {Rundi} *v-caus+pass* 'There has been used ...' (R37.4)  
*/kugwiirirana/* {Rundi} *v-ben+recip* 'to increase' (R37.3)  
*/níimugirirana/* {Rwanda} *v-ben+recip* 'If you have for each other ...' (R28.10)  
*/-shúuhiriza/* {Rundi}, */-shyúuhiriza/* {Rwanda} *v-ben+fact* 'warm s.t. up for s.o.'  
*/twaábitaangaarijwe/* {both} *v-ben+fact+pass* '... that we were informed about it.' (R24)  
*/uwuhávunikira/* {Rundi} *v-atr+ben* 'one who breaks a bone there' (R23)  
*/waráhabiishijwe/* {both} *v-caus+pass* 'You have been overwhelmed.' (R21)  
*/wuúmviiikaniye/* {both} *v-atr+recip+ben* 'who was heard on (the radio)' (R20)

<sup>436</sup> See, for example, Overdulve (1975:237,313), who has two tables with up to six co-occurrences in Kinyarwanda, but only exemplifies five. His example */gu-kór-eesh-erez-an-y-wa/* (Ibid:238) is misparsed (as four morphs) and rejected by our consultants. Cristini 2000:271 presents an example with four */ku-gerek-ir-an-y-wa* 'be piled one on top of the other.' Unfortunately, not only is there a spelling error «gerika» (sic), the verb */gereka/* {both} 'put s.t. on top of s.t. else, superimpose, add to' is not formed from */gera/* {both} 'measure.'

/zikaba zíciibonekeza/ {Rundi} *v-atr+fact* 'They still attract notice.' (R37.4)

/záagaragajwe/ {both} *v-fact+pass* 'They being shown ...' (R10)

### 8.15. Voice (Passive)

The Bantu suffix *-w-* allows the subject and object of a sentence to be reversed.<sup>437</sup> This suffix always comes just before the final aspect suffix of the verb. This construction is reasonably straightforward when forming passives with the endings *-a* or *-e* (i.e., affirmative or negative imperfective, subjunctive, etc.).

/-híshwa, -híshwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be hidden' < /-hísha/ {both} *v-tr* 'hide, conceal'

/-kámwa, -kámwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be milked' < /-káma/ {both} *v-tr* 'milk (a cow)'

/-remwa, -remwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be created' < /-rema/ {both} *v-tr* 'create, form'

/-tíinywa, -tíinywe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be feared' < /-tíinya/ {both} *v-tr* 'fear, be afraid of'

However, several sound changes affect the perfective form of passive verbs, namely palatalization, velarization, and metathesis<sup>438</sup> (§2.5.16), so that many perfective forms barely seem to resemble their imperfective counterparts. These pairs should be memorized.

d > z /-kúundwa, -kúunzwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be loved' < /-kúunda/ {both} *v-tr* 'love'

d > z /-ruundwa, -ruunzwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be piled up' < /-ruunda/ {both} *v-tr* 'pile up, amass'

g > z /-fuungwa, -fuunzwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be closed' < /-fuunga/ {both} *v-tr* 'close, shut'

g > z /-saangwa, -saanzwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be usual' < /-saanga/ {both} *v-tr* 'go towards'

k > ts /-bíikwa, -bíitswe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be stored' < /-bíika/ {both} *v-tr* 'store, put s.t. away'

k > ts /-téekwa, -téetswe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be cooked' < /-téeka/ {both} *v-tr* 'cook'

n > ny /-:zanwa, -:zanywe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be brought' < /-:zana/ {both} *v- recip* 'bring, come with'

r > Ø /-téerwa, -téewe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be caused' < /-téera/ {both} *v-tr* 'cause, provoke, elicit'

r > Ø /-twáarwa, -twáawe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be taken away' < /-twáara/ {both} *v-tr* 'carry, take away'

r > z /-gurwa, -guzwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be sold' < /-gura/ {both} *v-tr* 'buy, purchase; sell, trade'

s > sh /-meswa, -meshwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be washed' < /-mesa/ {both} *v-tr* 'wash, launder'

t > s /-íitwa, -íiswe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be named' < /-íita/ {both} *v-tr* 'name s.o.'

t > sh /-fátwa, -fáshwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be caught' < /-fáta/ {both} *v-tr* 'catch, seize'

y > Ø /-gawa, -gawe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be despised' < /-gaya/ {both} *v-tr* 'despise, scorn, have contempt for'

z > j /-garagazwa, -garagajwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be shown' < /-garagaza/ {both} *v-caus* 'show'

/abashúnzwe/ {both} *auto-nl-pl-imm-perf-pass* 'the ones who are responsible for' (R16) < /-shiiingwa/ {both} *v-pass* 'be fixed or established; [ext] be responsible for, be in charge of'

/iyi mpanuka idasaanzwé ngo yaaba yáratéewe n'ámaferi yaciitse/ {Rwanda} *v-part-pret-perf-pass* 'This unusual accident, it is believed, may have been caused by defective brakes.' (R16) < /-téerwa/ {both} *v-pass* 'be caused'

/bitaama yarákuundwa hóóse/ {Rundi} *v-ind-pret-impf-pass* 'Bitama was loved everywhere.' (R25) < /-kúundwa/ {both} *v-pass* 'be loved'

/akarwa kiitwá ijwi/ {Rwanda} *v-rel-imm-pass* 'A small island called Ijwi.' (R20) < /-íitwa/ {both} *v-pass* 'be named'

/wiitwa ndé?/ {both} *v-ind-imm-pass* 'What's your name?' [lit: 'Who are you called?'] (Rodegem 1970:195)

/imáana ishiimwé/ {both} *v-sub-imm-pass* 'God be praised!' (Overdulve 1975:194) < /-shiimwa/ {both} *v-pass* 'be appreciated, be approved of; get praised'

/tweereke ingéne wafashwé/ {Rundi} *v-rel-recent-perf-pass* 'Show us how you were caught.' (R27.9) < /-fátwa/ {both} *v-pass* 'be caught'

<sup>437</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:247–9, Hurel 1959:76f, Kimenyi 1980:5f, Dubnova 1984:54, Overdulve 1975:194–6, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:227f, Kimenyi 2002:126–8; for Kirundi, see Cox 1970:23, Ntahokaja 1976:17f and 1994:127f, Rodegem 1967:146, Cristini 2000:264–6.

<sup>438</sup> In a form like /kúunzwe/ {both} 'be loved' the METATHESIS involves the switching of places of *w* passive and *y* perfective, i.e., /kúund-y-w-e/.

- /haári **hátumiwe** abaantu bóóse/ {Rundi} *v-part-imm-perf-pass* 'Everybody was invited.' (R29.3) < /-túmirwa/ {both} *v-pass* 'be summoned, get invited'  
 /ntaa butaáyu buharaángwa/ {Rwanda} *v-rel-imm-pass+obj* 'There is no sign of arid land there.' (R32) < /-raangwa/ {both} *v-pass* 'be characterized, be identified'  
 /babijeéjwe/ {Rundi} *v-rel-imm-perf-pass+obj* 'who are responsible for it' (R35.4) < /-zézwa/ {Rundi} *v-pass* 'be someone who can be counted upon'  
 «Ubu rero barahumiriza bakemera **bakazimbwa**» {Rundi} *v-seq-imm-pass* 'So they just close their eyes and resign themselves to being overcharged.' (R35.4) < /-ziimbwa/ {Rundi} *v-pass* 'be overcharged'

Causative passives have syllable addition in their perfective forms, i.e., **-eeshwa** > **-eeshejwe** or **-iishwa** > **-iishijwe**.

- /-íigiishwa, -íigishijwe/ {both} *v-caus-pass* 'be taught'  
 /-téeshwa, -téeshijwe/ {both} *v-caus-pass* 'cause s.o. to lose s.t. {Rwanda}; {Rundi} [ext] be contradicted'  
 /-vúgiishwa, -vúgiishijwe/ {both} *v-caus-pass* 'made a slip of the tongue'

Monosyllabic roots form their imperfective passive by adding a **b**, i.e., /-bw-/. Due to sound change, the perfective forms always end in /-we/.

- /-báabwa, -báawe/ {Rwanda} *v-pass* 'be' [special passive idiom] < /-bá/ {both} *v-cop* 'be, become; live'  
 /-cíibwa, -cíiwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be cut; be arbitrated' < /-cá/ {both} *v-tr* 'cut, slice, sever'  
 /-giibwa, -giuwe/ {Rwanda} *v-pass* 'be frequented' < /-jya/ {Rwanda} *v-motion* 'go (to, towards)'  
 /-guubwa, -guuwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be fallen' < /-gwa/ {both} *v-intr* 'fall'  
 /-háabwa, -háawe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be given' < /-há/ {both} *v-ditr* 'give s.t. to s.o.'  
 /-kóobwa, -kóowe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be paid (of a dowry)' < /-kwá/ {both} *v-tr* 'pay a dowry'  
 /-moobwa, -moowe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be shaved' < /-mwa/ {both} *v-tr* 'shave'  
 /-neebwa, -neewe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be excreted' < /-nnya/ {both} *v-tr* 'defecate, go to the toilet'  
 /-nyóobwa, -nyóowe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be drunk' < /-nywá/ {both} *v-tr* 'drink'  
 /-ríibwa, -ríiwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be eaten' < /-ryá/ {both} *v-tr* 'eat'  
 /-seebwa, -seewe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be ground' < /-sya/ {both} *v-tr* 'grind'  
 /-táabwa, -táawe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be discarded' < /-tá/ {both} *v-tr* 'drop, let s.t. fall; discard'  
 /-vuubwa, -vuuwe/ {both} *v-pass* 'be exited' < /-va/ {both} *v-intr* 'leave, exit'

Note that the use of the passive is far more frequent and idiomatic in Kirundi and Kinyarwanda than it is in English. Even intransitive verbs can have a passive in order to form an impersonal construction.

- «Iyi nzu n'iyi **kubabwamo** n'umwami.» {Rwanda} 'This is a house fit for a king to live in.' [lit. 'to be lived in by a king'] (Hands 1952:281)  
 /agiye **ibugiibwa**/ {Rwanda} 'He is going to his usual hangout.' [lit. 'to a place being frequented'] (Bizimana 1998:233)

## 8.16. Irregular Verbs

There is a small set of verbs shared between Kirundi and Kinyarwanda that lack complete paradigms common to most verb roots, e.g., no perfective form (**-sa**), no imperfective form (**-fise** / **-fite**, **-ziranye**), no past forms, etc. Most have a very limited set of inflections. And a few irregularly end in **-i**, (**-rí**, **-zi**, **-ruuzi**, **-zinanyi**) rather than **-a**. Each dialect also has a few unique roots, e.g., /-méengo/ {Rundi}, /-ruuzi/ {Rwanda}. The locative copulative /-rí/ is irregular, but will be treated in the section on copulative verbs (§8.17.2) just below.

### 8.16.1. The Possessive Verbs

Kirundi and Kinyarwanda each have its own root to express possession or ownership. These forms appear to be perfective (which is a standard conjugation for a stative verb) and there is no imperfective version. The recent and the preterit are formed from the auxiliary /-rí/ and appropriate participials. There are forms in the indicative, participial, relative, and autonome. The standard verbal synonym for these is: /-gira/ {both} 'have, hold, own, possess.'

/-fise/ {Rundi} 'have, own, possess' (Cristini 2000:242f)

- /bitaama yari áafise abageenzi benshi/ {Rundi} *v-ir-poss-cmp-pret* 'Bitama had many friends.' (R25)
- /ntaa báana bafisé/ {Rundi} *v-ir-poss-rel-imm* 'They don't have any children.' {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:243)
- /abafise améenyó/ {Rundi} *v-ir-poss-auto-nl-pl-imm* 'those who have teeth' (Cristini 2000:243)
- /bamufitiye ishari/ {both} *v-ir-poss-ben-ind-imm+obj* 'They are jealous of him.' [lit. 'They have jealousy for him.'] (Cristini 2000:243)

/-fite/ {Rwanda} 'have, own, possess' (Overdulve 1975:147)

- /mfite umuriro/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-poss-ind-imm* 'I have a fever.' (Bizimana 1998:204)
- /muracyáfite ibitabo/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-poss-ind-persist* 'You still have books.' (Overdulve 1975:230)
- /ntaa ntegé mfité/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-poss-rel-imm* 'I don't have energy.' [lit. 'There is no energy that I have.'] (Jacob 1984 #1:290)
- /abiífite/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-poss-auto-nl-pl-imm* 'wealthy people'
- /amfitiye amafaraanga ijana/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-poss-ben-ind-imm+obj* 'He owes me one hundred francs.' [lit. 'He has for me one hundred francs.'] (Bizimana 1998:204)
- /ufite kujya kwívuuza/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-poss-aux-ind-imm* 'You have to go seek treatment.' (Jacob 1984 #1:290) [Note: aux + inf in a sense of obligation]

### 8.16.2. The Cognitive Verbs

There is a small set of verbs, only one of which, /-:zi/, is shared by both dialects, that expresses some form of knowing (e.g., supposing, perceiving, or being acquainted).

/-méengo/ {Rundi} [Alt: -méenga] 'say (that); suppose, believe, think, have an impression (that); seem (to be so)' (Cristini 2000:245, Rodegem 1967:90 and 1970:262, Ntahokaja 1994:182). This defective verb form is generally used in the indicative immediate, recent, and conditional tenses in the second person singular [*pro-2sg*] or group one plural [*nl-pl*] to imply an impersonal construction. It can also be used in a sequence or subsecutive construction.

- /umeengo ntaa gatíma mugirá/ {Rundi} *v-ir-ind-imm* 'One gets the impression that you don't have much courage.' (Rodegem 1967:90)
- /bameengo/ {Rundi} *v-ir-ind-imm* 'People believe that ...' (Rodegem 1967:90 & 1970:262)
- /nameengo/ {Rundi} *v-ir-ind-recent* 'I got the impression that ...' (Ntahokaja 1994:182)
- /woomeenga níwe/ {Rundi} *v-ir-ind-cond* 'One would suppose that it is him.' (Rodegem 1970:262)
- /woomeengo ararwáaye/ {Rundi} *v-ir-ind-cond* 'One should say that he is sick.' (Cristini 2000:245)
- /ukameengo/ {Rundi} *v-ir-seq-ind-imm* 'As if ...' or 'And one gets the impression that ...' (Rodegem 1967:90, Ntahokaja 1994:182)

/-ruuzi/ {Rwanda} 'see, notice, perceive, realize' (Hands 1952:240, Hurel 1959:168, Overdulve 1975:230,259,315, Bizimana 1998:205, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:165). This root is only conjugated in the immediate and persistent tenses in the indicative, participial, relative, or autonome.

- /baruuzi umwáana agwá/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-ind-imm* 'They notice the child falling.' (Overdulve 1975:259)
- /turabiruzi/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-ind-imm+obj* 'We understand it.' (Overdulve 1975:230)
- /ndacyáaruuzi/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-imm-persist* 'I am still able to see.' (Bizimana 1998:205)
- /ndakúbwiira nkúruuzi/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-part-imm* 'I am talking to you as I see you.' (Bizimana 1998:205)



/ubwó muruzi yahíindutse umutuku/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-rel-imm* 'But now you see they have turned red.'  
(R28.5)

/uúruuzi/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-auto-imm* 'one who realizes' (LN)

/-:zi/ {both} 'know' (Hands 1952:131, Hurel 1959:168, Overdulve 1975:147, Dubnova 1984:54, Bizimana 1998:205, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:165f, Ntahokaja 1994:180f, Cristini 2000:237f, Rodegem 1967:73f). It also has a passive /-:zwi/ 'be known'.<sup>439</sup> Its regular counterpart is /-menya/.

/baazi vyíinshi/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:237, Rodegem 1967:73), /baazi byíinshi/ {Rwanda} (LN) *v-ir-ind-imm* 'They know a lot of things.'

/simbízi/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:238), /siimbízi/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:88) *v-ir-ind-neg-imm* 'I don't know it.'

/baramúzi/ {both} *v-ir-ind-imm-disj+obj* 'They know him.' (Rodegem 1967:74, LN)

/abaázi néezá/ {both} *v-ir-auto-imm* 'The ones who know best.' (Cristini 2000:238)

/narií mbízi/ {both} *v-ir-cmp-pret+obj* 'I knew it.' (Rodegem 1967:74, LN)

/ibyó uvugá biizwi na báke/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-ind-imm-pass* 'The things you say are known by a few people.' (Bizimana 1998:205)

/-:zinanyi/ {Rundi} 'know each other, be acquainted' [Alt: -zinana, -zinanye] (Cristini 2000:239)

/umuuntu muuzinányi/ {Rundi} *v-ir- recip-rel-imm* 'a person that you know well' (Cristini 2000:239)

/-:ziranye/ {Rwanda} 'know each other, be acquainted' (Jacob 1987 #3:593)

/ubusáanzwe ntítwaári túuziranye twaámenyaniye mu kazi/ {Rwanda} *v-ir- recip-part-imm*  
'Previously we did not know each other, but we got acquainted at work.' (Jacob #2 1986:347)

### 8.16.3. The Comparative Verbs

There are two verbs that express some form of comparison but which lack perfective forms. These have already been discussed and exemplified at the very end of Chapter 6 (§6.6).

/-:ngana/ {both<sup>440</sup>} 'be the same size, be equal or equivalent; be so many' (Hands 1952:267, Overdulve 1975:223, Jacob #2 1986:393, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:277; Rodegem 1967:76 and 1970:280, Cristini 2000:242).

/ntibaangána/ {both} *v-ind-neg-imm* 'They are not equal.' (Rodegem 1967:76, Cristini 2000:242)

/hari abadáshobóra kuroonka amafaraanga aanganá gúrtyo/ {Rundi} *v-rel-imm* 'There are those who cannot get that kind of money.' (R35.2)

/afite umutwé ungána n'úmusózi/ {Rwanda} *v-rel-subj-imm* 'He has a huge head.' [lit. 'head as big as a hill'] (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:277)

/huuzura abaangana/ {Rundi} *v-auto-imm* 'Those who are equal become friends.' (Rodegem 1967:76)

/-sa/ {both} 'look like, resemble; appear as such; be about, be approximately' (Hands 1952:173, Overdulve 1975:172,223, Dubnova 1984:24, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:277; Rodegem 1967:75 and 1970:385, Cristini 2000:240f).

/ntaasá ukó yahorá asá/ {Rundi} *v-ind-neg-imm – v-part-aff-imm* 'He does not look like he used to look.'  
(Cristini 2000:240)

/bagasa n'ibisumá/ {both} *v-ind-imm* 'And they look like thieves.' (Cristini 2000:241)

/ingéne mwéezi yasá/ {Rundi} *v-rel-pret* 'How Mwezi looked.' (R5)

<sup>439</sup> Both Bizimana 1998:205 and Overdulve & Jacob 1998:248 indicate that /-:zi/ has a benefactive form, but only in the perfective /-:ziye/, e.g., /unziye amabaanga/ {Rwanda} 'You are aware of my secrets.'

<sup>440</sup> It is the lack of a perfective counterpart that makes this root irregular in Kirundi. There is a perfective form in Kinyarwanda, e.g., /waanganye gútyo ryáari?/ 'When did you get so big?'

### 8.16.4. The Prohibitive Verb

/-ooya/ {both} 'stop s.t., abandon; let s.o. be; renounce; prevent, not allow.' This verb is limited to three forms: imperative, subjunctive, and subsecutive. If it governs another verb, that verb will be in the INFINITIVE.<sup>441</sup>

/oya ayo/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-imp* 'Stop it! = That's enough!' (Jacob #2 1986:515)

/oya ivyo/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:241, Rodegem 1967:76), /oya ibyo/ {Rwanda} (Hurel 1959:169) *v-ir-imp* 'Stop it! = That's enough!'

/nyoya/ {Rwanda} *v-ir-imp+pro-1sg-obj* 'Stop it! = Let me be!' (Jacob #2 1986:515)

/geenda buhoro mwooye kugwa/ {Rundi} *v-ir-sub+inf* 'Go carefully so that you won't fall.' (Cristini 2000:241)

/yooyé kudúteera ubwóoba/ {both} *v-ir-sub+inf* 'He should not scare us.' (Cristini 2000:277, LN)

/(ni) booyé gupfá náabí/ {Rundi} *v-ir-sub+inf* '... so that they won't die miserably.' (Cristini 2000:241, Rodegem 1967:76)

/mwooyé gutiinya/ {both} *v-ir-sub+inf* 'Don't be afraid!' (Cox 1970:17)

/zikooya kujá kurwaana mw'ijoro/ {Rundi} *v-ir-seq-ind-imm* '... so that they (the cows) won't fight during the night.' (Cristini 2000:241, Rodegem 1967:76)

### 8.17. Copulative Verbs

There are three sets of verbs that express *to be*: an invariable PREDICATIVE /ni/ (negative /si/), an irregular LOCATIVE root /-rí/, and a MONOSYLLABIC COPULATIVE root /-bá/. They each have their own functions and presuppositions.

«ni kigali» {both} *v-cop-invar-ind-aff-imm* 'It is Kigali.' (LN)

«ari i kigali» {both} *v-cop-loc-ind-aff-imm* 'He is in Kigali.' (cf: Overdulve 1975:146)

«aba i kigali» {both} *v-cop-mono-ind-aff-imm* 'He lives in Kigali.' (cf: Overdulve 1975:146)

#### 8.17.1. The Invariable Predicative Copulatives (ni, si)

The copulatives /ni/ or /si/ before a consonant, /n/ or /s/ before a vowel, are PREDICATIVES in the INDICATIVE IMMEDIATE, INVARIABLE for number or noun class. Their subject is either in the THIRD PERSON or INDEFINITE (e.g., *it is*), i.e., never in the first or second person.<sup>442</sup> They have high tone when not first in a clause [Nrule].

/umugoré wé ní mutó/ {both} *v-cop-invar* 'His wife is young.' (Overdulve 1975:84)

/s'uumwé, sí babiri, ní bóóse/ {Rundi} *v-cop-invar* 'Not just one or two, but everyone.' (Cristini 2000:219)

/ní vyiizá/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:232), /ní byiizá/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:88) *v-cop-invar* 'It's ok.'

/ní wewé/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:218), /ní wowé/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:177) *v-cop-invar* 'It's you!'

/umwiigiisha ní mukurú/ {both} *v-cop-invar* 'The professor is an authority.' (Cristini 2000:233, LN)

/oya s'úumwáana/ {both} 'No, he is not a child' (Cristini 2000:233, LN)

When followed by an infinitive, the full form is used.

/n'ukuvúga ikí?/ {Rundi}, /n'uukuvúga ikí?/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-invar* 'What does that mean?' (Cristini 2000:218, Overdulve 1975:113)

/ibi s'úgukóra/ {Rundi}, /ibi s'úgukóra/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-neg-invar* 'This is not the way to work.'

Either is strictly in the indicative mood present tense. When any other tense or mood is required, an appropriately inflected form of /-rí/ or /-bá/ will be involved (see below).

/ní wé/ {both} *v-cop-invar* 'It's him!' (Cristini 2000:218, Overdulve 1975:286)

<sup>441</sup> The use of /-ooya/ as an AUXILIARY VERB will be discussed in Chapter 10.

<sup>442</sup> In /wowého ní uguhúguura/ {Rwanda} 'As far as you're concerned, you only need a refresher course' (R4), /wowého/ is not the subject, but an address or vocative form.

/mbwiira uwó arí wé/ {both} *v-cop-loc-rel-aff-imm* 'Tell me who he is.' (Overdulve 1975:286)  
 /mbwiira uwó yabáaye/ {both} *v-cop-mono-rel-aff-pret-perf* 'Tell me who he has become.' (LN)

There is a difference in vowel length between Kirundi and Kinyarwanda after **n'** or **s'**. Rwanda always compensates for the loss of **i** by lengthening the first vowel of the following word. However, in Rundi, a long vowel only appears if high tone occurs in either of the following two morae, if followed by a consonant cluster (see §2.2.2.5), or if followed by a demonstrative (see §5.8) or relative pronoun (§4.5).

/n'umugabo/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:232), /n'uumugabo/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:52) 'He is a man.'  
 /s'umuganí/<sup>443</sup> {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:232), /s'uumuganí/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'It is not a proverb.'  
 /s'umukeécuru/<sup>443</sup> {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:232), /s'uumukeécuru/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'She is not old.'  
 /eegó n'umugabo/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:233) 'Yes, he is a man,' /uyu n'umugabo/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:52) 'This one is a man.'  
 /n'iinká/ {both} 'It is a cow.' (Cristini 2000:232, LN) [high tone in second following syllable]  
 /n'uumwáana/ {both} 'He is a child.' (Cristini 2000:232, LN) [high tone in second following syllable]  
 /yohaáni n'umwáana/ {both} 'John is a child.' (Cristini 2000:32, LN)  
 /n'iicó uboná/ {Rundi} 'It is what you see.' (Cristini 2000:233) [high tone in second following syllable]  
 /n'iicúuma/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:233), /n'iicyúuma/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'It is iron.'  
 /n'iindwi/ {Rundi} 'There are seven.' (Cristini 2000:233) [consonant cluster]  
 /n'uuyu/ {both} 'This is him.' (Cristini 2000:233, LN) [deictic]  
 /n'uubu/ {both} 'It is now.' (Cristini 2000:233, LN) [deictic]  
 /n'iivyó bavugá/ {Rundi} 'That's what they say.' (Cristini 2000:217) [relative pro]

### 8.17.2. The Locative Copulative (-rí)

The irregular locative copulative is conjugated in FOUR TENSES (immediate, recent, preterit, and persistive) and FOUR MOODS (indicative, participial, relative, and autonome). The subject must agree in class and number. Note, for example, that it does not have an infinitive or an imperative form. It has four major functions:

- to make statements about the general PLACE or LOCATION of something or someone,<sup>444</sup>  
 /arí hé?/ {both} *v-cop-loc-ind-aff-imm-n1-sg* 'Where is he?' (Overdulve 1975:145)  
 /abagabo bari muu nzu/ {both} *v-cop-loc-ind-aff-imm-n1-pl* 'The men are in the house.' (Overdulve 1975:51)  
 /urwaandiko rwaari mu iisáandukú/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-loc-ind-aff-recent-n6-sg* 'The letter was in the case.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:163)  
 /siinzí ahw áari/ {both} *v-cop-loc-rel-aff-imm-n1-sg* 'I don't know where he is.' (Overdulve 1975:255)  
 /inká zaawe ntizirí mu rugó/ {both} *v-cop-loc-ind-neg-imm-n5-pl* 'Your cattle are not in the stockade.' (Hands 1952:126)
- to predicate something about FIRST AND SECOND PERSON SUBJECTS,  
 /ndi peetéro/ {Rundi}, /ndi peetero/ {Rwanda} (Hands 1952:126) *v-cop-loc* 'I am Peter.'  
 Cf: /ni peetéro/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:232), /ni peetero/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-invar* 'He is Peter.'  
 /turi haanzé/ {both} 'We are outside.' (Overdulve 1975:86)  
 Cf: /ni haanzé y'igihúgu/ {both} 'It is outside of the country.' (LN)  
 /muri hé?/ {both} 'Where are you?' (Hands 1952:126)  
 Cf: /ni hé?/ {both} 'Where is it?' (LN)

<sup>443</sup> Note that the high tone is more than two morae away.

<sup>444</sup> If the predication of place or location is EQUATIONAL, that is, subject and predicate are EQUAL, then /ni/ is used, e.g., /i wáacu n'ii kigali/ {Rwanda} 'Our place is in Kigali.' (Overdulve 1975:87)

## Chapter 8: Verb Conjugations

- to make a copulative or predicative statement in the indicative, participial, relative, or autonome mood, in the immediate, recent, preterit, or persistive tenses,  
/haríhó abayíroonka bagaca báyinyegeza/ {Rundi} *v-cop-loc-ind-aff-imm-n10-loc+post* 'There are those who get it and hide it right away.' (R33.6)  
/igituúntu kiri kubiri/ {both} *v-cop-loc-ind-aff-imm-n4-sg* 'There are two kinds of tuberculosis.' (R31.1)  
/daatá aracyáari hó/ *v-cop-loc-ind-aff-persist* 'My father is still alive.' {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:215)  
/ari byó ushaaká naabigúha/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-loc-part-aff-imm* 'If it's [lit. 'it being'] what you want, I would give it to you.' (Bizimana 1998:235)  
/abaári aho/ {both} *v-cop-loc-auto-pret-n1-pl* 'The ones who were there.' (R14)  
/ntuúvuge ibitári ngoombwá/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-loc-auto-neg-imm-n4-pl* 'You should not speak about things that are unnecessary.' (Bizimana 1998:146)
- to serve as an auxiliary verb (see discussion in §10.3) that sets an action in a completely different time frame from that introduced in the discussion or narrative thus far; the following verb is in the participial mood.  
/nikó gufáta [*v-inf*] akaáandi gatelefoóne ka mugeenzi wé, ahamagara [*v-ind-imm-con = narr*] inoomero zaa kamwé rwiwé, ahó karí kányegejwe [*v-cop-loc-rel-aff-pret-n7-sg*]/ {Rundi} 'So he borrowed another cell phone from his friend and dialed his own number (to find) where it had been hidden.' (R7)  
«Kuba rero imodoka nka bisi ishobora [*v-aux-rel-imm*] koreka abantu nka bariya ijya [*v-rel-imm*] mu muhanda itari nzima, byari bikwiye [*v-cop-loc-aux-ind-cond*] kugira uwo bibazwa [*v-rel-imm-pass*], cyane cyane abashinzwe ubuzima bwazo n'abashinzwe kuzohereza mu mihanda.» {Rwanda} 'The fact that a defective motor vehicle such as a bus, which can kill so many people, goes on the road, would make it appropriate to hold somebody accountable, especially the mechanics and dispatchers who put them on the road.' (R16)

The copulative locative is almost always used in the CONJOINT with the one exception that a DISJOINT construction with a *n10-loc object* /-ha-/ can occur.

- /arahári/ {both} 'He is there.' (JN, Overdulve 1975:85,146)  
/ejó murazooba múhari/ {Rundi} (JN), /ejó murazaabe múhari/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:251) *v-cop-loc-part-imm+obj* 'Please be there tomorrow.'  
/ariko ikibázo kihari ubu/ {Rundi} (JN), /ikibázo ariko ubu gihari.../ {Rwanda} (R24) *v-cop-loc-rel-imm+obj* 'A problem, however, which exists there now...'  
/níyazá nzooba ndáhari/ {Rundi} (JN), /náazá ndáhari .../ {Rwanda} *v-cop-loc-part-neg+obj* 'If he comes while I am gone...' [lit. 'me not being there'] (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:346)

### 8.17.3. The Monosyllabic Copulative (-bá, -báaye)

These copulative forms are used in all moods and tenses not covered by /ni/ or /-rí/: PERFECTIVE conjugations, FUTURE, CONDITIONAL, INFINITIVE, IMPERATIVE, and SUBJUNCTIVE.

- /byóose byaabaaye nézá/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-ind-aff-recent-perf-n4-pl* 'Everything went well.' (Overdulve 1975:205)  
/uyu mwáana azaaba mureemure/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-ind-aff-fut-n1-sg* 'This child will be tall.' (Overdulve 1975:146)  
/noobaaye umubéeshi/ {Rundi} *v-cop-ind-aff-cond-perf-pro-1sg* 'I would be a liar.' (Cristini 2000:165)  
/ubukwé bwáabo ntibukibaaye/ {both} *v-cop-ind-neg-persist-perf-n8-sg* 'Their wedding is no longer taking place.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:223)  
/mbáaye umukuúngu, naafasha abakené/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-part-aff-imm-perf-pro-1sg* 'If I were rich [lit. 'me becoming rich'], I would help the poor.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:296)  
/báaba abavyéeyi, báaba abáana, bóose hamwé bagira umuryaango umwé/ {Rundi} *v-cop-part-aff-recent-n1-pl* 'Be it parents or children, they all consitute a home.' (Cristini 2000:234)  
/kubá/ {both} *v-cop-inf-aff-imm* 'to be, to become'

- «**Iyi nzu n'iyó kubabwamo n'umwami.**» {Rwanda} *v-cop-inf-aff-imm-pass+post* 'This is a house fit for a king to live in.' [lit. 'to be lived in'] (Hands 1952:281)
- /kutábá/ {both} *v-cop-inf-neg-imm* 'not to be, not to become'
- /kuzóobá/ {Rundi}, /kuzaaba/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-inf-aff-fut* 'to be or become in the future'
- /kutázoobá/ {Rundi}, /kutázáabá/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-inf-neg-fut* 'not to be or become in the future'
- /ba/ {both} *v-cop-imp* 'Be!, Become!'
- /ba urí háno/ {both} 'Stay here!' (LN)
- /-bé/ {both} *v-cop-sub* 'so that one be or become'
- /umujuura ntaábe akigaruka/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-sub-neg-imm-n1-sg* 'So that the thief won't come back any more.' (Overdulve 1975:261)

When either /-rí/ or /-bá/ could be used, /-bá/ implies a SPECIALIZED *living in* or *at* or *associated with* a given place, whereas /-rí/ is a more GENERAL LOCATIONAL.

- /uba hé?/ {both} *v-cop-ind-aff-imm-n1-sg* 'Where do you live?' (Hands 1952:128)
- cf: /ari hé?/ {both} *v-cop-loc-ind-aff-imm-n1-sg* 'Where is he?' (Overdulve 1975:145)
- /ibikeri biba haafi y'amaazi/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-ind-aff-imm-n4-pl* 'Frogs are (found) near water.' (Hands 1952:128)
- /ibyo ntibiba hó mu gihugu cy'íwaácu/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-ind-neg-imm-n4-pl* 'That does not exist in our country.' (Overdulve 1975:215)

Like /-rí/, /-bá/ forms can serve as AUXILIARY VERBS (see discussion in §10.3) that set an action in a completely different time frame from that introduced in the discussion or narrative thus far; the following verb is in the participial mood.

- /iyóo mbá wé siimbá náaje/ {both} *v-cop-aux-ind-neg-imm-pro-1sg* 'If I were him, I would not have come.' (JN, Overdulve 1975:246)
- «umutumwajambo aba ari umwizigirwa» {Rundi} *v-cop-aux-ind-aff-imm-n1-sg* 'A spokesperson is usually trustworthy.' (R11)
- /ejó murazaabe múhari/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-aux-hort-fut-pro-2pl* 'Please be there tomorrow.' (Overdulve 1975:251)
- /tukaba twiizeeye ko... / {both} *v-cop-aux-seq-ind-aff-imm-pro-1pl* '...and we are hoping that ...' (R37.5)

## 9. NEGATIVES

Any word that contains or expresses the idea of *no* or *not* can be called a NEGATIVE. Such words usually run across the part of speech system of any language, so as to negate a noun, a pronoun, an adjective, an adverb, or a verb. However, each language tends to do this in its own way. English, for example, has just a few negatives: *not*, shortened to *n't*, is used with nominals (nouns, pronouns, demonstratives), adjectives, and verbs. The negative imperative is expressed by *don't* and a simple negative statement (also an interjection) by *no*.

He is *not* a lawyer. [noun]  
 It *wasn't* me. [pronoun]  
*Not* this one. [demonstrative]  
 This car was *not* expensive. [adjective]  
 I am *not* going. [verb – present]  
 We have *not* paid yet. [verb – perfect]  
 You will *not* be able to sleep. [verb – future]  
 I *don't* have any money. [verb – possessive]  
 I have *no* money. [simple predicative]  
*Don't* you dare! [negative imperative]  
 Do you want some? – *No*, thanks! [simple negative statement]  
 Oh, *no!* [interjection]

Kinyarwanda and Kirundi differ from English in that there are two negatives in the primary verb system: a pre-prefix **/nti-/** *not* used in the indicative and subjunctive moods, and the infix **-ta-** for all other moods (participial, relative, autonome, infinitive, etc.). There is no negative imperative (see §8.7); the closest is the JUSSIVE limited to Rwanda (§8.8 #173). There is a special PREDICATIVE NEGATIVE **/ntaa/** *none, there isn't any* (§9.3), and the COPULATIVE verb **/ni/** has a completely separate negative, **/si/** *is not* (§9.4). Finally, there are a number of adverbs or interjections that have negative overtones. While most of these are discussed elsewhere in this book, they are brought together here for the benefit of learners of these dialects.

### 9.1. Indicative & Subjunctive Negative (nti-, nt-, si-)

The full pre-prefix form is **/nti-/** before consonants, **/nt-/** before vowels,<sup>445</sup> and a special form for the first person singular **/si-/**, which is realized as **/sin-/**, see Table 54. These negative forms are characterized in some books as tonally unstable,<sup>446</sup> which is our Nrule (§2.4.13). If a negative is not first in a sentence or clause, it will have high tone on the initial syllable; if it is first, it will have a low-toned initial syllable. There is no tonal distinction between conjoint and disjoint constructions, i.e., even if the verb is followed by an object or another complement, there is only one structural and tonal pattern for each negative mood-tense-aspect construction. Furthermore, there is no distinction between a CURRENT **/barakóra/** {both} *they are working*, and a HABITUAL activity **/bakora/** {both} *they work*.

**/ntibakorá/** {both} *v-ind-neg-imm-nl-pl* 'They do not work.' or 'They are not working.' (Cristini 2000:191, LN)

**/ntitúyibone/** {both} *v-sub-neg-imm-pro-1pl+obj* '... and yet we could not find it.' (R33.2)

**/ntakorá/** {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:191), **/ntaakorá/** {Rwanda} (Overdulse 1975:95) *v-ind-neg-imm-nl-sg* 'He does not work, he is not working (either currently or habitually).'

<sup>445</sup> Kinyarwanda always has compensatory vowel lengthening, whereas Rundi only has long vowels before monosyllabic roots.

<sup>446</sup> For example, Cristini (2000:160) says "'nti est employée dans les formes négatives des propositions indépendantes et a toujours le ton instable.'" [**nti** is used in independent negative propositions and always has an unstable tone].

- /háciye indwi zibiri cáanké zitatu **ntáábá acáanduza**/ {Rundi} *v-cop-ind-neg-imm-n1-sg* 'After two or three weeks he is no longer contagious.' (R31.3)
- /núukuumpáhó umugabo mu nyoni **ntúúzaange**/ {Rwanda} *v-sub-neg-fut-pro-2sg* 'If he offers me to you as a witness from the birds, you should not refuse.' (R28.8)
- /ntúunsúndira aha/ {both} *v-ind-neg-imm-pro-2sg* 'You are not going to defeat me here.' (R28.9)
- /simbiízi/ or /sindabiízi/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:238), /siimbúzi/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:166) *v-ind-neg-imm-pro-1sg+obj* 'I don't know it.'
- /sinaménye/ {both} *v-ind-neg-pret-perf-pro-1sg* 'I did not know.' (R34.4)

Indicative and subjunctive negative forms have been treated throughout the chapter on verbs, see §8.1.1 #005–6 (INDICATIVE NEGATIVE IMMEDIATE), §8.1.2 #011–12 (INDICATIVE NEGATIVE RECENT), §8.1.3 #017–18 (INDICATIVE NEGATIVE PRETERIT), §8.5.1 #157 (SUBJUNCTIVE NEGATIVE IMMEDIATE), §8.5.2 #159 (SUBJUNCTIVE NEGATIVE FUTURE), §8.5.3 #162 (GERUNDIVE NEGATIVE PRESENT), §8.10.5 #181 (OPTATIVE NEGATIVE), etc. Kinyarwanda also has a special INDICATIVE NEGATIVE NARRATIVE, discussed in §8.1.9 and exemplified in #037.

## 9.2. Dependent Negative (-ta-, -da-, -t-)

These post prefixes are used in all types of dependent or subordinate verb constructions (participial, relative, autonome, infinitive). They were also treated throughout the chapter on verbs, e.g., §8.2.1 #040–41 (PARTICIPIAL NEGATIVE IMMEDIATE), §8.2.2 #046–47 (PARTICIPIAL NEGATIVE RECENT), §8.2.3 #052–53 (PARTICIPIAL NEGATIVE PRETERIT), §8.3.1 #074–75 (RELATIVE NEGATIVE IMMEDIATE), §8.3.2 #082–83 (RELATIVE NEGATIVE RECENT), §8.3.8 #125 (RELATIVE NEGATIVE PUNCTUAL), §8.4.1 #130–31 (AUTONOME NEGATIVE IMMEDIATE), §8.4.8 #155 (AUTONOME NEGATIVE INCEPTIVE), §8.6 #166 (INFINITIVE NEGATIVE IMMEDIATE), #168 (INFINITIVE NEGATIVE FUTURE), etc.

**-ta-** (before a voiced consonant)

- /nawé **atáazi** ivyó ari vyó/ {Rundi} *v-part-neg-imm* 'As for him, he didn't know what was going on.' (R23)
- /twaasaanze abanyéshuúri **bátacyiiga**/ {Rwanda} *v-part-neg-persist* 'We found out that the pupils don't study any more.' (Overdulve 1975:191)
- /ntáraavúga/ {Rundi} (JN), /ntáraavúga/ {Rwanda} (R27.4) *v-part-neg-punc* 'Before I speak ...'
- /umubiri mwiizá **ufagirá inenge**/ {both} *v-rel-neg-imm* 'A good body without imperfection.' (R36.4)
- /ku **batáyiizi**/ {both} *v-auto-n1-pl-neg-imm-red+obj* 'For those who do not know it.' (R24)
- /abatákirwaaye bazooguma **imuhirá**/ *v-auto-n1-pl-neg-persist-perf* {Rundi} 'Those who are not sick anymore will stay at home.' (Cristini 2000:181)
- /ubutázoogáruka/ {Rundi} (JN), /yagiye **ubutázáagaruka**/ {Rwanda} (Bizimana 1998:233) *v-auto-n8-sg-neg-fut* 'He left for good.' [lit. 'one that will not return']
- /ntaa **kitágirá akamaro ndemá**/ {both} *v-auto-n4-sg-neg-imm-red* 'Nothing I create is unimportant.' (R28.10)
- /kutámenyá/ {both} *v-inf-neg-imm* 'not to know; ignorance' (Bizimana 1998:31, R31.2)

**-da-** (before a voiceless consonant)

- /ntaa **ndwi yahéra adáshooyé mwó kimwé**/ {Rundi} *v-part-neg-imm-perf* 'There wasn't a week that went by that he did not sell one of them.' (R25.2)
- /haábaaye impanuka **idasaanzwé**/ {both} *v-rel-neg-imm-pass-perf* 'An unusual accident occurred.' (R8b)
- /uwudáfisé akaraangamuuntu/ {Rundi} *v-auto-n1-sg-neg-imm* 'One who does not have an identification ...' (R33.4)
- /atoongana **ubudátuuzá**/ {both} *v-auto-n8-sg-neg-imm* 'He quarrels without any letup.' (Bizimana 1998:233)
- /kudákorá/ {both} *v-inf-neg-imm* 'not to work' (Overdulve 1975:227f)

-t- (before a vowel)

/uwaáanduza ní uryá akigwaáye aŋívúuza/ {Rundi} *v-part-neg-imm* 'The person who contaminates is the one who is ill but does not seek treatment.' (R31.3)

/ngo kó bó baŋíize sé ntibarihó?/ {Rwanda} *v-rel-neg-pret-perf* 'They say that they didn't go to school, yet aren't they alive?' (R38.6)

/abikora ubuŋíitsá/ {Rwanda} *v-auto-n8-sg-neg-imm* 'He does it without a break.' (Bizimana 1998:233)

/kuŋígáanda/ {Rwanda} *v-inf-neg-imm* 'not to put off' (R36.7, Jacob 1986 #2:18)

### 9.3. Predicative Negatives

There is an extremely common<sup>447</sup> PREDICATIVE NEGATIVE meaning *there is not* or *there are none*. It is inflected for three basic moods: INDICATIVE, PARTICIPIAL, and RELATIVE.<sup>448</sup> Nouns and nominal constructions such as the autonome that follow any of these are in their reduced form.

/ntaa muuntu/ {both} *neg-pred-ind+n1-sg* 'nobody' (Cristini 2000:235, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:231)

/ntaa máazi ahári/ {both} *neg-pred-ind+n3-pl* 'There is no water.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:231)

/ntaa kibázo/ {both} *neg-pred-ind+n4-sg* 'No problem!' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:231)

/ntaa bahári/ {both} *neg-pred-ind+v-auto-imm-n1-pl* 'There is no one.' (JN, Overdulve 1975:199)

#### 9.3.1. Indicative Predicative Negative (nta, ntaa)

Kirundi uses the short form **/nta/** at the beginning of a sentence before pronoun roots; however, the long form **/ntaa/** is used anywhere before a noun or at the end of a clause before a pronoun root (which will have high tone). Kinyarwanda, on the other hand, always uses the long form **/ntaa/**.<sup>449</sup> In both dialects, the pronoun following «nta», usually functioning as head of a relative construction, loses its high tone.

/ntaa wé/ {both} *neg-pred-ind+pro-n1-sg* 'There isn't anyone.' (Kimenyi 2002:218, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:232)

/ntaa we naboonyé/<sup>450</sup> {Rwanda} *neg-pred-ind+pro-n1-sg* 'I didn't see him.' (Overdulve 1975:199, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:232)

/nta we nabárye/ {Rundi} *neg-pred-ind+pro-n1-sg* 'I didn't tell anyone.' (Cristini 2000:235)

/ntaa muuntu yari akímusonera/ {Rundi} *neg-pred-ind+n1-sg-red* 'No one respected him anymore.' (R25.4)

/ntaa baantu bahári/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-ind+n1-pl-red* 'Nobody is there.' (Bizimana 1998:287)

/ntaa gitabo afité/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-ind+n4-sg-red* 'He doesn't have a book.' (Kimenyi 2002:218)

/ntaa gitabu mfisé/ {Rundi} *neg-pred-ind+n4-sg-red* 'I don't have a book.' (Cristini 2000:235)

/ntaa có/ {Rundi} (Rodegem 1967:80, Cristini 2000:235), /ntaa cyó/ {Rwanda} (Kimenyi 2002:218) *neg-pred-ind+pro-n4-sg* 'There isn't any (e.g., a book).'

/nta co mboná/ {Rundi} *neg-pred-ind+pro-n4-sg* 'I saw nothing.' (Rodegem 1967:79, Cristini 2000:235)

/ntaa cyo bakorá/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-ind+pro-n4-sg* 'They aren't doing anything.' (Overdulve 1975:199, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:232)

/ntaa bíindi/ {both} *neg-pred-ind+atr-n4-pl-red* 'There aren't any others.' (Rodegem 1967:80, LN)

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<sup>447</sup> Overdulve 1975:199 suggests that this construction is more common than the negative with **nti-**, e.g., **/sinamuboonye/** 'I didn't see him.' This is not borne out in our Reader (Nibagwire & Zorc 2002) where there were 25 occurrences of **nti-** and only 8 with **nta**. However, there were 43 with **-ta-** since it negates so many different kinds of constructions.

<sup>448</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:204f,262, Hurel 1959:182, Overdulve 1975:198f, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:231–33, Kimenyi 2002:217f; for Kirundi, see Rodegem 1967:79f, Ntahokaja 1994:58, Cristini 2000:235f.

<sup>449</sup> Kimenyi 2002:218, in contrast with Overdulve 1975 and 1998, and Bizimana 1998:239, maintains that "Its last vowel is always lengthened except when it is followed by a pronoun which is a subject or a complement of the verb on the right." Thus, **/nta cyo afité/** {Rwanda} *neg-pred-ind+pro-n4-sg* 'He doesn't have it (the book).' This Rundi-like length difference may obtain in some dialects, but apparently not in Kigali.

<sup>450</sup> Contrast: **/nta we mboná/** {Rwanda} *neg-pred-ind+pro-n1-sg* 'I don't see him.' (Kimenyi 2002:218)



/ntaa rubaánza rwó gucíibwa n'ímpyisi/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-ind+n6-sg-red* 'There is no dispute to be settled by a hyena.' (R28.4)

/ntaa bwo yaáje/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-ind+pro-n8-sg* 'He never came.' (Overdulve 1975:199)

/ntaa butaáyu buharaángwa/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-ind+n8-sg-red* 'There is no sign of any arid land.' (R32)

/ntaa ho ujjá uratéetse/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-ind+pro-n10-loc* 'You're not going anywhere, you're cooking!' (Bizimana 1998:253)

Although forms may differ in length between Kinyarwanda and Kirundi, the indicative has standard negative tonality [Nrule] (high tone on the first syllable if it is not the first word of a sentence or clause).

/ntaabwo ndáasiibira/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-ind+pro-n8-sg* 'I never repeated the same grade.' (Bizimana 1998:239)

/ubugarí ntáa bwo nariiyé/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-ind+pro-n8-sg* 'I didn't eat the dough.' (Bizimana 1998:239)

/ubu ntáa cyó/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-ind+pro-n4-sg* 'Now there isn't one (a book).' (Kimenyi 2002:218)

/nó kumwúumviriza ntáa wabáandaanije/ {Rundi} *neg-pred-ind+v-auto-n1-sg-red* '... and there was no one who continued to pay attention to him.' (R11)

In combination with the conjunctive marker /ntaa n(a)-/ means *not even*. In both dialects, its use with vowel-initial forms of the numeral /-mwé/ irregularly has high tone on the second mora of the first syllable.

/ntaa n'uúmwé/ {both} *neg-pred-ind+num-n1-sg* 'not even a single person' (Cristini 2000:235, JN, LN)

/ntaa gitabo na kímwe twaaguzé/ {both} *neg-pred-ind+n4-sg-red+num-n4-sg* 'We didn't even buy one book.' (JN, Overdulve 1975:199)

Table 107. Indicative Predicative Negative

form	initial position		final position		English
	Rundi	Rwanda	Rundi	Rwanda	
pro-n1-sg	nta we	ntaa we	ntaa wé		there is no one
pro-n1-pl	nta bo	ntaa bo	ntaa bó		there is no one
pro-n2-sg	nta wo	ntaa wo	ntaa wó		there is nothing
pro-n2-pl	nta yo	ntaa yo	ntaa yó		there is nothing
pro-n3-sg	nta ryo	ntaa ryo	ntaa ryó		there is nothing
pro-n3-pl	nta yo	ntaa yo	ntaa yó		there is nothing
pro-n4-sg	nta co	ntaa cyo	ntaa có	ntaa cyó	there is no one / nothing
pro-n4-pl	nta vyo	ntaa byo	ntaa vyó	ntaa byó	there is no one / nothing
pro-n5-sg	nta yo	ntaa yo	ntaa yó		there is no one / nothing
pro-n5-pl	nta zo	ntaa zo	ntaa zó		there is no one / nothing
pro-n6-sg	nta rwo	ntaa rwo	ntaa rwó		there is nothing
pro-n6-pl	nta zo	ntaa zo	ntaa zó		there is nothing
pro-n7-sg	nta ko	ntaa ko	ntaa kó		there is no one / nothing
pro-n7-pl	nta two	ntaa two	ntaa twó		there is no one / nothing
pro-n8-sg	nta bwo	ntaa bwo	ntaa bwó		there is nothing
pro-n8-pl	nta yo	ntaa yo	ntaa yó		there is nothing
pro-n9-sg	nta ko	ntaa ko	ntaa kó		there is nothing
pro-n9-pl	nta yo	ntaa yo	ntaa yó		there is nothing
pro-n10-loc-sg - pro-n10-loc-pl	nta ho	ntaa ho	ntaa hó		there is no place there are no places
pro-n11-loc-sg pro-n11-loc-pl	nta kwo	ntaa ko	ntaa kó		there is no way there are no ways

9.3.2. Participial Predicative Negative (ntáa {Rwanda}, atá {Rundi})

These dialect-specific invariable participial forms are used in temporal clauses, in phrases meaning *without*, and after verbs or conjunctions which govern the participial mood (see §10.2.1 and Table 115, also §12.2.2 and Table 125).

- /nkeeka **atá we** baaboonyé/ {Rundi} *neg-pred-part+pro-n1-sg* 'I think that they did not see anyone.'  
(Cristini 2000:235)
- /byáago yapfúuye **ntáa** mwáana asizé/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-part+n1-sg-red* 'Byago died without having any children.' (Jacob 1986 #2:418)
- /aje **ntáa** bahári/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-part+v-auto-n1-pl-red* 'He is coming but no one is there.' (Bizimana 1998:287)
- /agiiye **atáco** akozé/ {Rundi} *neg-pred-part+pro-n4-sg* 'He is leaving without having done anything.'  
(Rodegem 1967:80)
- /yasámwe **atá** gicúmuro/ {Rundi} (Rodegem 1967:80), /yasámwe **ntáa** gicúmuro/ {Rwanda} (LN) *neg-pred-part+n4-sg-red* 'She was conceived without sin.'
- «akagura ibilo bimukwiye n'umuryango wiwe **ata** ngorane» {Rundi} *neg-pred-part+n5-sg-red* 'And he buys enough kilograms for himself and his family without any problem.' (R33.1)
- /ashobora kugúkubita **ntáa** nícyó akubajije/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-part+rel-obj-pro-n4-pl-conj* 'She can hit you without asking you anything.' (R22)
- /bahaguruka **atá co** bavugá/ {Rundi} *neg-pred-part+pro-n4-sg* 'They got up without saying a thing.'  
(Cristini 2000:235)
- /nsaanga **ntáa** kaguru mfite/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-part+n7-sg-red* 'I found that I had no leg.' (R34.5)

Table 108. Participial Predicative Negative

	Rundi	Rwanda	English
pro-n1-sg	<b>atá we</b>	<b>ntáa we</b>	there being no one
pro-n1-pl	<b>atá bo</b>	<b>ntáa bo</b>	there being no one
pro-n2-sg	<b>atá wo</b>	<b>ntáa wo</b>	there being nothing
pro-n2-pl	<b>atá yo</b>	<b>ntáa yo</b>	there being nothing
pro-n3-sg	<b>atá ryo</b>	<b>ntáa ryo</b>	there being nothing
pro-n3-pl	<b>atá yo</b>	<b>ntáa yo</b>	there being nothing
pro-n4-sg	<b>atá co</b>	<b>ntáa cyo</b>	there being no one / nothing
pro-n4-pl	<b>atá vyo</b>	<b>ntáa byo</b>	there being no one / nothing
pro-n5-sg	<b>atá yo</b>	<b>ntáa yo</b>	there being no one / nothing
pro-n5-pl	<b>atá zo</b>	<b>ntáa zo</b>	there being no one / nothing
pro-n6-sg	<b>atá rwo</b>	<b>ntáa rwo</b>	there being nothing
pro-n6-pl	<b>atá zo</b>	<b>ntáa zo</b>	there being nothing
pro-n7-sg	<b>atá ko</b>	<b>ntáa ko</b>	there being no one / nothing
pro-n7-pl	<b>atá two</b>	<b>ntáa two</b>	there being no one / nothing
pro-n8-sg	<b>atá bwo</b>	<b>ntáa bwo</b>	there being nothing
pro-n8-pl	<b>atá yo</b>	<b>ntáa yo</b>	there being nothing
pro-n9-sg	<b>atá ko</b>	<b>ntáa ko</b>	there being nothing
pro-n9-pl	<b>atá yo</b>	<b>ntáa yo</b>	there being nothing
pro-n10-loc sg/pl	<b>atá ho</b>	<b>ntáa ho</b>	there being nowhere there being no places
pro-n11-loc sg/pl	<b>atá kwo</b>	<b>ntáa ko</b>	there being no way there being no ways

## 9.3.3. Relative Predicative Negative (ntáa {Rwanda}, ata, ataa {Rundi})

These dialect-specific invariable relative forms are used in the same kind of object relative constructions described in §8.3, such as after conjunctions that govern the relative (see §12.2.1 and Tables 123–4). In Kirundi, the final vowel is lengthened before a reduced noun and with a high-toned pronoun root in sentence final position.

- /iyó **ntáa** bahári ngira iruungu/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-rel+v-auto-n1-pl-red* 'When they are not there, I feel lonely.' (Bizimana 1998:287)
- /bararwáaye ni cyó gitumá **ntáa** baáje/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-rel+v-relaff-pret-perf-n1-pl* 'They are sick, that is why they did not come.' (Overdulve 1975:199)
- /atubwiira yúukó **ntáa** bakorá/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-rel+v-rel-aff-imm-n1-pl* 'They tell us that they aren't working at all.' (Overdulve 1975:199)
- /kukó **ntáa** tégeko ririhó rihaná abacúruuza iyo nzogá/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-rel+n3-sg-red* '... because there exists no penal law for those who sell that liquor.' (R24)
- /kukó **ataa** mafaraanga afisé/ {Rundi} *neg-pred-rel+n3-pl-red* '... because he has no money.' (Cristini 2000:236)
- /aca aramúbwiira kó **ataa** có/ {Rundi} *neg-pred-rel+pro-n4-sg* 'He immediately tells him that it is no big deal.' [lit. 'that it is nothing.'] (R23, JN)
- /kukó **ntáa** cyizere kó n'ábaákomeretse bashobóra kuzaakira/ {Rwanda} *neg-pred-rel+n4-sg-red* '... because there was no hope that the injured might survive.' (R8.2)
- /kó **ata** zo afisé/ {Rundi} *neg-pred-rel+pro-n5-pl* '... that he has none (cows).' (Cristini 2000:235)
- /kukó **ataa** zó/ {Rundi} *neg-pred-rel+pro-n5-pl* '... because there are none (cows).' (JN)
- /kukó **ata** ho baagiyé/ {Rundi} *neg-pred-rel+pro-n10-loc* '... because they did not go anywhere' (Cristini 2000:235)
- /kukó **ataa** mpuúzu afisé/ {Rundi} *neg-pred-rel+n5-sg-red* '... because he does not have clothes.' (Cristini 2000:236)

Table 109. Relative Predicative Negative

	Rundi		Rwanda	English
	most positions	sentence final	everywhere	
pro-n1-sg	ata we	ataa wé	ntáa we	that there is no one
pro-n1-pl	ata bo	ataa bó	ntáa bo	that there is no one
pro-n2-sg	ata wo	ataa wó	ntáa wo	that there is nothing
pro-n2-pl	ata yo	ataa yó	ntáa yo	that there is nothing
pro-n3-sg	ata ryo	ataa ryó	ntáa ryo	that there is nothing
pro-n3-pl	ata yo	ataa yó	ntáa yo	that there is nothing
pro-n4-sg	ata co	ataa có	ntáa cyo	that there is no one / nothing
pro-n4-pl	ata vyo	ataa vyó	ntáa byo	that there is no one / nothing
pro-n5-sg	ata yo	ataa yó	ntáa yo	that there is no one / nothing
pro-n5-pl	ata zo	ataa zó	ntáa zo	that there is no one / nothing
pro-n6-sg	ata rwo	ataa rwó	ntáa rwo	that there is nothing
pro-n6-pl	ata zo	ataa zó	ntáa zo	that there is nothing
pro-n7-sg	ata ko	ataa kó	ntáa ko	that there is no one / nothing
pro-n7-pl	ata two	ataa twó	ntáa two	that there is no one / nothing
pro-n8-sg	ata bwo	ataa bwó	ntáa bwo	that there is nothing
pro-n8-pl	ata yo	ataa yó	ntáa yo	that there is nothing
pro-n9-sg	ata ko	ataa kó	ntáa ko	that there is nothing
pro-n9-pl	ata yo	ataa yó	ntáa yo	that there is nothing
pro-n10-loc sg/pl	ata ho	ataa hó	ntáa ho	that there is no place that there are no places
pro-n11-loc sg/pl	ata kwo	ataa kwó	ntáa ko	that there is no way that there are no ways

### 9.4. Invariable Copulative Negative (si, s')

The invariable predicative copulatives (**ni** and **si**) were discussed and exemplified in §8.17.1. See that section for limitations on usage (INDICATIVE NEGATIVE PRESENT THIRD PERSON) and on differences in vowel length after **s'**.

/s'abará háno, s'abatári háno/ {both} 'Neither those present nor those absent.' (Cristini 2000:219, LN)

/s'i uku navúutse/ {both} 'This is not how I was born.' (R34.2)

/ariko s'i beénshi/ {both} 'But there are not a lot of them.' (R38.11)

/kókó urí mwíizá s'i ukubéeshya/ {Rwanda} 'You are truly good, it is no lie.' (R36.1)

The following table presents all of the pronoun roots (see Table 50 in Chapter 4) with this negative.

**Table 110. Negative Copulative (si) and Pronoun Roots**

Form	Rundi–Rwanda		English
pro-1sg	si je	si jye	it is not me
pro-1pl	si twe		it is not us
pro-2sg	si wewé	si wowé	it is not you
pro-2pl	si mwe		it is not you
pro-n1-sg	si wé		it is not him, her
pro-n1-pl	si bó		they are not them
pro-n2-sg	si wó		it is not it
pro-n2-pl	si yó		they are not them
pro-n3-sg	si ryó		it is not it
pro-n3-pl	si yó		they are not them
pro-n4-sg	si có	si cyó	it is not he, she, it
pro-n4-pl	si vyó	si byó	they are them
pro-n5-sg	si yó		it is not he, she, it
pro-n5-pl	si zó		they are not them
pro-n6-sg	si rwó		it is not him, her, it
pro-n6-pl	si zó		they are not them
pro-n7-sg	si kó		it is not him, her, it
pro-n7-pl	si twó		they are not them
pro-n8-sg	si bwó		it is not it
pro-n8-pl	si yó		they are not them
pro-n9-sg	si kwó	si kó	it is not it
pro-n9-pl	si yó		they are not them
pro-n10-sg-loc	si hó		it is not it (the place, time, situation)
pro-n10-pl-loc	si hó		they are not them (the places, times, situations)
pro-n11-sg-loc	si kó		it is not it (the truth or manner)
pro-n11-pl-loc	si kó		they are not them (the truths or manners)
pro-n12-sg-loc	si mwó	si mwó / si m ó	it is not there (in the place)
pro-n12-pl-loc	si mwó	si mwó / si m ó	they are not there (in the places)

### 9.5. Invariable Negatives (Adverbs, Interjections)

There are numerous words and expressions which carry some form of negative overtone. These mostly come from the part-of-speech system of adverbs and interjections.

- /ashwi/* {both} *intj-neg* 'No!, not at all!, absolutely not!, never!'
- /eka/* {Rundi} *intj-neg* 'No!, not at all, not a bit'
- /ekáaye/* {Rundi} 'No!' (quite strong) (Cox 1970:53, JN)
- /oya/* {Rundi}, */oyá/* {Rwanda} *intj-neg* 'No!'
- /oya da/* {both} 'Not at all, No then'
- /oyayé/* {Rundi}, */oyayeé/* {Rwanda} 'Not at all, certainly not, absolutely not'
- /reka/* {both} *intj-neg = v-imp* 'No!; Stop!, Don't talk about it!; no more!, that's enough!; not at all!, never!'
- /reka da/* {both}, */reka ra/* {Rwanda} 'No!, Stop!, Don't talk about it!' [addressing a man] (JN, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:311)
- /reka ma/* {both} 'No!, Stop!, Don't talk about it!' [addressing a woman] (JN, Hurel 1959:89, LN)
- /na mba/* {both} *adv-neg-cmp* 'not at all; absolutely not'
- /eka na mba/* {Rundi} 'Not a bit!' (Cox 1970:52)
- /ntaa na mba/* {both} 'absolutely nothing' (Jacob 1986 #2:342, JN)

There is a special adverbial construction, **/haba na-**, that is strongly negative in its implications, but does not contain any negative marking.

- /haba n'úbusá/* {Rundi} (JN), */haba na búsa/* (Overdulve 1975:292) {Rwanda} 'not at all'
- /reka sinamututse, haba na gáto/* {both} 'Hey!, I didn't insult him in the slightest!' (JN, Overdulve 1975:292)

## 10. AUXILIARY VERBS

Sometimes two or more verbs are used together. Usually the first governs the second. Such a verb that serves as a head to another is called an AUXILIARY VERB. English uses verbs like *have* (she *has* gone), *be* (I *am* exercising), and *get* (he *got* accustomed) as auxiliary verbs. Kirundi and Kinyarwanda have an extremely rich system of such verbs.

### 10.1. Coverbs

COVERBS generally follow another verb, which serves as the HEAD VERB. Altogether there are four monosyllabic roots shared by Kirundi and Kinyarwanda: /-té/ {both} *how?*, /-ti/ {both} *said*, /-tyá/ {both} *like this*, /-tyó/ {both} *like that*. Kirundi has two alternate forms for the latter: /-rtyá/ *like this* and /-rtyó/ *like that*. Each of these coverbs has only one conjugation, preceded by an appropriate noun class agreement prefix. All but -ti (which is low-toned) follow the *Irule* (high tone comes on the first vowel to follow a consonant). They are presented in Tables 111-114 below.

#### 10.1.1. Quotative Coverb

The root /-ti/ marks both direct and indirect quotations. This low-toned coverb (Table 111) is more similar to punctuation marks (quotation marks and the colon) in English than to any translational equivalent with *say* or *said*. Unlike the other three coverbs, it can be used alone and does not have to follow a head verb. In such a situation, it behaves like a head verb rather than a coverb.

- /baravúga **bati** tugeendé/ {both} *co-v-nl-pl* 'They say, "Let's go!"' (Overdulve 1975:229)
- /**bati** tugeendé/ {both} *v-nl-pl* 'They say, "Let's go!"' (Overdulve 1975:229)
- /**bati** naasaaságare/ {Rundi} *v-nl-pl* 'They said, "May it abound!"' (R11, JN)
- /nahó bavuga **bati**/ {Rundi} *co-v-nl-pl* 'Moreover they say that ...' (R35.3)
- /**ati** íkí?/ {both} *v-nl-sg* 'What does he say?' (Cristini 2000:244)
- /aravúga **ati** turirúimbe/ {both} *co-v-nl-sg* 'He said, "Let's sing!"' (Overdulve 1975:283)
- /izúuba **riti** .../ {both} *v-n3-sg* 'The Sun said ...' (R28.4)
- /igihúunyirá **kiti**.../ {Rwanda} *v-n4-sg* 'Owl said...' (R28.5)
- /birapfúkama biraramya **biti** nyagásani.../ {both} *co-v-n4-pl* 'They knelt down and prayed, "Oh Lord..."' (R28.10)
- /inshutí záacu zaatubwiiye **ziti** twaáboonye ibyáago/ {Rwanda} *co-v-n5-pl* 'Our friends told us: "We had some misfortunes."' (Overdulve 1975:229)
- /agacúramá **kati** umwíijimá waguheenze ubwéenge/ {Rwanda} *v-n7-sg* 'The bat said: "Darkness fooled you."' (R28.8)
- /máze ngaterura mvúga **nti**.../ {Rwanda} *co-v-pro1-sg* '... and then I start saying...' (R32)
- /ukagira **uti**/ {both} *co-v-pro-2sg* 'And you say that...' (R36.2)

#### 10.1.2. Deictic Coverbs of Manner

There are two roots that broadly can be translated *thus*, and which relate to the demonstratives treated in Chapter 5: first person (*like this*) and third person (*like that*). These are detailed in Tables 112–3. Note that the roots are high-toned and follow the WEAK vs. STRONG conjugation [*Irule*]: vowel-initial prefixes have high tone on the root, while consonant-initial prefixes have high tone on the prefix.

- /bikore **utyá**/ {both} *co-v-pro-2sg* 'Do it like this.' (JN, Jacob 1987 #3:444)
- /uzaabikora **utyó**/ {Rwanda} *co-v-pro-2sg* 'You will do it like that.' (Overdulve 1975:228)
- /baánditse **bátyo**/ {both} *co-v-nl-pl* 'They wrote like this.' (JN, Overdulve 1975:229)
- /bítyo isumú iyibámó ikabaanza kuvamó/ {Rwanda} 'That way the toxin that is in there is first released.' (R20)
- /amafaraanga aanganá **gúrtyo**/ {Rundi} 'that much money' [lit. 'money that is equal like that'] (R35.2)

Table 111. Quotative Coverb (-ti)

AGREEMENT	voiced consonant	voiceless consonant	English
pro-1sg	<b>nti</b> {both}		I said
pro-1pl	<b>tuti</b> {both}	<b>duti</b> {both}	we said
pro-2sg	<b>uti</b> {both}		you said
pro-2pl	<b>muti</b> {both}		you said
pro-n1-sg	<b>ati</b> {both}		he, she said
pro-n1-pl	<b>bati</b> {both}		they said
pro-n2-sg	<b>uti</b> {both}		he said
pro-n2-pl	<b>iti</b> {both}		they said
pro-n3-sg	<b>riti</b> {both}		it said
pro-n3-pl	<b>ati</b> {both}		they said
pro-n4-sg	<b>kiti</b> {both}	<b>giti</b> {both}	he, she, it said
pro-n4-pl	<b>biti</b> {both}		they said
pro-n5-sg	<b>iti</b> {both}		he, she, it said
pro-n5-pl	<b>ziti</b> {both}		they said
pro-n6-sg	<b>ruti</b> {both}		it said
pro-n6-pl	<b>ziti</b> {both}		they said
pro-n7-sg	<b>kati</b> {both}	<b>gati</b> {both}	he, she, it said
pro-n7-pl	<b>tuti</b> {both}	<b>duti</b> {both}	they said
pro-n8-sg	<b>buti</b> {both}		it said
pro-n8-pl	<b>ati</b> {both}		they said
pro-n9-sg	<b>kuti</b> {both}	<b>guti</b> {both}	it said
pro-n9-pl	<b>ati</b> {both}		they said
pro-n10-sg	<b>hati</b> {both}		it (the place) said
pro-n10-pl			they said
pro-n11-sg	<b>kuti</b> {both}	<b>guti</b> {both}	it (the truth or manner) said
pro-n11-pl			

Table 112. Manner Coverbs (-tyá {both}, -rtyá {Rundi})

AGREEMENT	{both}	Rundi only	English
pro-1sg	<b>ntyá</b>	n/a	I ... like this
pro-1pl	<b>dútya</b>	<b>túrtya</b>	we ... like this
pro-2sg	<b>utyá</b>	<b>urtyá</b>	you ... like this
pro-2pl	<b>mútya</b>	<b>múrtya</b>	you ... like this
pro-n1-sg	<b>atyá</b>	<b>artyá</b>	he / she ... like this
pro-n1-pl	<b>bátya</b>	<b>bártya</b>	they ... like this
pro-n2-sg	<b>utyá</b>	<b>urtyá</b>	it ... like this
pro-n2-pl	<b>ityá</b>	<b>irtyá</b>	they ... like this
pro-n3-sg	<b>rítya</b>	<b>rírtya</b>	it ... like this
pro-n3-pl	<b>atyá</b>	<b>artyá</b>	they ... like this
pro-n4-sg	<b>gítya</b>	<b>kírtya</b>	he / she / it ... like this
pro-n4-pl	<b>bítya</b>	<b>bírtya</b>	they ... like this
pro-n5-sg	<b>ityá</b>	<b>irtyá</b>	he / she / it ... like this
pro-n5-pl	<b>zítya</b>	<b>zírtya</b>	they ... like this
pro-n6-sg	<b>rútya</b>	<b>rúrtya</b>	he / she / it ... like this
pro-n6-pl	<b>zítya</b>	<b>zírtya</b>	they ... like this
pro-n7-sg	<b>gátya</b>	<b>kártya</b>	he / she / it ... like this
pro-n7-pl	<b>dútya</b>	<b>túrtya</b>	they ... like this
pro-n8-sg	<b>bútya</b>	<b>búrtya</b>	it ... like this
pro-n8-pl	<b>atyá</b>	<b>artyá</b>	they ... like this

## Chapter 10: Auxiliary Verbs

pro-n9-sg	<b>gútya</b>	<b>kúrtya</b>	it ... like this
pro-n9-pl	<b>atyá</b>	<b>artyá</b>	they ... like this
pro-n10-sg	<b>hátya</b>	<b>hártya</b>	it ... like this
pro-n10-pl			they ... like this
pro-n11-sg	<b>gútya</b>	<b>kúrtya</b>	it ... like this
pro-n11-pl			

**Table 113. Manner Coverbs (-tyó {both}, -rtyó {Rundi})**

AGREEMENT	{both}	Rundi only	English
pro-1sg	<b>ntyó</b>	n/a	I ... like that
pro-1pl	<b>dútyo</b>	<b>túrtyo</b>	we ... like that
pro-2sg	<b>utyó</b>	<b>urtyó</b>	you ... like that
pro-2pl	<b>mútyo</b>	<b>múrtyo</b>	you ... like that
pro-n1-sg	<b>atyó</b>	<b>artyó</b>	he, she ... like that
pro-n1-pl	<b>bátyo</b>	<b>bártyo</b>	they ... like that
pro-n2-sg	<b>utyó</b>	<b>urtyó</b>	it ... like that
pro-n2-pl	<b>ityó</b>	<b>irtyó</b>	they ... like that
pro-n3-sg	<b>rítyo</b>	<b>rírtyo</b>	it ... like that
pro-n3-pl	<b>atyó</b>	<b>artyó</b>	they ... like that
pro-n4-sg	<b>gítyo</b>	<b>kírtyo</b>	he / she / it ... like that
pro-n4-pl	<b>bítyo</b>	<b>bírtyo</b>	they ... like that
pro-n5-sg	<b>ityó</b>	<b>irtyó</b>	he / she / it ... like that
pro-n5-pl	<b>zítyo</b>	<b>zírtyo</b>	they ... like that
pro-n6-sg	<b>rútyo</b>	<b>rúrtyo</b>	he / she / it ... like that
pro-n6-pl	<b>zítyo</b>	<b>zírtyo</b>	they ... like that
pro-n7-sg	<b>gátyo</b>	<b>kártyo</b>	he / she / it ... like that
pro-n7-pl	<b>dútyo</b>	<b>túrtyo</b>	they ... like that
pro-n8-sg	<b>bútyo</b>	<b>búrtyo</b>	it ... like that
pro-n8-pl	<b>atyó</b>	<b>artyó</b>	they ... like that
pro-n9-sg	<b>gútyo</b>	<b>kúrtyo</b>	it ... like that
pro-n9-pl	<b>atyó</b>	<b>artyó</b>	they ... like that
pro-n10-sg	<b>hátyo</b>	<b>hártyo</b>	it ... like that
pro-n10-pl			they ... like that
pro-n11-sg	<b>gútyo</b>	<b>kúrtyo</b>	it ... like that
pro-n11-pl			

### 10.1.3. Interrogative Coverbs of Manner

There is the shared root /-té/ that can be translated *how?* Since it fits into the Rwanda-Rundi system of question words, it will also be discussed and exemplified in §13.9.

/bameze **báte**/ {both} *qw-co-v-n1-pl* 'How are they?' (Overdulve 1975:228)

/cyaári kímeze **gíte**?/ {Rwanda} *qw-co-v-n4-sg* 'How did it go?' (R40.3)

/umubaré wáabo sé waaba uungána **uté**?/ {Rwanda} *qw-co-v-n2-sg* 'How many of them are there?' [lit. 'Their number is equal to how?'] (R38.11)

/hameze **háte**/ {both} *qw-co-v-n10-loc* 'How is it there?' (Ntahokaja 1994:181)



Table 114. Interrogative Coverb 'How?' (-té)

AGREEMENT	{both}	English
pro-1sg	<b>nté</b>	how ... I?
pro-1pl	<b>dúte</b>	how ... we?
pro-2sg	<b>uté</b>	how ... you?
pro-2pl	<b>múte</b>	how ... you (all)?
n1-sg	<b>até</b>	how ... he / she?
n1-pl	<b>báte</b>	how ... they?
n2-sg	<b>uté</b>	how ... it?
n2-pl	<b>ité</b>	how ... they?
n3-sg	<b>ríte</b>	how ... it?
n3-pl	<b>até</b>	how ... they?
n4-sg	<b>gíte</b>	how ... he / she / it?
n4-pl	<b>bíte</b>	how are things? [common generic]
n5-sg	<b>ité</b>	how ... he / she / it?
n5-pl	<b>zíte</b>	how ... they?
n6-sg	<b>rúte</b>	how ... it?
n6-pl	<b>zíte</b>	how ... they?
n7-sg	<b>gúte</b>	how ... he / she / it?
n7-pl	<b>dúte</b>	how ... they?
n8-sg	<b>búte</b>	how ... it?
n8-pl	<b>até</b>	how ... they?
n9-sg	<b>gúte</b>	how ... it?
n9-pl	<b>até</b>	how ... they?
n10-loc	<b>háte</b>	how ... it (there)?

## 10.2. Auxiliary Verbs

There are a number of verbs that lose their original meaning when they serve as the head of another verb.<sup>451</sup> As Kimenyi (1980:8) puts it so well: "The main characteristic of auxiliary verbs is that they have no semantic function of their own but rather convey grammatical information, mostly temporal and aspectual." The new meaning can be drastically different and is usually translated by an adverb in English. Thus /-**kúunda**/ {both} *like, love* when heading an infinitive has a special habitual meaning, *often*. While /-**pfá**/ {both} means *die*, as an auxiliary heading an infinitive it means *just VERB, simply VERB*.

/ntibaku<sup>nzé</sup> kwaanduranya/ {Rwanda} *v-aux+inf* 'They do not quarrel often.' (R38.8)

/abavyéeyi **bapfa** kubareka/ {Rundi} *v-aux+inf* 'The parents just let them be.' (R15)

The most important and yet complex aspect of auxiliary verbs is that they can be followed by any of six different kinds of complements:<sup>452</sup> simple indicative, indicative disjoint with **-ra-**, subsecutive (-

<sup>451</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Overdulve 1975:281f, Kimenyi 1980:9–11, Bizimana 1998:298-301; for Kirundi, see Rodegem 1970:passim, Cristini 2000:275–80. Of these, Kimenyi's grammatical overview is exceptionally helpful, while Rodegem's lexical treatment is the most thorough since he specifies which mood(s) each verb may take.

<sup>452</sup> Kimenyi states initially that "They are classified into two types, namely, those which must appear with the main verb in the PARTICIPAL construction, and those which make the main verb appear in the INFINITIVAL form. (Ibid:8). However, later he notes that "If both the modality verb and the embedded verb occur in the **-ra-** TENSE, then both of them have a past time reference. If, however, the embedded verb is in the SUBJUNCTIVE mood, the event to which the verb refers is in the future. (Ibid:11). Overall, then, he identifies four such constructions. Rodegem refers to five moods (1970:passim): En complexe verbal, ce verbe régit cinq modes: l'indicatif, le conjonctif, l'infinitif, le subjonctif et le subsécutif. Freely translated using our terms: When used with another

## Chapter 10: Auxiliary Verbs

**ka-**), infinitive (**ku-**), participial, or subjunctive. It should be noted that no auxiliary verb governs a relative construction. Many verbs can be followed by two or more constructions with subtle shifts in grammatical meaning,<sup>453</sup> as the following example sets illustrate.

*/-geenda/* {both} *v-aux*

*/narágeenze ndabóna/* {both} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'I never saw such a thing.' (JN, Jacob 1984 #1:345)

*/yagéenda arabúundabuunda/* {Rundi} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'He wound up prowling.' (R25.3)

*/harabáaye umugabo akageenda akarima/* {Rundi} *v-aux+seq* 'There was a man who used to go plowing.' (Rodegem 1970:107, JN)

*/ngiiye kwúubaka urwáanjé/* {Rundi} (Rodegem 1970:107) */ngiiye kúubaka urwáanjyé/* {Rwanda} (LN) *v-aux+inf* 'I'm finally going to get married.' [lit: 'to build my own']

*/bagiiye báavúga/* {both} *v-aux-perf+part* 'At long last they spoke.' (Rodegem 1970:107)

*/geenda ubivugé/* {both} *v-aux-imp+sub* 'So go on and say it!' (LN)

*/-oongera/* {both} *v-aux*

*/yoongera ararwaanya abadaági/* {Rundi} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'Moreover he fought against the Germans' (R3)

*/nyuma ikoongera ikakimira/* {Rwanda} *v-aux+seq* 'Afterwards (the rayfish) swallows (its stomach) again.' (R12)

*/abahiinga baroongera bakavuga yúukó/* {Rundi} *v-aux+seq* 'Moreover, experts say that' (R37.5)

*/nzoongera kukúbona ryáari/* {both} *v-aux+inf* 'When will I see you again?' (Jacob 1986 #2:507)

*/noongére kunywa umutí ryáari?/* {both} *v-aux+part* 'When should I take medicine again?' (JN, LN)

*/ongera umbwiire/* {both} *v-aux-imp+sub* 'Tell me again!' (Jacob 1986 #2:507)

The various sections and tables below present auxiliaries on the basis of what MODALITIES (mood or aspect) they govern. For the benefit of the student, they are organized by frequency, e.g., the participial occurs the most and is treated first, then the infinitive, etc. The learner should be on the lookout for verb roots that appear in more than one table and the relevant differences that obtain.

### 10.2.1. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Participial

By far the most frequent mood required by auxiliary verbs is the PARTICIPIAL (see Table 115).

*/yaamye akóra/* {Rundi} *v-aux+part* 'He is always working.' (Rodegem 1970:6)

*/tuzooça túgaruka/* {Rundi} *v-aux+part* 'We will come back right away.' (Rodegem 1970:51, Cristini 2000:276)

*/umwúumwé bageenda bávuga impaámvu/* {both} *v-aux+part* 'One by one they tell the reason in turn.' (JN, Overdulve 1975:260)

*/baáhavuuye bátaaha/* {Rundi} *v-aux+part* 'They finally returned home.' (Cristini 2000:276)

*/iheera kó isúbira yó/* {Rwanda} *v-aux+part* '... he immediately returned home.' (Overdulve 1975:260)

*/bahora bakóra cyaane/* {Rwanda} *v-aux+part* 'They always work hard.' (Overdulve 1975:155)

*/abashyitsi báacu baaraaye bágaaniira/* {Rwanda} *v-aux+part* 'Our visitors talked all night long.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:196)

*/naaje nsaanga bágiye/* {both} *v-aux+part* 'I came just after their departure.' (JN, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:193)

*/ubwo bitiinze bízoozá?/* {Rundi} *v-aux+part-fut* 'Is this ultimately going to happen?' (Rodegem 1970:495, JN)

*/atuma dúkira/* {both} *v-aux+part* 'He is doing his best to cure us.' (Overdulve 1975:259)

*/arúumva arwáaye/* {both} *v-aux+part* 'He feels sick.' (Rodegem 1970:528)

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verb, this verb governs five moods: INDICATIVE, PARTICIPIAL, INFINITIVE, SUBJUNCTIVE, and SEQUENTIAL. Our only refinement is that the indicative has two forms: simple (Ø marked) vs. -ra- marked.

<sup>453</sup> For example, as Rodegem 1970:51 observes, Rundi */-cá/* is strictly limited to two functions: participial and indicative (with -ra-). Others, like */-geenda/* (Ibid:107) or */-gera/* (Ibid:110) can govern five constructions.

Table 115. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Participial

Auxiliary	dialect	English
-áama	{Rundi}	always VERB; continually VERB
-bóna	{both}	have the chance or opportunity to VERB
-cá	{Rundi}	VERB immediately or right away
-geenda	{both}	wind up VERBing; VERB at long last
-geenda	{Rwanda}	VERB s.t. in turn, take turns VERBing
-gera	{both}	finally VERB
-guma	{both}	continue VERBing; do VERB nonstop
-hava	{Rundi}	VERB finally, do VERB as a consequence
-héera kó	{both}	do VERB right away, immediately
-híta	{Rwanda}	do VERB immediately, right away
-hóra, -hóze	{both}	always VERB, often VERB
-írirwa	{both}	do VERB all day
-ja	{Rundi}	take turns VERBing [repetitive auxiliary]; keep on VERBing
-jya	{Rwanda}	[habitual auxiliary]
-mara, -maze	{both}	has / have already VERBed
-oongera	{both}	VERB moreover or additionally
-pfúma	{Rundi}	prefer VERBing, rather VERB
-ráara	{both}	spend the night VERBing
-ramuka	{both}	spend the morning VERBing; VERB by chance; in case VERB
-riinda	{both}	finally VERB, ultimately VERB
-saanga	{both}	find VERB, notice VERB, note that VERB
-saangwa	{both}	usually, normally, or habitually VERB
-shooka	{both}	do VERB immediately, forthwith, quickly
-síga	{both}	after having VERBed
-sígara	{both}	start VERBing (a new activity); do VERB again (and again)
-súbiira	{both}	do VERB again
-teba	{Rundi}	finally VERB
-tiinda	{both}	finally VERB
-túma	{both}	make sure that VERB, try one's hardest to VERB allow, permit, make possible to VERB
-úumva	{both}	feel like VERBing
-:za	{Rundi}	ought to VERB, should VERB [obligation]
-ziinduka	{both}	VERB in the morning

### 10.2.2. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Infinitive

Auxiliary verbs taking an infinitive complement are the second most frequent in both dialects (see Table 116).

/abakoóbwa **babaanza kwíinjira**/ {both} *v-aux+inf* 'The girls enter first.' (Overdulve 1975:282)

/baagiye mw iivuuriro kugira ngo **booyé kurwáara**/ {Rwanda} *v-aux+inf* 'They went to the dispensary so that they would stop being sick.' (Overdulve 1970:250)

/nzoongera **kuwúbona ryáari?**/ {both} *v-aux+inf* 'When am I going to see it again?' (Rodegem 1970:309, LN)

/aja **kuraaba umukurú wiíyo ntáara**/ {Rundi} *v-aux+inf* 'He goes to see the mayor of that district.' (R23)

/ngiye **gusoma**/ {both} *v-aux+inf* 'I am going to read.' (Overdulve 1975:281)

/byaari **bíkwiiye kugira uwó bibazwá**/ {both} *v-aux+inf* 'It would be appropriate to hold somebody accountable.' (R16, JN)

## Chapter 10: Auxiliary Verbs

- /ukwiiriye **kwííta** ku byó nkubwíira/ {Rwanda} *v-aux+inf* 'You ought to pay attention to the things I tell you.' (Overdulve 1975:216)  
 /mwooyé **gutiinya**/ {both} *v-aux+inf* 'Don't be afraid!' (Cox 1970:17)  
 /napfuuye **kubívuga**/ {both} *v-aux+inf* 'I pronounced these words without much conviction.'  
 /reka **kurira**/ {both} *v-aux+inf* 'Stop crying!' (Rodegem 1970:345, Jacob 1986 #2:608)  
 /abagabo baari **gusoma**/ {Rwanda} *v-aux+inf* 'The men would have read.' (Kimenyi 1980:9)  
 /icó **bategerezwa** **gukóra**/ {Rundi} *v-aux+inf* 'That which they should do.' (R23, JN)  
 /indwi **izá** **kuuza**/ {Rundi} *v-aux+inf* 'next week' [lit. 'week that is going to come'] (Rodegem 1970:566)

Table 116. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Infinitive

Auxiliary	dialect	English
-baanza	{both}	VERB first of all; begin by VERBing
-báasha	{both}	can VERB, be able to VERB (physically do s.t.)
-bóna	{both}	then VERB
-eenda	{both}	be at the point of VERBing, almost VERB
-geenda	{both}	finally VERB, VERB at long last
-goomba	{Rwanda}	must VERB, be necessary to VERB
-héruuka	{both}	have just VERBed, have recently VERBed last VERBed, have finally VERBed
-héza	{Rundi}	when VERB; after VERBing
-ja	{Rundi}	go to VERB; go and VERB [andative auxiliary]
-jya	{Rwanda}	going to VERB, soon VERB, be about to VERB
-komeza	{both}	continue to VERB, carry on VERBing
-kúunda	{both}	VERB often; VERB continually or habitually
-kwíira, -kwíiye	{both}	should VERB, ought to VERB
-kwíiriye	{Rwanda}	should VERB, must VERB
-mara, -maze	{both}	has / have already VERBed
-oongera	{both}	do VERB again, start VERBing again
-ooya	{both}	stop VERBing; so that ... not VERB
-pfá	{both}	just VERB, simply VERB; VERB anyhow, all the same (do s.t. rashly or without forethought; hit and miss style)
-reka	{both}	stop VERBing
-rí	{both}	supposed to VERB; would have VERBed
-shaaka	{both}	be about to VERB, be on the verge of VERBing
-shóbora	{Rundi}	can, be able to VERB; be capable of VERBing
-shobora	{both}	
-tángura	{Rundi}	start to VERB, begin to VERB
-tángira	{Rwanda}	
-tégerezwa	{Rundi}	have to VERB, ought to VERB
-:za	{both}	come and VERB; come to VERB [venitive auxiliary]

The two auxiliary motion verbs /-ja/ {Rundi}, /-jya/ {Rwanda} *go to VERB, go and VERB* [ANDATIVE] and /-:za/ {both} *come to VERB, come and VERB* [VENITIVE] can sometimes overlap in their translational meanings *come* vs. *go*.<sup>454</sup> This is because they lose their sense of directionality in favor of a future meaning, similar to English *going to VERB*.

/kuja kwíivuuza/ {Rundi}, /kujya kwíivuuza/ {Rwanda} 'to come / go and get oneself treated > going to get oneself treated'

<sup>454</sup> This even applies to French. See, for example, Cristini 2000:279 under **kuuza** where *aller* is used in the translation although the primary gloss is *venir*.

### 10.2.3. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Subjunctive

There are several verbs that take a subjunctive complement (see Table 117).

- /baanza ukoré/ {both} *v-aux+sub* 'Work first!' (Rodegem 1970:25)  
 /geenda uhebé/ {Rundi} *v-aux+sub* 'Finally, give up!' (Rodegem 1970:107)  
 /yabivuze agira ngo urakáre/ {Rwanda} *v-aux+sub* 'He said that just to make you angry.' (Jacob 1984 #1:367)  
 /abagabo barakomeza basomé/ {both} *v-aux+sub* 'The men will continue to read.' (Kimenyi 1980:11, JN)  
 /ongera umbwiire/ {both} *v-aux+sub* 'Tell me again!' (Jacob 1986 #2:507)  
 /bazoteba bageendé/ {Rundi} *v-aux+sub* 'They will finally go.' (Rodegem 1970:480)  
 /reka nkubwiire!/ {Rwanda} *v-aux+sub* 'Let me tell you!' (Jacob 1986 #2:608)  
 /abagabo baratángira basomé/ {Rwanda} *v-aux+sub* 'The men will start by reading.' (Kimenyi 1980:11)  
 /baratiinda bagarúke/ {both} *v-aux+sub* 'They will finally return.' (Rodegem 1970:495)  
 /nzé ngeendé kuraaba/ {Rundi} *v-aux+sub* 'I should come to see.' (Rodegem 1970:566)

Table 117. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Subjunctive

Auxiliary	dialect	English
-baanza	{both}	VERB first (of all)
-geenda	{both}	so VERB; go ahead and VERB
-gera	{Rwanda}	finally VERB
-gira ngo	{both}	so that VERB, in order to VERB
-gumya	{Rwanda}	will keep on VERBing, shall continue to VERB
-héza	{Rundi}	so then VERB; VERB afterwards
-komeza	{both}	will continue to VERB
-oongera	{both}	do VERB again, start VERBing again
-reka	{both}	let do VERB; wait!; come on [exhortative]
-shyíra	{Rwanda}	finally VERB
-tángira	{Rwanda}	start by VERBing [future time reference]
-teba	{Rundi}	finally VERB
-tiinda	{both}	finally VERB, ultimately VERB
:-za	{Rundi}	should come to VERB [purpose or eventual outcome]

### 10.2.4. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Indicative Disjoint with -ra-

More verbs take a DISJOINT INDICATIVE COMPLEMENT, i.e., with the marker **-ra-** (see Table 118), than take a simple (zero or unmarked) indicative complement (see §10.2.5).

- /aça arabáhamagara/ {Rundi} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'He will call them immediately.' (Cox 1970:10)  
 /yagéenda arabúundabuunda/ {Rundi} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'He wound up prowling.' (R25.3)  
 /yuumviise ibyo aheera kó arageenda/ {Rwanda} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'When he heard this, he left immediately.' (Overdulve 1975:215)  
 /arahéza arabíica/ {Rundi} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'Then he kills them.' (Cristini 2000:277, JN)  
 «Umukazana na inabukwe ntibahora barashira hamwe.» {Rundi} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law frequently do not live happily together.' (Rodegem 1970:171f)  
 /tutiiriwe turadóondagura háno/ {Rundi} *v-aux-rel+ind-dis* '... (that) we won't take the time to detail here.' (R37.3, JN)  
 /aja araguraana/ {Rundi} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'He keeps on borrowing.' (R25.3)  
 /abagabo barakomeza barasoma/ {Rwanda} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'The men kept reading.' (Kimenyi 1980:11)  
 /barikó bariiga ikiruúndi/ {Rundi} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'They are in process of learning Rundi.' (Rodegem 1967:136)

## Chapter 10: Auxiliary Verbs

- /abagabo **barikó** **barasoma**/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:226), /abagabo **barihó** **barasoma**/ {Rwanda} (Kimenyi 1980:9) *v-aux+ind-dis* 'The men are (in the process of) reading.'
- /asaanga **inká** **ziriizitura**/ {Rwanda} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'He notices that the cows are getting untied.' (Overdulve 1975:259)
- /arashyíra **araaza**/ {Rwanda} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'He finally arrived.' (Jacob 1987 #3:158)
- /ubwóoro **burateba** **buramúteera**/ {Rundi} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'Poverty finally overcomes him.' (R25.2)
- /baratiinda **baramukamvya**/ {Rundi} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'They finally make him suffer.' (R25.3)
- /soma **wuumvé** **uraseka**/ {both} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'Read (this), you'll feel like laughing.' (R14)
- «iyandikwa ku nguvu ry'abana baja kw'ishure ryoza **rirabera** ku muhana ku muhana.»  
{Rundi} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'Enrollment of children in schools should take place on a house-by-house basis.' (R39.5)
- /azé **aranywá** **amáazi**/ {Rundi} *v-aux+ind-dis* 'He should drink water.' (Rodegem 1970:566)

**Table 118. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Indicative Disjoint with -ra-**

Auxiliary	dialect	English
-cá	{Rundi}	VERB immediately or right away
-geenda	{Rundi}	start to VERB; wind up VERBing
-héera kó	{both}	do VERB right away, VERB immediately
-írirwa	{Rundi} {both}	spend the whole day VERBing; do VERB all day [neg] not take the time to VERB; not try to VERB
-ja	{Rundi}	keep on VERBing
-komeza	{Rwanda}	continued to VERB; kept VERBing [past]
-oongerá	{both}	VERB moreover or additionally
-rikó -rihó	{Rundi} {Rwanda}	be (in the process of) VERBing [continuous action]
-saanga	{both}	find, notice, note that VERB
-shyíra -teba	{Rwanda} {Rundi}	finally VERB
-tiinda	{both}	finally VERB
-úumva	{both}	feel like VERBing
-:za	{Rundi}	ought to VERB, should VERB

### 10.2.5. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Simple Indicative

Very few verbs take a SIMPLE INDICATIVE complement (see Table 119).

- /... **arabaanza** **aguma** **haanzé**/ {both} *v-aux+ind* '... he first waited outside.' (Cristini 2000:275, LN)
- «**Baraheza** **batuma** **umuntu kuvuga ijambo nk'uko bisanzwe.**» {Rundi} *v-aux+ind* 'Then they send some person to give the customary speech.' (R11)
- /ngira **ngo** **ntibaazá**/ {both} *v-aux+ind* 'I don't think they will come.' (LN)

**Table 119. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Simple Indicative**

Auxiliary	dialect	English
-baanza	{both}	VERB first
-gira ngo	{both}	suppose that VERB, be of the opinion that VERB
-héza	{Rundi}	then VERB; VERBed afterwards

### 10.2.6. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Subsecutive or Sequence with -ka-

There are just a few verbs that take a subsecutive or sequence complement (-ka-, -ga-, -k-; see Table 120 and review §8.12, #184–197).

- /irabaanza **igatéekwa**/ {both} *v-aux+seq* 'They (the cassavas) are first cooked.' (R20)

- /haárabaaye umugabo akageenda akarima.../ {Rundi} *v-aux+seq* 'Once upon a time, there was a man who went regularly to plow... (Rodegem 1970:107)
- /ukayireka igashya/ {Rwanda} *v-aux+seq* 'Then you let it cook.' (R8)
- /... utiinda ugafátwa/ {Rundi} *v-aux+seq* '... and finally you get caught.' (Rodegem 1970:495)
- /umuúsi umwé umwaámi akaaza agasaba nyaa mukoóbwa nawé akamúbenga/ {Rundi} *v-aux+seq* 'One day the king came and asked for the hand of this girl in marriage, but she refused him.' (Rodegem 1970:566)

Table 120. Auxiliary Verbs Governing the Subsecutive or Sequence with -ka-

v-aux	dialect	English
-baanza	{both}	VERB first
-geenda	{Rundi}	go regularly to VERB
-hava	{Rundi}	VERB finally
-héza	{Rundi}	then VERB; VERB afterwards
-oongera	{both}	do VERB again; VERB moreover
-reka	{both}	let VERB; allow s.t. to VERB
-ruha	{both}	be tired of VERBing; get bored with VERBing
-teba	{Rundi}	finally VERB
-tiinda	{both}	finally VERB; VERB some day
:-za	{both}	come and VERB

### 10.3. Copulative Auxiliary Verbs

Complex as they may be, the two copulative auxiliaries have two basic functions: to supply missing tenses (such as for the irregular verbs /-:zi/ {both} *know* or /-fise/ {Rundi} and /-fite/ {Rwanda} *have, own*)<sup>455</sup> and to mark an action as out of the time frame established by the initial verb (see Botne 1983, 1987, and 1989b).

The copulative auxiliaries /-ba/ and /-rí/ can be found in an impressive array of tense combinations. The following examples endeavor to illustrate several of those possible where the auxiliary verb is in one tense and mood and the following participial construction can be in the same or different tenses with subtle nuances in temporal implication. The first concern the copulative auxiliary /-bá/.

- aux **-bá** = inf + verb = part-imm-perf  
/kubá urwáaye biraámbabaje/ {both} *v-cop-aux-inf+v-part-imm-perf* 'The fact that you are sick saddens me.' (Bizimana 1998:296, JN)
- aux **-bá** = ind-imm-impf + verb = part-imm-perf  
/mba mbáaye intwáari/ {both} *v-cop-aux-ind-imm-impf+v-part-imm-perf* 'I would be a courageous person.' (Bizimana 1998:297)  
/iyó ngirá amafaraanga mba ngúze iki gitabo/ {both} *v-cop-aux-ind-imm-impf+v-part-imm-perf* 'If I had money, I would buy this book.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:298)  
/amatá ukamíye umugoré uba uyámennye/ {both} *v-cop-aux-ind-imm-impf+v-part-imm-perf* 'The milk that you draw for a woman, (by this very fact) you wasted it.'<sup>456</sup> (Overdulve 1975:263, JN)
- aux **-bá** = ind-imm-impf + verb = part-recent-perf  
/(imití) iba yápfuuye ubusá/ {both} *v-cop-aux-ind-imm-impf+v-part-recent-perf-con* 'They have become useless.' (R31.4)  
/nyina aba yáapfákaye/ {both} *v-cop-aux-ind-imm-impf+v-part-recent-perf-dis* 'His mother has been widowed.' (R13)

<sup>455</sup> Overdulve 1975:261 gives both RECENT and PRETERIT paradigms for Kinyarwanda /-fite/ and /-:zi/ formed with the auxiliary /-rí/. Both of these verbs are defective and do not have a simple conjugation covering those tenses.

<sup>456</sup> With this example, Overdulve makes the point that the actions are CONSECUTIVE and that the second is the necessary result of the former. This is a more specific function than our "out of timeframe" paradigm.

- aux **-bá** = ind-imm-impf + verb = part-pret-perf  
/iyó babishaáka baba báarabikóze/ {both} *v-cop-aux-ind-imm+v-part-pret-perf-dis* 'If they wanted, they would have done it.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:299, JN)  
/iyó ríriíya shuúri ridasanwá, riba ryáaragúuye/ {both} *v-cop-aux-ind-imm+v-part-pret-perf-dis* 'If that school had not been repaired, it would had been destroyed.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:299, JN)
- aux **-bá** = ind-neg-imm-impf + verb = part-pret-perf  
/iyó bamenyá kóoga ntíbabá báariishwe n'úurúuzi/ {both} *v-cop-aux-ind-neg-imm+v-part-pret-perf* 'If they knew how to swim, they would not have drowned.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:299, JN)
- aux **-bá** = ind-neg-imm-impf + verb = part-punc  
/izúuba ntíríbabá ríraakomera/ {Rundi} *v-cop-aux-ind-neg-imm+v-part-punc* 'The sun is still not hot.' (Cristini 2000:168)
- aux **-bá** = ind-cond + verb = part-imm-impf  
/akúretse ntíyooba afíse umujinyá/ {Rundi} (JN), /akúretse ntíyaaba agíra umujinyá/ {Rwanda} (Bizimana 1998:296) *v-cop-aux-ind-neg-cond-imm+v-part-imm-impf* 'If he let you, he would not be angry.' [lit. 'he would not have anger']  
/akúretse yooba atágirá umujinyá/ {Rundi} (JN), /akúretse yaaba atágirá umujinyá/ {Rwanda} (Bizimana 1998:296) *v-cop-aux-ind-cond-imm+v-part-neg-imm-impf* 'If he let you, he would not be angry.'  
/vyooba bíteerwa.../ {Rundi} (JN), /byaaba bíteerwa.../ {Rwanda} (R38.8) *v-cop-aux-ind-cond-imm+v-part-imm-impf* 'It might be caused...'
- aux **-bá** = ind-cond + verb = part-pret-perf  
/iyi mpanuka idasaanzwé ngo yooba yátéewe n'ámafere yaciitse/ {Rundi} (JN), /iyi mpanuka idasaanzwé ngo yaaba yáratéewe n'ámaferi yaciitse/ {Rwanda} (R16) *v-cop-aux-ind-cond-imm+v-part-pret-perf* 'This unusual accident, it is believed, may have been caused by defective brakes.'  
/umuuntu yooba yáráshitse/ {Rundi} *v-cop-aux-ind-cond-imm+v-part-pret-perf* 'Mankind should have reached ...' (R37.1)
- aux **-bá** = ind-fut + verb = part-imm-perf  
/ejó nk'iiki gihe nzooba ngéze i káampalá/ {Rundi} (JN), /ejó nk'iiki gihe nzaaba ngéze i káampalá/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:170) *v-cop-aux-ind-fut+v-part-imm-perf* 'Tomorrow, at about this time, I will have reached Kampala.'
- aux **-bá** = ind-fut + verb = part-recent-perf  
/ejó nk'iiki gihe nzooba náashitse i káampalá/ {Rundi} (JN), /ejó nk'iiki gihe nzaaba nágeze i káampalá/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:170) *v-cop-aux-ind-fut+v-part-recent-perf* 'Tomorrow, at about this time, I will have reached Kampala.'
- aux **-bá** = ind-fut + verb = part-pret-perf  
/abatúuranyi bazaaba báaneesheje mu rubaánza/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-aux-ind-fut+v-part-recent-perf* 'The neighbors will have won in the trial.' (Overdulve 1975:263)  
/nzooba nágéze i Káampalá/ {Rundi} (JN), /nzaaba náragéze i Káampalá/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:170) *v-cop-aux-ind-fut+v-part-pret-perf* 'I will have reached Kampala.'
- aux **-bá** = ind-fut + verb = part-persist  
/ejó azooba akírwaaye/ {Rundi} (JN), /ejó azaaba akírwaaye/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:262) *v-cop-aux-ind-fut+v-part-persist* 'Tomorrow he will still be sick.'
- aux **-bá** = ind-fut + verb = part-neg-punc  
/ejó tuzooba tútaráhábwa inyishú yíwé/ {Rundi}(JN), /ejó tuzaaba tútaráhábwa igisúbizo cyé/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:262) *v-cop-aux-ind-fut+v-part-neg-punc* 'Tomorrow we still will not have received his response.'
- aux **-bá** = ind-pret-perf + verb = part-persist  
/ntiyabáaye agítaaha/ {Rundi} *v-cop-aux-neg-pret-perf+v-part-persist* 'He did not come back anymore.'
- aux **-bá** = seq-imm + verb = part-imm-perf  
/tukaba twízeeye kó.../ {both} *v-cop-aux-seq-imm+v-part-imm-perf* '... and we are hoping that ...' (R37.5)
- aux **-bá** = seq-imm + verb = part-pret-perf  
/iziíndi nazó zikaba záararóonse urukiingo/ {Rundi} (R37.3), /iziíndi nazó zikaba záararóonse urukingo/ {Rwanda} (LN) *v-cop-aux-seq-imm+v-part-pret-perf* '... and others have obtained the vaccine.'



- aux **-bá** = rel-imm + verb = part-imm-impf  
/iyó **tubá túmenya...**/ {Rundi} *v-cop-aux-rel-imm+v-part-imm-impf* 'If we could know...' (R33)
- aux **-bá** = sub-imm + verb = part-persist  
/umujuura **ntaábe akígaruka**/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-aux-sub-imm+v-part-persist* '... so that a thief should not come back any more.' (Overdulve 1975:261)<sup>457</sup>
- aux **-bá** = imp + verb = part-imm-perf  
/b'urétse/ {both} *v-cop-aux-imp+v-part-imm-perf* 'Wait a little bit!' (Overdulve 1975:263, JN)

The second set of examples concerns the copulative locative auxiliary /-rí/.

- aux **-rí** = ind-cond + verb = part-imm-perf  
/vyaari **bíkwiie**/ {Rundi} (JN), /byaari **bikwiie**/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-loc-aux-cond+v-part-imm-perf* 'It would be appropriate.' (R16)
- aux **-rí** = ind-recent + verb = part-imm-perf  
/baari **bárwaaye**/ {both} *v-cop-loc-aux-ind-recent+v-part-imm-perf* 'They were sick.' (Bizimana 1998:296, JN)  
/baari **bávoomye**/ {both} *v-cop-loc-aux-ind-recent+v-part-imm-perf* 'They did fetch water.' (Bizimana 1998:295, JN)  
/yari **anyívuganye**/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-loc-aux-recent+v-part-imm-perf* 'He was about to kill me.' (LN)
- aux **-rí** = ind-recent + verb = part-recent-perf  
/baari **báavoomye**/ {both} *v-cop-loc-aux-ind-recent+v-part-recent-perf* 'They have fetched water.' (Bizimana 1998:295, JN)
- aux **-rí** = ind-recent + verb = part-pret-perf  
/baari **báaravóomye**/ {both} *v-cop-loc-aux-ind-recent+v-part-pret-perf* 'They had fetched water.' (Bizimana 1998:295, JN)  
/baari **baáratwiibagiye**/ {Rundi} *v-cop-aux-ind-recent+v-part-pret-perf* 'They had forgotten us.' (JN)
- aux **-rí** = ind-recent + verb = part-punc  
/nóone **turabyúumva, ariko ejó twaári tútaráabyúumva**/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-loc-aux-ind-recent+v-part-punc* 'Now we heard this, but yesterday we hadn't yet heard this.' (Overdulve 1975:262)
- aux **-rí** = ind-pret + verb = part-recent-perf  
/baári **báavoomye**/ {both} *v-cop-loc-aux-ind-pret+v-part-recent-perf* 'They had fetched water.' (Bizimana 1998:295)  
/haári **háatumiwe abaantu bóóse**/ {Rundi} *v-cop-loc-aux-ind-pret+v-part-recent-perf-pass* 'All the people had been invited.' (R29.3)
- aux **-rí** = ind-pret + verb = part-pret-perf  
/baári **báaravóomye**/ {both} *v-cop-loc-aux-ind-pret+v-part-pret-perf* 'They had fetched water.' (Bizimana 1998:295, JN)  
/baári **báarapfúuye**/ {both} *v-cop-loc-aux-ind-pret+v-part-pret-perf* 'They had died.' (JN, LN)
- aux **-rí** = rel-recent + verb = part-recent-perf  
/basaánze uwo **yari yáakíivye ari umunyéeshuúre**/ {Rundi} *v-cop-loc-aux-rel-recent-perf+v-part-recent-perf* 'They found out that the one who stole it was a student.' (R7)
- aux **-rí** = rel-pret + verb = part-recent-perf  
/impuúngeenge **zaári záagaragajwe na...**/ {both} *v-cop-loc-aux-rel-pret+v-part-recent-perf* 'The apprehension that was shown by...' (R10, JN)
- aux **-rí** = auto-recent + verb = part recent perf  
/babiri mu **baári báakomeretse**/ {both} *v-cop-loc-aux-auto-recent+v-part-recent-perf* 'two among the injured' (R16, JN)
- aux **-rí** = auto-pret + verb = part-pret-perf  
/abaári **báaratáanguye bazóokoméze**/ {Rundi} (JN), /abaári **báaratáangiye bazáakoméze**/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-loc-auto-pret-nl-pl + v-part-pret-perf* 'Those who had started should continue.' (Bizimana 1998:296, JN)

<sup>457</sup> Overdulve suggests that the auxiliary combination here is because the subjunctive lacks the persistent tense. However, this example should follow a previously made statement such as 'We got dogs' or 'We put up a fence,' and it would then be out of the timeframe of that statement.

### 10.4. Multiple Auxiliary Verbs

It should be noted that three or four verbs can be strung together, where two or more of them are serving as auxiliary head verbs. The second will be governed by the first, a third would then be governed by the second, and so on.

- /bakaba báakomeza konka/ {both} *v-cop-aux-ind-seq+v-aux-part-cond-impf+v-inf* '... and they should continue to suckle.' (R6, JN)
- /mba nábaaye nkóra/ {both} *v-cop-aux-ind-imm+v-cop-aux-part-recent-perf-con+v-part-imm-impf* 'I should have been working.' (Bizimana 1998:231, JN)
- /mba nárabáaye ndétse/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-aux-ind-imm-impf+v-cop-aux-part-pret-perf+v-part-imm-perf* 'I should have waited.' (Bizimana 1998:297)
- /akaba yáři afíse inzu/ {Rundi} (JN), /akaba yáři afíte inzu/ {Rwanda} (Bizimana 1998:297) *v-cop-aux-seq-imm+v-cop-loc-part-pret+v-part-imm* '... and he had a house.'
- /iyo nká ikaba yáři ígiye kuvyáara/ {Rundi} (JN), /iyo nká ikaba yáři ígiye kubyáara/ {Rwanda} (Bizimana 1998:297) *v-cop-aux-seq-imm+v-cop-loc-part-pret+v-aux-part-imm-perf+v-inf* '... and that cow was just about to give birth.'
- /baári básigaye báaza kwiishuza/ {Rundi} *v-cop-loc-aux-ind-pret+v-aux-part-imm+v-aux-part-imm+v-inf* 'They had started coming to claim back the debt.' (R25.3)
- /ntaa mpanuka nk'íyi yari ihéruutse kubá/ {both} *v-cop-loc-aux-ind-recent+v-aux-part-imm-perf+v-cop-inf* 'No accident like this has recently occurred.' (R16, JN)
- /imvúra yari imáze imiinsi igwá/ {both} *v-cop-loc-aux-ind-pret+v-aux-part-imm-perf+v-part-imm-impf* 'It had been raining for days.' (R34.3, JN)
- /bwaári búmaze kwiira/ {both} *v-cop-loc-aux-ind-pret+v-aux-part-imm+v-inf* 'It had already grown dark.' (R34.3, JN)

## 11. ADVERBS

Adverbs are a class of words that modify or complement verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs. They may indicate TIME, PLACE, MANNER, DEGREE, INTENSITY, FREQUENCY, MEASURE, SIZE, or OPINION.<sup>458</sup> As with adjectives, there are very few "pure" adverbs in Kirundi or Kinyarwanda.

/ejó/ {both} 'tomorrow; yesterday' (one day in the past or future)

/kare/ {both} 'early'

/kure/ {both} 'far (away), distant, long off'

/nooné/ {Rundi}, /nóone/ {Rwanda} 'today'

/ryáarí/ {both} 'when?' (see §13.6)

The majority are formed from nouns, adjectives, deictics, numerals, or verbs.

/bugúfi/ {Rundi}, /bugufi/ {Rwanda} *adv-place = adj-n8-sg* 'near, nearby'

/hatóoyá/ {Rwanda} *adv-time = adj-n10-loc* 'later on (the same day)'

/háno/ {both} *adv-place = deic-1-excl-n10-loc* 'here, hereabouts, in this area'

/ubu/ {both} *adv-time = deic-1-n8-sg* 'now, currently; today'

/kimwé/ {both} *adv-manner = num-n4-sg* 'in the same way or manner'

/bitangáaje/ {both} *adv-manner = v-rel-imm-perf-n4-pl* 'remarkably, in an astonishing manner'

/búkeeye/ {both} *adv-time = v-part-imm-perf-n8-sg* 'the next morning' [lit: 'as it dawns']

/ukó bwijé/ {both} *adv-time = v-rel-imm-perf-n8-sg* 'nightly, each night' [lit: 'when it gets dark']

While there is some overlap of adverbs between Bantu languages and English, we saw in §10.2 that many AUXILIARY VERBS in Kirundi and Kinyarwanda are translated by ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS in English. Furthermore, the COVERBS OF MANNER discussed in §10.1.2 (Tables 112 /-tyá/ and 113 /-tyó/) always function adverbially.

### 11.1. Adverbs of Time

One of the most common functions of adverbs is to indicate a particular time frame.

/ejó/ {both} 'tomorrow; yesterday' (one day in the past or future)

/ni aah'éjó/ {both} 'See you tomorrow.' (Jacob 1984 #1:262, JN)

/kare/ {both} 'early'

/nkúukó nabivuzé kare/ {both} 'As I said (it) earlier.' (Jacob 1986 #2:189, JN)

/nooné/ {Rundi}, /nóone/ {Rwanda} 'today'

/uzé nooné/ {Rundi}, /uzé nóone/ {Rwanda} (Bizimana 1998:218) 'You should come today.'

/ubu/ {both} 'now, currently; today'

/abakoóbwa b'uúbu/ {both} 'girls nowadays' (Jacob 1987 #3:450, JN)

/kurúubungúubú/ {both} 'at this time, right now'

/ubu ngúubú/ {both} 'right away, this very instant'

/búkeeye/ {both} 'the next morning' [lit: 'as it dawns']

/búkeeye bagaca báduuza igiciiro/ {Rundi} 'The following morning they immediately increase the price.' (R33.6)

/bwíije/ {both} *v-part-imm-perf* 'in the evening' (Cristini 2000:292)

/ukó bukeeyé, ukó bwijé/ {both} *v-rel-imm-perf* 'day and night' (R25.3)

/hatóoyá/ {both} *adv-time-n10* 'later on (the same day)'

/ararirya hatóoyá/ {both} 'He will eat it later on.' (Overdulve 1975:141, JN)

/námugórooba/ {both} 'in the evening, at twilight' [lit: 'it is at night']

/navúganye na wé ejó námugórooba/ {both} 'I spoke with him yesterday evening.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:260, JN)

/mu kaánya/ {both} 'earlier, a while ago (past); later, in a moment (future)'

<sup>458</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:141-148 or Overdulve 1975:268-73 (treated as INVARIABLES), and for Kirundi, see Cristini 2000:292-297.

- /aragaruka mu kaánya/ {both} 'He will be back shortly.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:347)  
/mu gitóondo/ {both} 'in the morning'  
/ejó mu gitóondo/ {both} 'tomorrow morning' (Rodegem 1970:500)

### 11.2. Adverbs of Place

Another extremely common function of adverbs is to indicate a location or place.

- /epfó/ {both} *adv-place* 'down, below, under, at the bottom; lower'  
/haanzé/ {both} *adv-place* 'outside (of a house)'  
/abanyarwaanda babá haanzé y'íghúgu/ {both} 'Rwandans who live abroad...' (R29.3)  
/kure/ {both} *adv-place* 'far (away), distant, long off'  
/ni kure/ {both} 'It is far.' (Overdulve 1975:290, JN)  
/íghúgu caa kure/ {Rundi} 'a distant country' (Cristini 2000:78)  
/háno/ {both} *adv-place* 'here, hereabouts, in this area'  
/ndi háno muu nzu/ {both} 'Here I am in the house!' (Overdulve 1975:86, JN)  
/inó/ {both} *adv-place* 'here, hereabouts, in this area'  
/ngw iinó vubá/ {both} 'Come here quickly!' (Overdulve 1975:268, JN)  
/hagatí/ {both} *adv-place* 'in the middle (of), in between, among; inside'  
/hiino/ {both} *adv-place* {both} 'this way, over here'  
/hiirya nó hiino/ {both} 'here and there, near and far, back and forth, to and fro' (R8a, R30.1, R32, R34.4, JN)  
/haákurya/ {both} 'on the other side (of a body of water, of a border); beyond, on that side of'  
/haákurya y'úurúzi/ {both} 'on the other side of the river' (Overdulve 1975:119, JN)

### 11.3. Adverbs of Manner

There are several ways of indicating the manner in which some action is done.

- /buhoro/ {both} *adv-manner-n8-sg* 'slowly; slightly, a little; gently; softly'  
/vuga buhoro/ {both} 'Speak softly!' (Rodegem 1970:173)  
/buhoro búhoro/ {both} *adv-manner-n8-sg-redup* 'very slowly, carefully, gently, little by little' (Overdulve 1975:288)  
/buhoro búhoro ní rwó rugeendo/ {Rwanda} 'Slowly but surely.'  
/bwaango/ {both} *adv-manner-n8-sg* 'quickly, fast'  
/ningoga/ {both} *adv-manner* 'quickly, in a hurry, rapidly, hastily'  
/kora ningoga/ {both} 'Work quickly!'  
/vubá/ {both} *adv-manner* 'quickly, rapidly, hastily'  
/geenda aríko ugarúke vubá/ {both} 'Go, but come back quickly!'  
/bitaangáaje/ {both} *adv-manner = v-rel-imm-perf-n4-pl* 'remarkably, in an astonishing manner'  
/bahiinga bitaangáaje/ {Rwanda} 'They plow in an astonishing way.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:338)

### 11.4. Adverbs of Degree or Intensity

Some words are used to qualify a statement in terms of degree or intensity.

- /caane/ {Rundi}, /cyaane/ {Rwanda} 'very (much), quite, exceedingly'  
/ni bibí caane/ {Rundi}, /ni bibí cyaane/ {Rwanda} 'It is very bad.'  
/caane cáane/ {Rundi}, /cyane cyane/ {Rwanda} *adv-redup* 'especially, mostly, particularly'  
/rwóose/ {Rundi}, /rwóose/ {Rwanda} 'totally, entirely, altogether, absolutely, completely, quite' [denotes strong emphasis, intensive, or superlative]  
/bugúfi rwóose/ {Rundi}, /bugúfi rwóose/ {Rwanda} 'quite near, very close' (Overdulve 1975:271)  
/azi gusoma rwóose/ {Rwanda} 'He knows how to read perfectly.' (Overdulve 1975:224)  
/ahakurú/ {Rundi} 'especially, principally, in the first place'

### 11.5. Adverbs of Measure, Quantity, or Frequency

Some words, especially a few which are generally adjectives, can function to modify a verb.

- /dutóodutó/ {both} *adv-measure = adj-n7-pl-redup* 'tiny, very small (pieces)'  
 /ukazikatakata dutóodutó/ {both} *adv-measure* '... and you cut them into small pieces.' (R18, JN)  
 /rudéende/ {both} 'unique; [atr] sole; singular {ling}; [adv] only, solely'  
 /asigaranye umwáana umwé rudéende/ {both} 'He still has only one child.' (Rodegem 1970:68)  
 /rukuúmbi/ {both} *adj*<sup>459</sup> 'unique, sole, single'  
 «agapapuro kanditseho ingingo imwe rukumbi» {Rwanda} 'A small piece of paper on which is written but a single issue.' (R32)  
 /keénshi/ {both} 'often, many times'  
 /baáje keénshi/ {both} 'They came often.' (Bizimana 1998:362, JN)  
 /bikabíje/ {both} 'too much, in excess'  
 /avuga bikabíje/ {both} 'He talks too much.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:338)

### 11.6. Adverbs of Opinion

A few words function as adverbs which express an opinion on the part of the speaker. Normally, such words are either interjections (§14) or ideophones (§15).

- /aháarí/ {Rwanda} 'maybe, possibly, perhaps'  
 /aháarí uzaagaruka/ {Rwanda} 'Maybe you will come back.' (Bizimana 1998:235)  
 /buruúndu/ {Rundi}, /buruundú/ {Rwanda} 'definitely, for sure, decidedly, for good'  
 /búrya/ {both} 'in fact, essentially'  
 /búrya sínamuboonye/ {both} 'In fact, I didn't see him.' (Bizimana 1998:229)  
 /wéenda/ {Rwanda} 'maybe, perhaps' (R34.4)  
 /wéenda arageenda/ {Rwanda} 'Maybe he will go.' (Bizimana 1998:232)  
 /kokó/ {Rundi}, /kókó/ {Rwanda} 'really, truly'  
 /ararwáaye kókó/ {Rwanda} 'He is really sick.'

### 11.7. Adverb Derivation

Adverbial expressions and phrases can be derived in several ways in both Kirundi and Kinyarwanda. There are two conjunctions (**nka-** and **na-**) which introduce adverbial phrases, and several noun classes can assume adverbial functions.

#### 11.7.1. Adverbs of Comparison (nka-)

Adverbial statements involving comparison (SIMILATIVE ADVERBS) are marked by /nka/ {both} *like. such as*. The SIMILATIVE PRONOUNS, e.g., /nkaáwe/ {both} *like you*, /nkawé/ {both} *like him, her*, were treated in §4.11 and are detailed in Table 68.

- /ejo nk'iiki gihe/ {both} 'around this time tomorrow' (Overdulve 1975:170, JN)  
 /ageenda nk'ú mugabo/ {both} 'He walks like a man.' (Overdulve 1975:170, JN)  
 /akora nka Mugabo/ {both} 'He works like Mugabo.' (Overdulve 1975:170, JN)

#### 11.7.2. Adverbs Marked by na-

Several expressions are marked by the conjunction /na/.

- /náabí/ {both} 'badly, poorly, unsatisfactorily'  
 /néézá/ {both} 'well, nicely, satisfactorily, fine'  
 /kaáandi yakorana néézá n'ábaáandi/ {Rundi} 'Moreover, she worked well with others.' (R17.7)  
 /na gáto/ {both} 'at all'  
 /sinayishiimye na gáto/ {both} 'I wasn't satisfied with it at all.' (R1)

<sup>459</sup> Mostly an adjective, e.g., /umwáana umwé rukuúmbi/ {Rwanda} 'an only child' (Jacob 1986 #2:292)

### 11.7.3. Adverbs Derived from Nouns

Reduced forms in several noun classes can function adverbially. Note how Kinyarwanda tends to favor some nouns in group 4 while Kirundi uses nouns in group 6 to express the same idea.

n4

**/kizuúngu/** {both} *adv-n4-sg* 'like a white person; in a European way'

**/iceése/** {Rundi} *adv-n4-sg* 'clearly, openly, out in the open, publicly'

**/kigabo/** {both} *adv-n4-sg* 'like a man' [Alt: **/rugabo/** {Rundi} BELOW]

**/kigoré/** {both} *adv-n4-sg* 'like a woman' [Alt: **/rugoré/** {Rundi} BELOW]

**/bibí/** {both} *adv-n4-pl* 'badly, poorly, not in a good manner'

n6

**/rugabo/** {Rundi} *adv-n6-sg* 'like a man' [Cf: **/kigabo/** {both} ABOVE]

**/rugoré/** {Rundi} *adv-n6-sg* 'like a woman' [Cf: **/kigoré/** {both} ABOVE]

n8

**/butaambwe/** {Rundi} *adv-n8-sg* 'like a lion'

**/kuroha butaambwe/** {Rundi} 'To roar as a lion,' (Cristini 2000:294)

**/bukóokó/** {both} *adv-n8-sg* 'like an animal'

n10

**/haasí/** {both} *adv-loc-n10a* 'down, on the ground; below (vertical)'

**/haruguru/** {both} *adv-loc-n10a* 'above, on high, higher up'

**/haanyuma/** {both} *adv-loc-n10a* 'after, afterwards, later'

**/ható/** {both} *adv-loc-n10a* 'soon, a little later on (the same day)'

n11

**/kwiínshi/** {both} *adv-invar-n11* 'differently'

**/abaantu biiyumvira kwiínshi/** {Rundi} (JN), **/abaantu bateekereza kwiínshi/** {Rwanda} (Bizimana 1998:227) 'People think differently.'

**/gusa/** {both} *adv-invar-n11* 'for no reason; for nothing; free, gratis'

## 12. CONJUNCTIONS AND COORDINATION

Since verbs can be coordinated in several different ways by the use of various moods or markers, conjunctions are not always required in Kirundi and Kinyarwanda as they are in English. For example, PARTICIPIAL constructions can serve as TEMPORAL clauses, and do not require the use of conjunctions such as *if* or *when*.

/akíri umwáana yarakúbaganaga caane/ {Rundi} (JN), /akíri umwáana yarakúbaganaga cyaane/ {Rwanda} {LN} *v-cop-loc-part-persist* 'When he was still young, he was a very hyperactive child.'

/akúretse yooba atágirá umujinyá/ {Rundi} (JN), /akúretse yaaba atágirá umujinyá/ {Rwanda} (Bizimana 1998:296) *v-part-imm-perf* 'If he lets you go, he would not be furious.'

SUBJUNCTIVE constructions can follow an imperative to show a SERIES OF COMMANDS, doing away with the need for *and*.

/ngwiinó wiicáre/ {both} *v-sub-imm* 'Come in and sit down!' (LN)

Similarly, the SUBSECUTIVE can show a SEQUENCE OF ACTIONS, so that a conjunction like *and* or *then* is not required.

/iyo umuuntu ashaajé akarwáara agapfá/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:212), /iyo umuuntu ashaajé ararwáara agapfá/ {both} (JN, LN) *v-seq-imm* 'When a man grows old, he then gets sick and dies.'

There is also the CONJUNCTIVE VERB INFIX *-na-*, which carries the sense of *even*.

«Ni kuki hajya havugwa inzara ikanahitana abantu?» {Rwanda} *v-seq+na* 'How can there sometimes be talk about a famine that even kills off people?' (R32)

/barakóra bakaníga/ {both} *v-seq+na* 'They work and they even study.' (JN, LN)

Although conjunctions may not be required as often as they may be in English, there are several conjunctions or complementizers in both dialects, several of which govern various moods, similar to auxiliary verbs.<sup>460</sup>

### 12.1. Coordinating or Non-Influencing Conjunctions

There are a group of conjunctions that simply join words, phrases, or clauses, but do not govern any following verb. Note that some are infinitive forms.

/arí izúuba arí jyé, ukuundá ikiihe/ {Rwanda} 'Between me and Sun, whom do you love?' (R28.5)

«aríko nya sukari ntutuyibone ku masoko» {Rundi} '... and yet we could not find that sugar in the marketplace.' (R33.2)

/ntaa kíindi kiyaago atári Bitama/ {Rundi} 'There was no other topic of conversation except Bitama.' (R25)

/nóone turabyúumva, aríko ejó twaári tútarábyúumva/ {Rwanda} 'Now we understand it, but yesterday we hadn't understood it yet.' (Overdulse 1975:262)

/bagashira inkóno iruhaánde y'iziiko cáanké ku ruseenge/ {Rundi} '... and they place the pots on the side of the hearth or on a rack.' (R15)

/urashaaka iri tára cáanké ririíya/ {Rundi} (JN), /urashaaka iri tára cyángwá ririíya/ (Overdulse 1975:89) {Rwanda} 'Do you want this lamp or that one?'

/umushyitsi ariicara kaánda araganya/ {Rwanda} 'The visitor sits down and moreover groans.' (Overdulse 1975:267)

/kuva i mugera gushika i gatára/ {Rundi} 'from Mugerá to Gatara' (Cristini 2000:305)

/kuva i kigali kugera i gitaráma/ {Rwanda} 'from Kigali to Gitarama' (LN)

/twiívuuje máze turataaha/ {both} 'We got ourselves treated and then we went home.' (Jacob 1986 #2:341, JN)

/máze ishaaka ryaawe riraangúuke/ {Rundi} '... and Thy Will be done' (Cristini 2000:304)

<sup>460</sup> Perhaps the most thorough treatment in the literature is that of Cristini (2000:303–28) where dozens of forms are discussed and exemplified.

## Chapter 12: Conjunctions and Coordination

- «Iroshima **na** Nagasaki» {both} 'Hiroshima and Nagasaki' (R37.4)  
 /Peétero **na** Yóhaána/ {Rwanda} 'Peter and John' (Overdulve 1975:224)  
 /Peetéro **na** Páaúlo/ {Rundi} 'Peter and Paul' (Cristini 2000:325)  
 /hiírya **nó** hiíno/ {both} 'here and there' (R8, R30.1, R32, R34.4)  
 /kuvúga **nó** kwúumva/ {both} 'to talk and to listen' (Cristini 2000:325)

**Table 121. Coordinating or Non-Influencing Conjunctions**

Conjunction	dialect	English
<b>arí ... arí</b>	{both}	whether ... or; between ... or
<b>aríko</b>	{both}	but, however, nevertheless [transitional rather than contrastive]
<b>atári</b>	{Rundi}	except [lit. it not being]
<b>caánké</b> <b>cyáangwá</b>	{Rundi} {Rwanda}	or
<b>gushika</b> <b>kugera</b>	{Rundi} {both}	to, until, up to
<b>kuva</b>	{both}	from, since
<b>máze</b>	{both}	and then, afterward, finally, in short [new series of ideas]
<b>nó</b> <b>na</b> <b>n'</b>	{both}	and [before a locative or infinitive] and [before a consonant] and [before a vowel]

The conjunctions **na-** and **nka-** involve details of vowel length and tone,<sup>461</sup> summarized in Table 122. They parallel the tonality of possessive constructions (§3.6.3.1). If the word following a connective begins with a vowel, then the /a/ of the connective drops and the first vowel receives high tone. If the next vowel has high tone, then the first vowel is lengthened. If, on the other hand, the following word begins with a consonant, if it is low toned then the resulting form will also be low toned throughout; if it has a high tone, then the first vowel after the connective will also acquire high tone.

**Table 122. Vowel Length and Tone After Conjunctions na- and nka-**

next	tone	form	tone	length	tone rule(s)	example
C	low	<b>na</b> <b>nka</b>	low	short	L	<b>na perezida</b> 'and a president' <b>nka perezida</b> 'like a president'
C	high	<b>na</b>	high	short	H+R	<b>na mwáarimú</b> 'and a teacher' <b>nka mwáarimú</b> 'like a teacher'
V	low	<b>n'</b>	high	short	H+L	<b>n'índa</b> 'with a stomach' <b>nk'índa</b> 'like a stomach'
V	high next mora	<b>n'</b>	high first mora	long	H+VL	<b>n'íisúka</b> 'with a hoe' <b>nk'íisúka</b> 'like a hoe' <b>naá nde</b> 'by whom?' [root: <b>ndé</b> ]
V	high later mora	<b>n'C</b> (short cons)	high	short	H+R	<b>inkóno n'ítaábi</b> 'pipe and tobacco'
V	high later mora	<b>n'CC</b> (long cons)	high	long	H+R	<b>n'úumwáarimú</b> 'with a teacher' <b>nk'úumwáarimú</b> 'like a teacher'
V pro / deic	low	<b>n'</b>	high second mora	long	A2	<b>naáha</b> 'and this place' <b>nkaáha</b> 'like this place'
C pro / deic	low	<b>naa</b>	high second mora	long	A2	<b>naánjye</b> 'and me; with me' <b>nkaáwe</b> 'like you' <b>naátwe</b> 'and us; with us'
V pro / deic	high	<b>nk'</b> <b>n'</b>	high first mora	long	H+VL+E	<b>nkúukó</b> <b>núubwó</b>

<sup>461</sup> These tonal and length conditions are discussed in Overdulve 1975:47f,83 and in Kimenyi 2002:138ff.



## 12.2. Subordinating Conjunctions

Similar to auxiliary verbs (see §10.2), there are many conjunctions which govern a particular mood. In fact, they have all the mood compliments as do auxiliaries (infinitive, participial, subjunctive), but they also govern relative constructions. The learner should be wary of those that appear in more than one table below because sometimes there are subtle differences in meaning or function.

### 12.2.1. Conjunctions Governing the Relative

By far the most frequent mood required by a conjunction is the RELATIVE. Several of these are exemplified immediately below and presented in Table 123.

- /ahó baahiinzé baahaboonye inzóka/ {Rwanda} 'In the place where they were cultivating, they found a snake.' (Overdulve 1975:186)
- /hamwé yapfá/ {Rundi} 'When he died ...' (JN)
- /haakó ndyá, ngiye gukóra/ {Rundi} 'Instead of eating, I'll go to work.' (Cristini 2000:314)
- /ingéne imbeba zaáje mu ntáará/ {Rundi} 'How mice came to the region.' (R27)
- /yeemera kó yagatwaáye/ {both} 'He admitted that he took it.' (R7)
- /nzi kw'ákundá amafaraanga cyaane/ {Rwanda} 'I know that he loves money very much.' (Overdulve 1975:159)
- /baagiye mw iivuuriro kugira ngo badapfá/ {Rwanda} 'They went to the infirmary so they wouldn't die.'
- /yaabitáanze kukó baamuhasé/ {Rwanda} 'He handed them over because they pressured him.' (Overdulve 1975:293)
- /nasiivye kukó narwáaye/ {Rundi} 'I was absent because I was sick.' (Cristini 2000:315)
- «kuko navukanye amaguru abiri nk'abandi» {both} 'Because I was born with two legs like everybody else.' (R34.2)
- /ní haagirá uwukómereka ntuúze uvugé ngo sinakúbwíye/ {Rundi} 'If there is someone who gets hurt, you should not say that I didn't warn you.' (R23)
- /ni waantsiúnda uraándya/ {Rundi} 'If you beat me, you will eat me.' (R27.4)
- /níindamúka mbáaye miniisítiri/ {Rwanda} 'In case I become a minister.' (R32)
- /núuramúka wáanze/ {Rwanda} 'In case you refuse.' (R28.9)
- /níintaboná inkwí, barí buburáare/ {Rwanda} 'If I don't find firewood, they would go to bed hungry.' (R34.3)
- /nikó twaábisaanze/ {both} 'That's how we found it.' (R38.3)
- /mbuze ukuuntu ngirá/ {both} 'I do not know what to do.' [lit: how that I do] (JN, LN)
- /ubwó ntáa murimo uhári táaha/ {Rwanda} 'Since there is work, go home.'
- /barabóna ukó twoogá/ {both} 'They will see how we swim.' (Overdulve 1975:186)
- /ndasaba yúuko mucecéka/ {both} 'I ask that you keep quiet.'
- /mubwiire yúuko ntari buuzé/ {both} 'Tell him that I won't come.' (Overdulve 1975:170, JN)

There are just a few conjunctions that require a RELATIVE CONDITIONAL construction (see Table 124).

- /ahó yoovuzé/ {Rundi}, /ahó yaavuzé/ {Rwanda} 'instead of saying'
- /haakó woogaaniira, wookóra/ {Rundi} 'Rather than talking, you should work.' (Cristini 2000:314)
- /niiyó yoobá yáapfúuye noogeendayó/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:282), /niiyó yaabá yáapfúuye naajyayó/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'Even if he would have died, I would still go there (elsewhere).'
- /icó niipfúuza núkó mwoohiirwá/ {Rundi} /icyó niifúuza núkó mwaahiirwá/ {Rwanda} 'What I wish is that you be happy.'
- /vyiizá n'uukó yootaahá/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:320), /ibyiizá n'uukó yaataahá/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'It is better that he should go home.'

Table 123. Conjunctions Governing the Relative

Conjunction	dialect	English
<b>ahó</b>	{both}	where, in the place which [locative]
<b>ahó</b>	{both}	when, while, at the time which [temporal]
<b>ahó</b>	{Rwanda}	after, since [temporal]
<b>haakó</b>	{Rundi}	rather than, instead of
<b>hamwé</b>	{Rundi}	when, the moment that
<b>igihe</b>	{both}	when, the time that
<b>ingéne ukugéne</b>	{Rundi}	how
<b>iyó</b>	{both}	if, when, whenever, each time that
<b>kó</b> <b>kw'</b> [+ vowel]	{both}	that [after a psych verb: say, ask, know, doubt, want, see] that [before a vowel]
<b>kugira ngo</b>	{Rwanda}	lest, so that not, in order that ... not [negative only]
<b>kukó</b>	{both}	because
<b>ni</b> <b>n'</b> [+ vowel]	{both}	if, in case [hypothetical, followed by an immediate in Rwanda and recent in Rundi]
<b>nikó</b>	{both}	that is what; that is how ... [indicating the manner or process of a subsequent action]
<b>ubwó</b>	{both}	when, since, at the moment that
<b>ukó</b>	{both}	how, however, as, in the manner which
<b>ukuuntu</b>	{both}	how
<b>yúukó</b>	{both}	that; whether [after a psych verb: say, ask, know, doubt, want, see, deny]

Table 124. Conjunctions Governing the Relative Conditional

Conjunction	dialect	English
<b>ahó</b>	{both}	rather than, instead of
<b>haakó</b>	{Rundi}	rather than, instead of
<b>níiyó</b>	{both}	even if
<b>'nuukó</b>	{both}	it is that [statement of fact]

### 12.2.2. Conjunctions Governing the Participial

The second most frequent mood required by a conjunction is the PARTICIPIAL.

/kaándi yíyicariye muu nzu/ {both} 'Although he is just sitting at home...' (R37.3)

/níibá ubúzi bívuge/ {both} 'If you know it, say it!' (DRF:281)

«niba utanyuzwe, cyo tujye kureba ikidukiranura» {Rwanda} 'If you are not satisfied, though, let's go look for a way to settle our dispute.' (R28.2)

/iyáabá wákoraga i bukaávu, waavuze igiswáyiré gusa/ {Rwanda} 'If you worked in Bukavu, you would just speak Swahili.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:298)

/náambá ugira ngo ndakúbeesha/ {Rundi} 'Maybe you think that I am lying to you.' (DRF:274)

Table 125. Conjunctions Governing the Participial

Conjunction	dialect	English
<b>iyáabá</b>	{both}	if [governs a participial recent verb and is followed by a conditional perfect]
<b>kaáandi</b>	{both}	although, even if
<b>níibá</b>	{both}	if (it is so) [conditional; implies some restriction or reservation]
<b>náambá</b>	{Rundi}	if, perhaps [expressing some doubt]

### 12.2.3. Conjunctions Governing the Infinitive

There are several conjunctions that take an INFINITIVE complement.

/abaantu **ahó** kuunshiimira baríitweengera/ {both} 'But instead of thanking me, people just laugh.' (R19)

/ahó kuvúga/ {both} 'instead of speaking' (Overdulve 1975:181)

/kirazira **kaáandi** kunywá inzogá/ {both} '... and it is forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages.' (R31.5)

/kuvúga **nó** kwúumva/ {both} 'to talk and to listen' (Cristini 2000:325)

/nzi yúuk' ushobora kuúmfasha, **nikó** kugusaanga/ 'I know that you are able to help me, that is why I have come to you.'

Table 126. Conjunctions Governing the Infinitive

Conjunction	dialect	English
<b>ahó</b>	{both}	rather than, instead of
<b>kaáandi</b>	{both}	
<b>nó</b>	{both}	and to VERB, also to VERB; and VERBng
<b>nikó</b>	{Rwanda}	and so, therefore, that is why, that's how [indicating the reason for a subsequent action]

### 12.2.4. Conjunctions Governing the Subjunctive

There are just a few conjunctions that take an SUBJUNCTIVE complement.

/kugira coorohé, kiziingwé/ {Rundi} 'So that it would be supple and pliable.' (R5)

/kugira **ngo** turoonké isúkaári/ {both} 'So that we should obtain sugar.' (R33.3)

/baramúbwiira **ngw** azé/ {both} 'They are telling him that he should come.' (Overdulve 1975:148)

/aramúbwiira **ngo** navyíhoze/ {Rundi} 'He tells him that he shouldn't worry.' (R23)

/icy'úibáanzé **ngo** twiiháatire gusoma/ {Rwanda} 'The most important thing is that we should make an effort to read.' (R4)

/umugaanga **ngo** yiinjíre asaanga amáze gupfá/ {both} 'The doctor notices as soon as he enters that he has just died.' (Overdulve 1975:248)

Table 127. Conjunctions Governing the Subjunctive

Conjunction	dialect	English
<b>kugira</b> <b>kugira ngo</b>	{both}	to, so that, in order that
<b>ngo</b> <b>ngw</b>	{both}	that; so that, in order that [before a consonant] that; so that, in order that [before a vowel]
<b>ngo</b> <b>ngw</b>	{both}	when, just as, as soon as, at the same time as [before a consonant] when, just as, as soon as, at the same time as [before a vowel]

### 12.2.5. Conjunctions Governing the Indicative

Very few conjunctions take an INDICATIVE complement.

«**urabona ga wa mugabo ngo uza kuntega nihitira**» {Rundi} 'Do you realize that you come to snare me while I just pass by?' ( R27.2)

/**yaahakanye ngo ntaabiizi**/ {Rundi} (JN), /**yaahakanye ngo ntaabiizi**/ {both} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:312) 'He denied that he doesn't know it.'

/**ngw'araaza**/ {both} 'Apparently he will come.' (Overdulve 1975:247)

/**bababajwe núukó baabiivye**/ {Rundi} 'They are troubled because they stole them.' (Cristini 2000:320)

**Table 128. Conjunctions Governing the Indicative**

Conjunction	dialect	English
<b>ngo</b> <b>ngw</b>	{both}	that [statement of fact, before a consonant] that [statement of fact, before a vowel]
<b>ngo</b> <b>ngw</b>	{both}	maybe, it seems as if, probably, suppose that [introduces some doubt or uncertainty to a statement]
<b>núukó</b>	{both}	because, due to, and that, on account of

### 13. INTERROGATIVES AND QUESTION WORDS

Question words are often described as interrogative pronouns. However, only a few are strictly "pro-nouns" (i.e., they stand for nouns).<sup>462</sup> In fact, these words, which serve to mark a special sentence type, straddle the entire part-of-speech system of any given language since they inquire after common nouns (*what?*, *which?*), personal nouns (*who?*), numerals (*how many?*, *how much?*), adjectives or adverbs (*how?*), time (*when?*), place (*where?*), and so on.

#### 13.1. The Overall Structure of Question Sentences

As with English, certain statements in Kirundi and Kinyarwanda can be turned into questions by their intonation.<sup>463</sup>

You're going↓. [simple statement]

You're going↑? [question]

The learner should listen carefully to the pitch contours of a native speaker (or the recording accompanying the reading selections in Nibagwire and Zorc 2002) on the following questions.

/urabóna ga wa mugabo ngo uza kuúntega níhitira?/ {Rundi} 'Do you realize that you happened to catch me when I was merely passing by?' (R27.2)

/wagira ngo nca nkúrekura?/ {Rundi} 'Did you think that I would immediately set you free?' (R27.3)

/waahuurá n'íizúuba ntuúrive imbere?/ {both} 'You meet the sun and yet don't get out of its way?' (R28.1, JN)

/ntubiízi?/ {both} 'Don't you know it?' (Rodegem 1967:162)

/muzaajya i Kigali ejó?/ {Rwanda} 'Will you go to Kigali tomorrow?' (Overdulve 1975:219)

/uzi i Gitarama?/ {Rwanda} 'Have you been to Gitarama?' (Overdulve 1975:143)

There are several words available in both dialects to MARK QUESTIONS explicitly (Table 129). Most of them come first in their sentence, although /sé/ may follow a phrase or even come sentence final.

/mbeéga mwaá bagabo n'íbiki/ {Rundi} 'Hey, guys, what's up?' (R27.8, JN)

/mbeése nóoné urabiízi?/ {Rundi} 'Are you up-to-date?' (Rodegem 1970:261)

/mbeesé uzaagaruka uté?/ {Rwanda} 'How are you going to come back?' (Jacob 1986 #2:342)

/mbeesé muri aaho?/ {Rwanda} 'Hello!, How are you' (Jacob 1986 #2:342)

/esé uraaza cyangwa ntúuzá/ {Rwanda} 'Are you coming or not?' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:156)

«ngo ko bo batize se ntibariho?» 'They say that they did not go to school, yet aren't they alive?' {both} (R38.6)

«byaba biterwa se n'uko abandi babanena?» {Rwanda} 'Is this because others look down on them?' (R38.8)

«baba aribo se bibanda muri bene wabo?» {Rwanda} 'Is this because they cling to their own kind?' (R38.8)

/bíte sé?/ {Rwanda} 'What's up?' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:156)

/muzaajya i Kigali ejó sé?/ {Rwanda} 'Will you go to Kigali tomorrow?' (Overdulve 1975:219)

/ubwo kuri iyi sí hari uwó tuunganyá amarushwá?/ {Rundi} 'Is there anyone on this earth with whom we can really compare in misfortune?' (R19)

**Table 129. Question Markers**

Question Marker	Dialect	English
esé	{both}	is it? [question marker]
mbeéga	{both}	is it so? [question marker that introduces a query]
mbeése	{Rundi}	is it? [question marker]
mbeesé	{Rwanda}	

<sup>462</sup> Of the forms discussed below, only four sets are NOMINAL: /ndé/ n1a who?, /-he/ n+class which?, /-kí/ n+class and /íkí/ n4-invar what?, /-ngáhé/ qw-num how many? Words for how?, when?, where? are ADVERBS.

<sup>463</sup> See Overdulve 1975:19f,219 for a brief overview of intonation in Kinyarwanda.

s é	{both}	is it? [question marker]
ubwo	{both}	really?, is it so? [asking for verification or expecting a negative response]

### 13.2. 'Who?' - Person Noun Interrogative (ndé, baandé)

The form /ndé/ {both} *who?*, *which person?* is mainly used for humans. It is a member of noun group *1a*, so in the singular, it never varies, and takes no prefix (zero). In the plural, it takes the prefix /baa-/.<sup>464</sup>

- /uri ndé?/ {both} 'Who are you?' [singular] (Ntahokaja 1994:103)
- /muri baandé?/ {both} 'Who are you?' [plural] (Ntahokaja 1994:103)
- /wiitwa ndé?/ {both} 'What 's your name?' (Overdulve 1975:156)
- /wakubiswe naa ndé?/ {both} 'By whom were you hit?' (LN, JN)
- /ni baandé?/ {both} 'Who are they?' (Rodegem 1967:122)
- /muroondera baandé?/ {Rundi} 'Whom are you looking for?' (Ntahokaja 1994:103)
- /abaantu baahozé aha ní baandé?/ {both} 'Who are the people who were here?' (Ntahokaja 1976::13)
- /ntábáhó baacyuurwa naá nde mw'iiuumbi?/ {Rwanda} 'If I did not exist, who would lead them to their quarters?' (R28.2)

It is usually found after the verb (sentence final), but can be placed before it for emphasis. In such circumstances, it is preceded by the copulative and becomes part of a relative construction.

- /ni ndé yagukubise?/ {Rundi} (JN), /ni ndé wagukubise?/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'Who hit you?'
- /ni ndé yarí kumenya yúuko urí izúuba?/ {Rundi} (JN), /ni ndé warí kumenya yúuko urí izúuba?/ {Rwanda} (R28.2) 'Who would know that you are Sun?'
- /ni baandé baabivuzé?/ {both} 'Who said it?' (Overdulve 1975:157)

### 13.3. 'What?' (invariable /ikí/ or root /-kí/)

The invariable /ikí/, which has the reduced form /kí/ when following a head noun, is a GENERIC INTERROGATIVE for *what?* It come phrase or sentence final, after a verb (if there is one). It seeks information, implying complete ignorance of what is being discussed.<sup>465</sup>

- /ut'ikí?/ {both} 'What are you saying?' (Overdulve 1975:134, Rodegem 1967:80)
- «Icyo n'ikí? N'urukwavu.» {both} 'What is that? It is a rabbit.' (Hands 1952:191, JN)
- /undutiisha ikí?/ {both} 'What makes you better than me?' (R28.2)
- /n'ukuvúga ikí?/ {both} 'What does that mean?' (Rodegem 1967:80)
- /urashaaka ikí?/ {both} 'What do you want?' (Overdulve 1975:233)
- /ushaaka ikí mu gihúgu?/ {both} 'What are you looking for in the country?' (R28.1)
- /baaguze ikí?/ {both} 'What did they buy?' (Overdulve 1975:134)
- «icyo kiganiro cyari ikí?» {both} 'What was that conversation about?' (R40.3, JN)
- /ubu ní magiingo kíkí?/ {Rundi} (Rodegem 1967:155), /ubu ní gihe kíkí?/ {Rwanda} (Hands 1952:189, LN) 'What time is it now?'
- /iyi nyama ní bwóoko kíkí?/ {both} 'What kind of<sup>466</sup> meat is this?' (Rodegem 1967:155)
- /uyo mwána arizwa n'íikíkí?/ {Rundi} 'Why is that child is crying?' (Cristini 2000:88)
- «Mbes'iki n'iki?» {Rwanda} 'What is this?' [ignorance] (Hands 1952:190)
- «Ibyo uvuze ubitewe n'iki?» {Rwanda} 'What makes you talk that way?' (R28.2)
- «impamvu yo kwibonekeza uyikura ku kíkí?» {Rwanda} 'To what do you attribute your attracting notice?' (R28.1)

<sup>464</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:189, Hurel 1959:59, Overdulve 1975:142,156, Dubnova 1984:50; for Kirundi, see Ntahokaja 1976:103 or 1994:103, Cristini 2000:103,141.

<sup>465</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:50,62,189-191,263, Overdulve 1975:134f; for Kirundi, see Cristini 2000:88,314.

<sup>466</sup> This is an example of the generic *what?* in its reduced form, /kíkí/. The invariable interrogative /kíkí/ (§13.4) means *what kind of?* all by itself. Here /bwóoko/ supplies the meaning *kind* or *type (of)*.

When declined (see Table 130), this question word refers to someone or something already mentioned, and is seeking further information.<sup>467</sup> Both Kirundi<sup>468</sup> and Kinyarwanda follow root tonality (high tone on the final monosyllabic root **kí**).

- /n'umukí/ {Rundi} 'What kind of person? (Cristini 2000:87, JN)  
 /uyu mugabo n'úumukí?/ {Rwanda} 'This man is of what nationality?' (Overdulve 1975:233)  
 /ibyó bashaaká n'íibikí?/ {Rwanda} 'What kinds of things do they want?' (Overdulve 1975:233)  
 «mbes'ibi n'ibiki?» {Rwanda} 'What are these?' (Hands 1952:189)  
 /iyo náama yategetse ibikí n'íibikí?/ {both} 'What was the point of that meeting?' (R4)  
 «ni imiki? (imyambi)» {Rwanda} 'which arrows?' (Hurel 1959:60)  
 «Reba mu gitabo. Mu giki?» {Rwanda} 'Look in the book. In what?' (not heard) (Hands 1952:189)  
 «Dore, yazany'inzoga! Uvuze kw ar' inki?» {Rwanda} 'See, he has brought beer! What did you say it was?' (Hands 1952:189)  
 «Mbese Gakeri n'umukí?» {Rwanda} 'What is Gakeri? (a boy or a girl); What is Gakeri's nationality or status?' (Hands 1952:190)  
 «Uvuze k'urwo ar'uruki? N'urukwavu.» {both} 'What did you say it was? It is a rabbit. (Hands 1952:191, JN)

Table 130. Declined forms of -ki 'which?'

class	Rundi-Rwanda	English
n1-sg	<b>umukí</b>	what?, which (one)?
n1-pl	<b>abakí</b>	what?, which (ones)?
n2-sg	<b>umukí</b>	what?, which (one)?
n2-pl	<b>imikí</b>	what?, which (ones)?
n3-sg	<b>ikí</b> <b>irikí</b>	what?, which (one)? [generic as well as group specific]
n3-pl	<b>amakí</b>	what?, which (ones)?
n4-sg	<b>igikí</b>	what?, which (one)?
n4-pl	<b>ibikí</b>	what?, which (ones)?
n5-sg	<b>inkí</b>	what?, which (one)?
n5-pl	<b>inkí</b>	what?, which (ones)?
n6-sg	<b>urukí</b>	what?, which (one)?
n6-pl	<b>inkí</b>	what?, which (ones)?
n7-sg	<b>agakí</b>	what?, which (one)?
n7-pl	<b>udukí</b>	what?, which (ones)?
n8-sg	<b>ubukí</b>	what?, which (one)?
n8-pl	<b>amakí</b>	what?, which (ones)?
n9-sg	<b>ugukí</b>	what?, which (one)?
n9-pl	<b>amakí</b>	what?, which (ones)?
n10-loc	<b>ahakí</b>	what (place)?, which (place)? what (places)?, which (places)?

#### 13.4. 'What kind or sort of?' (invariable /kí/)

There is an INVARIABLE INTERROGATIVE /kí/ {both} that follows a noun and is used to inquire about the type, characteristics, or origin of the person or item in question.<sup>469</sup> Its head noun usually appears after a copulative (**ni, si, ari, atari**, etc.).

<sup>467</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:189f, Hurel 1959:59–60, Overdulve 1975:233, Dubnova 1984:50; for Kirundi, see Cristini 2000:87–88.

<sup>468</sup> The southeastern dialect of Kirundi follows strong (C'Vkí) vs. weak (Vkí) tonality. To reflect this, all of the forms in Cristini 2000:88 should have had the little stick rather than the grave accent. We are grateful to Juvenal Ndayiragije (pc) for pointing out this typographical error with tonal implications.

<sup>469</sup> See Hands 1952:189,263, Hurel 1959:59, Overdulve 1975:233.

- /n'umuuntu kí?/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:88), /ni muuntu kí?/ {Rwanda} 'What sort of person is he?' (Overdulve 1975:233, Hands 1952:189,263)  
 /ni mutí kí?/ {both} 'What sort of medicine is it?' (Overdulve 1975:233, Hands 1952:263, JN)  
 /ni kiintu kí?/ {both} 'What kind of thing is it?' (Overdulve 1975:233, JN)  
 «Mbes' iki ni giti kí?» {both} 'What sort of tree is this?' (Hands 1952:189, JN)  
 «Mbes Gakeri ni muntu kí?» {Rwanda} 'What sort of person is Gakeri? (what is he like, what is wrong with him?)' (Hands 1952:191)  
 /gaáre kí?/ {Rwanda} 'What kind of bicycle?' (Overdulve 1975:233)

### 13.5. 'Which (of two or several)?' (-:he)

The root /-:he/ {both} is an ENUMERATIVE INTERROGATIVE in that it implies *what?*, *which?* (of several possibilities).<sup>470</sup> It is fully inflected for all major noun groups and has both preposed and postposed forms (see Table 131). There are tonal differences between the two dialects throughout: Rundi forms have two high tones (*Irule* + *Rrule*) while Rwanda have but one (*Mrule*). When this interrogative precedes a noun or follows a verb as its object, it is in its full form (any following noun is in its reduced form).

- /uwúuhé mugabo?/ {Rundi} (JN), /uwúúhe mugabo?/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:218) *qw-n1-sg* 'which man?'  
 /watábaawe n'uúwuuhé muuntu?/ {Rundi} *qw-n1-sg-agent* 'Which individual helped you out?' (Cristini 2000:135)  
 /abáahé bahuúngu?/ {Rundi} *qw-n1-pl* 'which boys?' (Cristini 2000:135)  
 /uravúga abaáhe?/ {Rwanda} *qw-n1-pl* 'Which ones are you talking about?' (Bizimana 1998:194)  
 /uwúúhe mutí?/ {Rwanda} *qw-n2-sg* 'which medicine?' (LN)  
 /uyu mutí ní uwúúhe?/ {Rwanda} *qw-n2-sg* 'That medicine, which one is it?' (Hurel 1959:59)  
 /ayaáhe matá?/ {Rwanda} *qw-n3-pl* 'which milk?' (Overdulve 1975:218)  
 /arí izúuba arí jye, ukuunda ikiíhe?/ {Rwanda} *qw-n4-sg* 'Between me and Sun, whom do you love?' (R28.5)  
 /ushimye ibíihé?/ {Rundi} *qw-n4-pl* 'Which ones do you prefer (books)?' (Ntahokaja 1994:103)  
 /iyííhe nká?/ {Rwanda} *qw-n5-sg* 'which cow?' (Overdulve 1975:218)  
 /mbesé inzira ngufí n'íyííhe?/ {Rwanda} *cop+qw-n5-sg* 'Which one is the short path?' (Overdulve 1975:220)  
 /izíihé nká zirwaayé?/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:135, JN), /iziíhe nká zirwaayé?/ {Rwanda} (LN, JN) *qw-n5-pl* 'Which cows are sick?'

For reduced forms, Kirundi and Kinyarwanda have a different distribution. In Rwanda, a short form follows the head noun and any conjunction or preposition; the Rundi short form is used exclusively after prepositions. Note that Rundi uses the full form either before or after the noun.

- /nka wúúhe wúundi?/ {Rwanda} *qw-n1-sg-red* 'like who else?' (Bizimana 1998:194)  
 /umuúsi uwúúhé/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:134) *qw-n2-sg*, /umuúnsi wúúhe/ {Rwanda} (LN) *qw-n2-sg-red* 'which day?'  
 /amatá yáahe?/ {Rwanda} *qw-n3-pl-red* 'which milk?' (Overdulve 1975:218)  
 /mu bíihé bitabo/ {Rundi}, /mu bííhe bitabo/ {Rwanda} *qw-n4-pl-red* 'in which books?'  
 /inká izíihé zirwaayé/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:135, JN) *qw-n5-pl*, /inká ziiíhe zirwaayé/ {Rwanda} (LN, JN) *qw-n5-pl-red* 'Which cows are sick?'  
 /wavúukiye mu kíihé gihúgu?/ {Rundi} (Cristini 2000:135, Rodegem 1967:28), /wavúukiye mu kííhe gihúgu/ {Rwanda} (LN) *qw-n4-sg-red* 'In which country were you born?'  
 /inká yííhe?/ {Rwanda} *qw-n5-sg-red* 'which cow?' (Overdulve 1975:218)  
 /mu kúúhé kwéezi/ {Rundi}, /mu kúúhe kwéezi/ {Rwanda} *qw-n9-sg-red* 'in which month?'

<sup>470</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:37,190-191, Hurel 1959:59, Overdulve 1975:218f,305 (Table II), Dubnova 1984:24,50, Bizimana 1998:194; and for Kirundi, see Rodegem 1967:28, Ntahokaja 1976:13 and 1994:103,106, Cristini 2000:134f.



Table 131. 'Which (of two or several)?' (-:hé)

class	-:hé [preposed]		-:hé [postposed]	
	Rundi	Rwanda	Rundi after prep	Rwanda following noun or after prep
n1-sg	uwúuhé	uwuúhe	wúuhé	wúuhe
n1-pl	abáahé	abaáhe	báahé	báahe
n2-sg	uwúuhé	uwuúhe	wúuhé	wúuhe
n2-pl	iyíihé	iyíihe	yíihé	yíihe
n3-sg	iríihé	iríihe	ríihé	ríihe
n3-pl	ayáahé	ayaáhe	yáahé	yáahe
n4-sg	ikíihé	ikíihe	kíihé	kíihe
n4-pl	ibíihé	ibíihe	bíihé	bíihe
n5-sg	iyíihé	iyíihe	yíihé	yíihe
n5-pl	izíihé	izíihe	zíihé	zíihe
n6-sg	urúuhé	uruúhe	rúuhé	rúuhe
n6-pl	izíihé	izíihe	zíihé	zíihe
n7-sg	akáahé	akaáhe	káahé	káahe
n7-pl	utúuhé	utuúhe	túuhé	túuhe
n8-sg	ubúuhé	ubuúhe	búuhé	búuhe
n8-pl	ayáahé	ayaáhe	yáahé	yáahe
n9-sg	ukúuhé	ukuúhe	kúuhé	kúuhe
n9-pl	ayáahé	ayaáhe	yáahé	yáahe
n10-loc	aháahé	ahaáhe	háahé	háahe
class 17 loc	ukúuhé	ukuúhe	kúuhé	kúuhe

### 13.6. 'When?' – Time Interrogative (ryáarí)

One inquires about time by means of an invariable TEMPORAL INTERROGATIVE /ryáarí/ {both} *when?* It always follows the verb and usually ends the sentence. The response to the question need not be as accurate or precise as it is in western society.<sup>471</sup>

/nooné uzookinzanira ryáarí?/ {Rundi} 'So when will you bring it to me?' (Rodegem 1970:383)

/waguuye ryáarí?/ {both} 'When did you fall?' (Overdulve 1975:144, JN)

/bazoogaruka ryáarí?/ {Rundi}, /bazaagaruka ryáarí?/ (JN) {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:144) 'When will they come back?'

/arageenda ryáarí?/ {both} 'When will he leave?' (Overdulve 1975:144, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:137, JN)

/yabikoze ryáarí/ {both} 'When did he do it?' (Overdulve 1975:248, JN)

An alternate means of asking about time is to use the noun /igihe/. Kinyarwanda uses the reduced form in the expression /gihe kí/, whereas Kirundi uses the full form /igihe kí/.

/ni igihe kí/ {Rundi} (JN), /ni gihe kí/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:137) 'What time is it?'

/waaje igihe kí/ {Rundi} (JN), /waaje gihe kí/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:137) 'At what time did you arrive?'

/abahúenzi baaruhuuka igihe kí?/ {Rundi} (JN), /abahúenzi baaruhuuka gihe ki?/ {Rwanda} (R28.2) 'When would farmers rest?'

<sup>471</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:128,144, Hurel 1959:88, Overdulve 1975:144, Dubnova 1984:22, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:137f; for Kirundi, see Ntahokaja 1994:107, Cristini 2000:295,328.

### 13.7. 'Where?' – Place Interrogatives (hé and héhé)

The form /hé/ is an invariable LOCATIVE INTERROGATIVE, which comes in the final position of its clause or sentence. For emphasis one can also use the reduplicated form /héhé?/.<sup>472</sup>

- /ari **hé?**/ -or- /ari **héhé?**/ {both} 'Where is he?'
- /itaábi ryaáturutse **hé?**/ {Rwanda} 'Where did tobacco come from?' (R26)
- /G.S.M. rwaanjé, uri **hé?**/ {Rundi} 'My cell phone, where are you?' (R7)
- /itára ryaawe ritó riri **hé?**/ {both} 'Where is your little lamp?' (Overdulve 1975:143, JN)
- /wakiboonye **hé?**/ {both} 'Where did you find it (the spoon)?' (Overdulve 1975:144)
- /nagishyize **hé?**/ {Rwanda} 'Where did I put it (the book)?' (Overdulve 1975:144)
- /baabibiitse **hé?**/ {both} 'Where did you put them aside? (the things) (Overdulve 1975:144)
- «Nka we se weguye ujya **hé?**» {Rwanda} 'Where are the likes of you are going?' (R28.1)
- /ugiiye **héhé?**/ {both} 'Where are you going?' (Rodegem 1967:65, LN)
- /biicaye **héhé?**/ {both} 'Where are they seated?' (Cristini 2000:259, LN)
- /uri uwa **héhé?**/ {both} 'Where are you from?' (Cristini 2000:135, LN)

### 13.8. 'How much?, How many?' – Numerical Interrogative

A question word concerning number is formed from the NUMERAL INTERROGATIVE root /-ngáahé?/<sup>473</sup> which is generally inflected in the plural except for singulars used as mass nouns (see Table 132). If inquiring about QUANTITY it means *how many?*, if about COST it means *how much?* As with other interrogatives, it comes last in its phrase. Note that a number is required in the response.

- /abasóre **baangáahé?**/ {both} *qw-num-n1-pl* 'How many young men?' (Cristini 2000:139, LN)
- /ufise imyáaka **ingáahé?**/ {Rundi} (JN), /ufite myáaka **ingáahé?**/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:114)  
*qw-num-n2-pl* 'How old are you?' [lit. 'how many years have you?']
- /itaábi **riingáahé?**/ {Rwanda} *qw-num-n3-sg* 'How much tobacco?' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:106)
- /amafaraanga **angáahé?**/ {both} *qw-num-n3-pl* 'How many francs?' (Overdulve 1975:114, JN)
- /uragura ibirago **biingáahé?**/ {both} *qw-num-n4-pl* 'How many mats are you buying?' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:106, JN)
- /mutuunze inká **ziingáahé?**/ {both} *qw-num-n5-pl* 'How many cows do you have?' (Ntahokaja 1994:103, LN)
- /utwáana **tuungáahé?**/ {both} *qw-num-n7-pl* 'how many children?' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:106, JN)
- /har' uburyó **bungáahé bwó kubíkora?**/ *qw-num-n8-col* {both} 'How many ways are there of doing it?' (Hands 1952:190, JN)
- /amáato **angáahé?**/ {both} *qw-num-n8-pl* 'how many canoes?' (Hurel 1959:122, JN)
- /haangáahé/ {both} *qw-num-n10-loc-pl* 'How many places?' (Cristini 2000:133, LN)
- /biri **kuungáahé?**/ {both} *qw-num-n11-col* 'Of how many kinds are they?' (Cristini 2000:140, JN)
- /murya **kaangáahé ku muunsí?**/ {both} *qw-num-adv* 'How many times do you eat per day?' (Ntahokaja 1976:13, LN)

Table 132. Numerical Interrogatives (-ngáahé)

AGREEMENT	FORM	ENGLISH
qw-num-n1-pl	<b>baangáahé</b>	how many?, how much?
qw-num-n2-pl	<b>ingáahé</b>	how many, how much?
qw-num-n3-sg/col	<b>riingáahé</b>	how many?, how much?
qw-num-n3-pl	<b>angáahé</b>	how many?, how much?

<sup>472</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:36f,62,91f,306, Hurel 1959:60,86, Overdulve 1975:41,43,143f, Dubnova 1984:23; for Kirundi, see Ntahokaja 1994:106, Cristini 2000:134–36.

<sup>473</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:101,110,112,190, Hurel 1959:60,122, Overdulve 1975:114,134,145, Dubnova 1984:25,50f, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:106; for Kirundi, see Ntahokaja 1976:13 and 1994:103,107, Cristini 2000:133,139f.

qw-num-n4-pl	<b>biingáahé</b>	how many?, how much?
qw-num-n5-pl qw-num-n6-pl	<b>ziingáahé</b>	how many?, how much?
qw-num-n7-sg/col	<b>kaangáahé</b>	how many?, how much?
qw-num-n7-pl	<b>tuungáahé</b>	how many?, how much?
qw-num-n8-sg/col	<b>buungáahé</b>	how many?, how much?
qw-num-n9-sg/col	<b>kuungáahé</b>	how many?, how much?
qw-num-n8-pl qw-num-n9-pl	<b>angáahé</b>	how many?, how much?
qw-num-n10-loc	<b>haangáahé</b>	how many places?
qw-num-n11-adv	<b>kuungáahé</b>	how many types or kinds?
qw-num-adv	<b>kaangáahé</b>	how often?, how many times?

### 13.9. 'How?' – Coverb (-té, Adverbial of Manner)

There is an INTERROGATIVE COVERB **-té** *how?* agreeing with the head verb<sup>474</sup> (also see §10.1.3 and especially Table 114 for all noun group citations). The tonal distinction between WEAK and STRONG applies here; if the prefix is composed of a consonant, the tone falls on the prefix; if the prefix is composed of a vowel or nasal, the tone falls on **-té/**.

/ngiré nté/ {both} 'What should I do?' (Rodegem 1967:117)

/umeze uté/ {both}<sup>475</sup> 'How do you feel?' (Overdulve 1975:140, JN)

/ndabikora nté/ {Rwanda} 'How am I going to do it' (Overdulve 1975:140)

«Gacaca ya Gihanga yari iteye ite?» {both} 'How was Gihanga's Gacaca?' (R40.0, JN)

«icyo kiganiro cyari kimeze gite?» {Rwanda} 'How did that conversation go?' (R40.3)

Note that forms of **-té/**, especially **/bíte/** can be used alone; the action of the head verb is then understood from context.

/barabíkora/ ... /báte/?/ {both} 'They will do it.' ... 'How?' (Overdulve 1975:141, JN)

/ni bíte/?/ {both} 'What's going on?' (said by one person to another person who is approaching) (Overdulve 1975:141, JN)

/bíte/?/ {both} 'What happened?' (e.g., if one sees some spilled milk) (Overdulve 1975:141, JN)

### 13.10. 'Why?' – Reason Interrogative

The invariable interrogative **/ikí/** {both} *What?* (§13.3 ABOVE) can also have the sense of *Why?*

«ni kubera iki isukari iguma itaboneka?» {Rundi} 'Why does sugar continue to be unavailable?' (R33.5)

/unyankira íkí/?/ {Rundi} 'Why do you hate me?' (Cristini 2000:314)

/yagúkubitiye íkí/?/ {both} 'Why did he hit you?' (LN)

Another simple means of asking *why?* is with the COPULATIVE PHRASE **/ni kukí/** {both}.<sup>476</sup>

/yagiye ku mutwaäre ... ni kukí/ {both} 'He went to the chief. ... Why?' (Cristini 2000:314, LN)

/umukózi yataashye isáah'éshaanu/ ... /(ni) kukí/?/ {Rwanda} 'The worker came back home at 11:00.' ... 'Why?' (Overdulve 1975:163)

/ejó sínzáaza gukóra/ ... /(ni) kukí/?/ {Rwanda} 'Tomorrow I will not come to work. ... 'Why (not)?' (Overdulve 1975:163)

<sup>474</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:159-160, Hurel 1959:169, Overdulve 1975:140f,228, Dubnova 1984:50, Bizimana 1998:207, Kimenyi 2002:144; and for Kirundi, see Rodegem 1967:77f, Ntahokaja 1994:181, Cristini 2000:154.

<sup>475</sup> The Kirundi forms cited in Rodegem 1967:78,117 **/umeze uúte/** may be dialectal, but are not standard Rundi according to Juvenal Ndayiragije (pc).

<sup>476</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Overdulve 1975:163; and for Kirundi, see Cristini 2000:214.

## Chapter 13: Interrogatives and Question Words

In asking further and including an additional clause, this construction is followed by a relative.

- /ni kukí hajyá hávugwa inzara?/ {Rwanda} *v-aux-rel-imm-impf+v-part-imm-impf-pass* 'How can it be that there is sometimes talk about famine?' (R32)  
/ni kuk' útaáje?/ {both} *v-rel-neg-pret-perf* 'Why didn't you come?' (LN)  
/(ni) kukí yaraakáye?/ {both} *v-rel-aff-recent-perf* 'Why was he angry?' (Overdulve 1975:163, JN)  
/(ni) kukí watubeéshye?/ {Rwanda} *v-rel-aff-recent-perf* 'Why did you lie to us?' (Overdulve 1975:163)  
/(ni) kukí utabikóze?/ {both} *v-rel-neg-recent-perf* 'Why didn't you do it?' (Overdulve 1975:163, JN)  
/(ni) kukí mudahagúruka?/ {both} *v-rel-neg-imm-impf* 'Why don't you get up?' (Overdulve 1975:163)

There is a more complex INTERROGATIVE OF REASON that involves a compound expression:<sup>477</sup> the copulative **ni** + the invariable interrogative **/ikí/** *what?* + the verb **/-túma/** *be the cause of* inflected in N4-SG RELATIVE (**gi-**, **c-aa-** or **cy-aa-**, etc.) [lit. 'It is what that is the cause?']. The tense of the verb must match the time period of the question, and the subsequent clause is in the participial mood.

- /n'iikí gitumá atáaha vubá/ {both} *v-rel-aff-imm-impf+v-part-aff-imm-impf* 'Why is he going back home quickly?' [lit. 'It is what that made sure he always comes back quickly?'] (Overdulve 1975:161,163; cf: Cristini 2000:314)  
/n'iikí gitumyé atáaha vubá/{both} *v-rel-aff-imm-perf+v-part-aff-imm-impf* 'Why did he go back home quickly?' [lit. 'It is what that made sure he comes back now?'] (Overdulve 1975:161; cf: Cristini 2000:314)  
/n'iikí cyaatumyé atáaha vubá/{Rwanda} *v-rel-aff-recent-perf+v-part-aff-imm-impf* 'Why did he go back home quickly?' [lit. 'It is what that made sure he comes back quickly?'] (Overdulve 1975:161)  
/n'iikí caatumyé ukúbita umwána/ {Rundi} *v-rel-aff-recent-perf+v-part-aff-imm-impf* 'Why did you hit the child?' (Cristini 2000:314)  
/n'iikí gitumá múdahiingá?/ {Rwanda} *v-rel-aff-imm-impf+v-part-neg-imm* 'Why aren't you cultivating?' (Overdulve 1975:162)  
/n'iikí gitumyé múdakorá?/ {both} *v-rel-aff-imm-perf+v-part-neg-imm* 'Why aren't you working?' (Overdulve 1975:162)  
/n'iikí cyaatumyé mútageendá nóone?/ {Rwanda} *v-rel-aff-recent-perf+v-part-neg-imm* 'Why didn't you leave today?' (Overdulve 1975:162)

Overdulve illustrates some subtle differences and implications between the various means of asking *why?* in Kinyarwanda. Juvenal Ndayiragije has kindly supplied parallel Kirundi examples.

- /kukí uraakára?/ {both} 'Why are you getting angry? (you have no reason to get angry.)' (Overdulve 1975:163, JN)  
/n'iikí gitumá uráakara?/ {both} 'What makes you angry? (perhaps you have a reason for getting angry that I am unaware of)' (Overdulve 1975:163, JN)  
/ni kukí dufisé ikiruhuuko?/ {Rundi} (JN), /ni kukí dufité ikiruhuuko?/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:163) 'Why are we having a day off?' (there is a vacation, what's the meaning of this? there is a certain irritation being expressed in regard to this unnecessary vacation)  
/n'iikí gitumá túgira ikiruhuuko?/{Rundi} (JN), /n'iikí gitumá dúfite ikiruhuuko?/ (Overdulve 1975:163) {Rwanda} 'What is the reason for this vacation we have?' (one wants to know the real reason for this vacation)

There is an alternative expression using **/ni có gitúma/**{Rundi}, **/ni cyó gitumá/** {Rwanda} (and appropriate temporal alternates) instead of **/n'iikí gitumá/** {both}.

- /bararwáaye ni có gitúma badakorá/ {Rundi} (JN), /bararwáaye ni cyó gitumá badakorá/ {Rwanda} (Overdulve 1975:155) 'They are sick, which is why they aren't working.'  
«Ubwiza bw'umubiri bugaragazwa n'izuba, ariko umutima witonda ukagaragazwa n'umwijima ni cyo gituma bamwe barata ubwiza ku manywa, mu ijoro bagakora bupyisi.» {Rwanda} 'The beauty of the body is revealed by the Sun, then again, a good heart is revealed by Darkness, which is why some people pay lipservice to beauty by day, but by night they behave like jackals.' (R28.10)

<sup>477</sup> Additional discussion and exemplification can be found for Kinyarwanda in Overdulve 1975:161-162, (less so Hands 1952:166 concerning adverbial clauses of reason), and for Kirundi in Cristini 2000:314.

Note that /**(ni) kuki?**/ may be used as an independent sentence; in this case it represents a reaction to something mentioned previously. Since expressions with /**-túma**/ demand a complement, they are excluded as short answers.

### 14. INTERJECTIONS

An interjection is a call or outcry made by a speaker, expressing his or her attitude or personal reaction to something which has arisen.<sup>478</sup> They are of two kinds: those used independently and those used with other words to form a phrase. Furthermore, they can be pure forms (**ashwi**, **pe**, **yee**), they can be derived from verbs (**bwaakéeye**, **have**) or from other parts of speech (**daáta**, **maáma**). Review the discussions on VOCATIVE NOUNS (§3.6.5) and VOCATIVE PRONOUNS (§4.7) as well as EXCLAMATIVE VERBS (G§8.11), which also function as interjections. Several NEGATIVE INTERJECTIONS have been discussed and exemplified in §9.5.

#### 14.1. Independent Interjections

The following are interjections which can be used alone, i.e., they can be a complete utterance.

- /ahoó/ {Rwanda} *intj* 'So there!, That's it! (R28.7)
- /ashwi/ {both} *intj-neg* 'No! not at all! absolutely not! never!'
- /hoobé/ {both} *intj* 'Hey!' (affectionate greeting after not seeing one another for some time)
- /oya/ {Rundi}, /oyá/ {Rwanda} *intj-neg* 'No'
- /eegó/ {Rundi} *intj* 'Yes' (R27.4)
- /yee/ or /yeego/ {both} *intj* 'Yes' [positive answer to a question]
- /yoóroro/ {both} 'Ouch!' (cry of pain)

These independent interjections are clearly derived from other parts of speech.

- /bwaakéeye/ {both} *v-ind-recent-perf* 'Good morning!' [lit: 'it has dawned']
- /daáta/ {both} *n1a-sg-voc* 'Oh my goodness!' [astonishment]; 'yes indeed!' [agreement] (R27.5)  
Cf: /da/ {both} 'Surely!, so then!' [used by males to indicate astonishment]
- /eémwe/ {both} *intj-pro-2pl* 'What!, Ha! [astonishment]
- /have/ {both} *v-imp* 'Go away!, Get out!; Stop it! (Bizimana 1998:208f, Cristini 2000:201)
- /kuu máana/ {both} *n5-sg-loc* 'So long; Good bye!' [lit. 'to God']
- /maáma/ {both} *n1a-sg-voc* 'Oh my goodness!' [indicating astonishment]
- /mwaaramutse/ {both} *v-ind-recent-perf* 'Good morning!, Good day!, Hello'
- /mwiíriwe/ {both} *v-ind-recent-perf* 'Good afternoon!, Good evening!'

#### 14.2. Dependent Interjections

The following interjections can be characterized as dependent, because they are tied to other words within a phrase.

- /de/ {both} *intj* 'Oh how white!, Wow, how bright! [for white or clear things] (ALO:224, GSN:197)
- /kwéera **de**/ {Rundi}, /kéera **de**/ {Rwanda} 'Oh how very white!'
- /enda/ {both} *intj* 'Please, If you please; If possible [used to soften a command] (R27.2)
- /hoshi/ {both} *intj* 'Scram!, Be off with you!, Get out!' [used with an imperative verb, considered rude]
- /hoshi géenda/ {both} 'Go away!' (R28.4)
- /ihíbaámbewé/ {Rundi} *intj* 'no, oh no!, alas!'  
«wa mugabo ati: **ihibambewe ntundya ngutabaye**» {Rundi} 'That man says: "Oh no, don't you eat me after I helped you out."' (R27.4)
- /mbeé/ {both} *intj* 'Oh! hey!' [used with reduced noun forms] (see §3.6.5)
- /ngaahó/ {both} *intj* 'That's all!, That's enough!' (R27.3)
- /mbeéga/ {both} *intj* 'wow!, ha!, what!' [surprise or astonishment]
- /mbeéga ibyíishiimo!/ {Rwanda} 'Wow, what a joy!' (Jacob 1986 #2:342)
- /nuuko/ {both} *cop-expr = intj* 'So then, All right, Good!'

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<sup>478</sup> For Kinyarwanda, see Hands 1952:307–8, Hurel 1959:93, Overdulse 1975:225,253f;269 (the latter are treated as INVARIABLES); and for Kirundi: Rodegem 1967:87 and 1970:627, Cristini 2000:329,330.

- /nuuko ní vyiiizá/ {Rundi}, /nuuko ní byiizá/ {Rwanda} 'Well then, that's great!'
- /nyaábuna/ {both} *intj* 'come on!, for mercy's sake!' (R27.3, R37#6)
- «**Ngaho nyabuna nguswage na none yariko irampara!**» {Rundi} 'That's it! I might as well kill you; anyway I've been starving!' (R27.3)
- /nyaábuna nímuuntábaare/ {Rundi} (JN), /nyaábuna nímuuntábaare/ {Rwanda} (Jacob 1986 #2:433) 'For God's sake, please help me!'
- /pé/ {both} *intj* 'very, great, extremely, completely'
- /imódoká yaawe yárapfúuye rwóose **pe**/ 'Your car is a total wreck!' (Overdulve 1975:225)
- /yohaána agira ubwéenge **pe pe pe**/ 'John is extremely crafty!' (Overdulve 1975:225)
- /shaáhu/ {both} *intj* 'My dear friend!, Oh old friend'
- «**ariko shahu uribona**» 'But, my dear friend, you are arrogant!' (R27.3)
- /shyuu/ {Rwanda} *intj* 'Haaa?, how come?, why do you say that? [disagreement or disbelief]' (R28.2&7)
- «**umwijima uti "shyuu! ibyo uvuze Zuba ubitewe n'iki**» 'Darkness says: "Haaa! What caused you, Sun, to say that?' (R28.2)
- /ye/ {both} *intj* 'indeed, surely'
- /yeego ye/ {both} *intj-emph* 'Yes indeed!, But of course!' [emphatic affirmation]
- /eegóye/ {both} *intj-emph* 'Yes indeed!, No doubt!' [emphatic affirmation]

## 15. IDEOPHONES

IDEOPHONES are an important part-of-speech in the Bantu language family.<sup>479</sup> They share certain features with VERBS (in that they predicate actions, sounds, or states), with ADVERBS (in that they are often attributive), and with INTERJECTIONS (in that they emphasize or add color to discourse, similar to English *boing!*, *splat!*, *plop!*, or *thwack!*). In Rwanda-Rundi they appear to be limited in number.<sup>480</sup> They are also found in other language families around the world, where they have been called PHONESTHEMES or DISCOURSE VERBS. The primary difference between an interjection and an ideophone is that an interjection expresses a speaker's reaction to a situation or an event, whereas an ideophone imitates the event, sound, or color itself (as if it were speaking).

They are widely used in colloquial speech (conversations) and in narratives (e.g., folktales and stories). Many serve as roots upon which verbs or other parts of speech are built.

/cwe/ {both} 'hush! (imitation of the "sound" of sudden silence)'

Cf: /-cwékeera/ *v-intr* 'diminish (of noise); go out, be about to die (of fire)' {Rwanda}; 'be lazy' {Rundi}

/duumbagu/ {Rundi} 'kerplunk! (imitation of the sound of s.t. falling into water)'

Cf: /-duumba/ {Rundi} *v-tr* 'plunge s.t. into a liquid; drop s.t. into water'

/duumburi/ {Rwanda} 'kerplunk! (imitation of the sound of s.t. falling into water)'

Cf: /-duumbura/ {Rwanda} *v-tr* 'throw s.t. into a liquid; drop s.t. into water' (Kimenyi website:18)

/jwii/ {Rwanda} 'chirp!, squeak!, peep! (imitation of the high-pitched sound of a rodent or small bird)'

Cf: /-jwíigiira/ {both} *v-intr* 'chirp, squeak, twitter, emit a shrill or high-pitched sound (as a rodent, small animal, or bird)'

/pya/ {both} 'bang!, wham!, crack! (imitation of the sound of a sudden strike)'

Cf: /-pyáatura/ {Rwanda} *v-tr* 'hit s.t. with full force (as lightning); slap, hit s.o. strongly and suddenly (as with the palm of one's hand)'

/tukutuku/ {both} 'very red'

Cf: /-tukura/ {both} 'be red, redden, blush'

/vutú/ {both} 'smack!, crack!, snap! (imitation of the sound of a sudden hit)'

Cf: /-vútura/ {both} 'hit s.o. or s.t. suddenly, give a smack to'

They usually occur as a complement after a quote verb, either the invariable quotative particle **ngo** or an appropriate form of the quotative coverb **-ti** (see §10.1.1).

/mbaa/ {both} 'moo!' (imitation of the sound of a cow)

/inká **iti mbaa**/ {both} 'A cow goes *moo*.'

/bwii/ {Rwanda} (imitation of the sound of a flatulence or passing gas)

/umusuzi uramúciika **ngo bwii**/ {Rwanda} 'gas escapes him with a fart' (R14)

/dudududu/ {Rwanda} 'gush!, gunk!' (imitation of the sound of liquid flowing rapidly from a container with a small mouth, as wine from a bottle)

/amáazi mu gacumá **ngo dudududu**/ {Rwanda} 'water from a gourd goes gush!'

Cf: /-dudubiza/ {both} 'gush out'

<sup>479</sup> See, for example, the Sotho Grammar (Zorc & Mokabe 1998:228–9). The most thorough list of ideophones in Kinyarwanda can be found at Alexandre Kimenyi's website: <<http://www.kimenyi.com/iconicity-of-ideophones-in-kinyarwanda.php>>. A detailed list of ideophones in Kirundi is found in Rodegem 1970:627f. A brief introduction for Kinyarwanda can be found in Bizimana 1998:219ff or Kimenyi 2002:29f, and for Kirundi in Rodegem 1967:87 and in Ntahokaja 1994:197–9. Both Overdulve (1975:247) and Cristini (2000:245) treat them only in the context of **ngo**. Hands (1952:280,285) refers to them in the context of verbs derived from them.

<sup>480</sup> Coupez (1980:461f) suggests that there are approximately 80 in Kinyarwanda, not counting lexical variations, in the dictionary of 1979. On the other hand, Kimenyi treats over 200 in an article on his website. Rodegem (1970:627f) presents a total of 78 qualifying forms for Kirundi of which 31 are ideophones and 47 are onomatopes.



/bóose baashiimye ibikino amashyí ngo papapapa/ {Rwanda} 'Everyone praised the games and clapped their hands *bravo, bravo!*' (Overdulve 1975:247)  
 /umugozí ngo vutú/ {both} 'and, smack, the rope broke' [See /vutú/ ABOVE]  
 /ngo togotogo/ {Rwanda} 'bubble!, bubble!' (imitation of the sound of s.t. boiling)  
 Cf: /-togota/ {both} 'boil'

English equivalents would often be introduced by the phrase "It went ..." or "VERBed with a(n) ...," e.g.,

I saw a hungry cat, *it went* 'meow.'  
 The vase dropped; *it went* 'craaaaaassh.'  
 The safe dropped *with a thud*.  
 The dog ran off *with a yelp*.

However, note that an ideophone can occur alone, where its function would justify the label of DISCOURSE VERB (i.e., an interjective verb, which is invariable or uninflected).

Ideophones are the only part of speech where TRIPLICATION can occur (not just REDUPLICATION, see §2.5.17).

/kacikacikaci/ {Rwanda} (sound of applause or clapping) (Bizimana 1998:219, Overdulve & Jacob 1998:304)  
 /kogoco kogoco kogoco/ {Rwanda} (sound of chewing) (Gusoma 6:37)  
 /kwe/ {both} (JN, Jacob 1986 #2:320), /kwekwe/ (Rodegem 1970:254), /kwekwekwe/ (Rodegem 1970:627) {Rundi} 'ha! ha! ha!' (sound of laughter)  
 /diridiridiri/ {Rundi} (Rodegem 1970:627), /diridiri/ {Rwanda} (Jacob 1984 #1:241) (sound of footsteps)

Some ideophones employ sounds that are not part of the usual Rwanda or Rundi system, akin to English tsk! (a click sound used to express sympathy or disappointment). Consult Bizimana 1998:220–2 for these details and additional discussion and exemplification.

### 16. WORD ORDER

Word order involves the usual placement of words in a phrase or sentence. English and most Bantu languages are similar in that they place the SUBJECT first, followed by the VERB, and then the OBJECT or other complements. Linguists refer to this phenomenon as SVO [subject – verb – object], because there are languages where, for example, VSO is the norm. However, the similarity seems to stop there. Within a given phrase, the order of nouns and the words that go with them is drastically different between English and Bantu languages.

#### 16.1. Word Order within Phrases (Nouns and Other Elements)

While English tends to put modifiers (possessives, numerals, and adjectives) ahead of a noun (LEFT-BRANCHING), Kirundi and Kinyarwanda put them after (RIGHT-BRANCHING). The head noun in Bantu is always the first in several different kinds of constructions.

##### 16.1.1. Word Order of Possessive Constructions

The POSSESSED noun always comes first in Kirundi and Kinyarwanda, followed by the POSSESSIVE MARKER, which agrees with the head noun in class and number (see §3.6.3), and finally the POSSESSOR. When English uses the possessive case (*apostrophe s*), the possessor comes first, e.g., *Paul's wife*; when English can use the preposition *of*, then the word order is similar to that of Bantu, e.g., *a wife of Paul*.

- [N + poss-N]  
/igihúgu c'úbuyápaáni/ {Rundi} *n4-sg-poss-n8-sg* 'Japan' [lit. 'country of Japan'] (R37.4)  
/inkómooko y'ítaábi/ {both} *n5-sg-poss-n3-sg* 'the origin of tobacco' (R26.2)  
/urubare rw'úmujuumbu/ {Rundi} *n6-sg-poss-n2-sg* 'a very thin copper wire' [lit. 'very thin wire of copper'] (R5)  
/akuuko k'ígítí/ {Rwanda} *n7-sg-poss-n4-sg* 'a wooden spatula' [lit. 'spatula of wood'] (R18)  
/ubumwé bw'úburuúndi/ {both} *n8-sg-poss-n8-sg* 'the unity of Burundi' or 'Burundi's unity' (R3)

If an adjective or numeral appears, it precedes the possessive noun phrase.

- [N + Adj / Num + poss-N]  
/baánki nkurú y'igihúgu/ {both} *adj-n5-sg* 'the Central Bank' [lit. 'bank main of the country'] (R2)  
/mu minotá iriindwi yaa nyuma/ {Rwanda} *num-n2-pl* 'during the final seven minutes' (R30.1)  
/ítóóni icúmi na zibiri z'imbúto ya sojá/ {Rundi} *num-expr-n5-pl* 'twelve tons of soya seeds' (R9)

However, a possessive pronoun immediately follows a noun, with adjectives following them.

- [N + poss-pro + Adj]  
/n'uumwáana wiwe bwiité/ {Rundi} 'It is his own child.' (Cristini 2000:113)  
/abáana báabo babí barahiinga/ {Rwanda} 'Their bad children are plowing.' (Overdulse 1975:48)

##### 16.1.2. Word Order of Adjective Constructions

Adjectives always follow the noun they modify (see §6.1), whereas in English, they precede them.

- [N + Adj]  
/abáana bató bagaburirwa hamwé na baanyina/ {both} *adj-n1-pl* 'Young children are fed together with their mothers.' (R38.3)  
/ni abáana babí/ {both} 'They are naughty children.' (LN)  
/abanyaambo babisi/ {Rwanda} *adj-n1-pl* 'authentic Nyambo' (R38.9)  
/ubiteeka ku muriro muké/ {both} *adj-n2-sg* 'You cook them on low heat.' (R18)

- /keéra narii mfite amáaso meezá/ {Rwanda} *adj-n3-pl* 'A long time ago I used to have nice eyes.' (R28.5)
- /bituma báshobora kunyáruka kaánda igihe kireekire/ {both} *adj-n4-sg-redup* 'It allows them to move quickly and for a long time.' (R38.2)
- /yaátangiye gutáanga inoóti nshyaáshya/ {Rwanda} *adj-n5-pl* 'It (the Central Bank) started providing brand new banknotes.' (R2)
- /har'iindwára nyiínshi muu ntáará/ {both} *adj-n5-pl* 'There are a lot of diseases in the region.' (Overdulve 1975:295)
- /kubéera urugeendo rureerure/ {both} *adj-n6-sg-redup* 'because of distant travel' (R31.5)
- /ubivaangiisha akuuko k'ígiti akaánya gató/ {both} *adj-n7-sg* 'You mix them for a little while with a wooden spatula.' (R18)

Adjectives used adverbially follow the verb they modify.

- /ukazikatakata dutóodutó/ {both} *adj-n7-pl-redup* 'Then you cut them into very small pieces.' (R18)
- /uramenya yúukó uca rubí (urubaánza) nkakúrya/ {Rundi} *adj-n6-sg* 'You'd better know that if you arbitrate badly, I'll eat you.' (R18)
- /umfureba néezá/ {Rwanda} *adv* 'You wrap me up nicely.' (R36.2)
- /n'útuúndi dupfuuyé náabi/ {both} *adv* '... and other matters that are not important.' (R19)
- /kubá reeró imódoká nka biísi iyyá mu muhaánda itári nzima .../ {Rwanda} 'The fact that a vehicle such as a bus goes on the road not being fit ...' (R16)

### 16.1.3. Word Order of Numeral Constructions

Numeral expressions (see §7), no matter how long, always follow the head noun.

- [N + Num]
  - /ibisagára bibiri/ {Rundi} 'two cities' (R37.4)
  - /indwi zibiri cáanké zitatu/ {Rundi} 'two or three weeks' (R31.3)
  - /ndagúha abagabo batatu/ {both} 'I will give you three witnesses.' (R28.3)
  - /kugeza byiiburá ku méezi ataandátu/ {Rwanda} 'up to at least six months' (R6)
  - /amafaraanga amajana abiri ku kiró/ {Rundi} 'two hundred francs per kilo' (R35.2)
  - /unzanire amafaraanga ibihuumbi bibiri/ {both} 'You should bring me two thousand francs.'
  - /ubwó zaa gaári ya moóshi ebhiri zaágoonganaga/ {Rwanda} 'When two trains collided ...' (R8b)
- [N + Num + V-rel]
  - /ku bibúga bitatu bitaandúkaanye/ {Rundi} (JN), /ku bibúga bitatu bitaandúkanye/ {Rwanda} (R30.2) 'on three different (soccer) fields'

Ordinal numerals (see §7.2) are preceded by possessive markers.

- [N + poss + Num-ord]
  - /iki kinjana ca 20/ {Rundi} (R37.4), /iki kinyeejana cya 20/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'this twentieth century'
  - /ingwaano yaa mbere n'íiya kábiri z'íisi yóose/ {Rundi} (R37.4), /intaambara yaa mbere n'íiya kábiri z'íisi yóose/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'World War I and World War II'

Numerals used adverbially generally follow the verb they modify.

- [V + Num]
  - /yamúkubise rimwé/ {both} 'He hit him once.'
  - /amaze kunyerera káne kuri iryo boomba/ {Rundi} 'She has already slipped at that pump four times.' (R23)

When numeral expressions co-occur with adjectives or other attributive constructions, the word order seems to be freer, as in the first two bulleted items.

- [N + Num + Adj]  
*/abáana babiri bató/* {both} *num-n1-pl* 'two young children' (LN)  
*/ibitabo bitatu biníni/* {both} *num-n4-pl* 'three large books' (LN, JN)  
*/inoóti eshaanu nshyaáshya/* *num-n5-pl* {Rwanda} 'five brand new banknotes' (LN)  
*/intébe enyé ntóoyá/* {both} *num-n5-pl* 'four small chairs' (LN)
- [N + Adj + Num]  
*/abáana bató babiri/* {both} *num-n1-pl* 'two young children' (LN)  
*/ibitabo biníni bitatu/* {both} *num-n4-pl* 'three large books' (LN, JN)  
*/inoóti nshyaáshya eshaanu/* {Rwanda} *num-n5-pl* 'five brand new banknotes' (LN)  
*/intébe ntóoyá enyé/* {both} *num-n5-pl* 'four small chairs' (LN)

#### 16.1.4. Word Order of Locative Constructions

Locative expressions (see §3.6.4) are marked by the PREPOSITIONS<sup>481</sup> /i/ {both} *prep-n13-loc* (see §3.6.4.1), /mu, (muu, mw', murí)/ {both} *prep-n12-loc* (see §3.6.4.2), /ku, (kuu, kw', k', kurí)/ {both} *prep-n11-loc* (see §3.6.4.3), or /kwaa/ {both} *prep-n11-loc-poss* (see §3.6.4.4). As the name implies, prepositions come *before* the noun. Note that all forms are low toned and do not influence the tonality of the following noun. A locative construction stands in place of or in addition to an object (see §16.2 below).

- Loc-prep + N  
*/yavúukiye i Gitéga/* {both} 'She was born in Gitega.'  
*/nibwó ahiítwa "Innocenti" hó mu Butaliyaáni/* {both} 'This is when in a place called "Innocenti" in Italy ...' (R6)  
 «ari nawe witiriwe uburozi buba mu itabi bwitwa Nikotini» {both} '... after whom the active ingredient in tobacco, called nicotine, was named.' (R26.2)  
 «ryabanje mu Burayi rizanywe n'abazungu b'abasipanyoro» {both} 'It was first brought to Europe by Spaniards.' (R26.2)  
*/itaábi ní igití kibarirwa mu biyóbyabwéenge/* {Rwanda} 'Tobacco is a plant which is counted among drugs.' (R26.1)  
*/uwaámpa ijaambo muu náama y'ábamíniisitiri/* {Rwanda} 'If someone let me speak at a ministerial meeting ...' (R32)  
*/yahiinduye igisaambu cyé mw úmurimá/* {Rwanda} 'He changed his arid terrain into a tillable field.' (Overdulve 1975:281)  
*/twaábaaye intwári ku rugaamba/* {both} 'We have been valiant warriors on the battlefield.' (Bizimana 1998:347)  
*/ubiteeka ku muriro muké/* {both} 'You cook them on low heat.' (R18, JN)

There are also locative expressions where the verb is marked by corresponding POSTPOSITIONS /-mó/, /mw-/ {Rwanda}, /-mwó/ {Rundi}, /-hó/ {both}, /hw-/ {both}, /-kó/ {Rundi}, /yó/ {both}, /y-/ {Rwanda}. Note that these are linked to the verb and all have high tone.

These serve three completely separate functions. The first is when there is no following object or locative; the complement has already been stated, is clearly understood from context, or is part of the idiom of the verb.

- V-loc-post  
*/yiinjiye mó/* {Rwanda} 'He went in.' (Overdulve 1975:216)  
 cf: */yiinjiye muu nzu/* {both} 'He went into the house.' (Overdulve 1975:216)

<sup>481</sup> Overdulve 1975:318 remarks: "locatives of the form **ha**, **ku**, and **mu**, the predicative **ntaa**, the type 6 demonstrative pronoun [our Form 5 deictic, see §5.5]; the prefixal pronoun [our plural forms for *n1a* **baa**- (§3.2.1a) and *n5b* **zaa**- (§3.2.5a)], and the interpellative pronoun [our vocative pronouns §2.4.10, §3.6.5.2, §4.7] must be treated as forming part of the following word."

- /amatégekó abajuura **banyura hó** ní meénshi/ {Rwanda} 'The laws that thieves violate are numerous.' (Overdulve 1975:214)  
 cf: /abajuura **banyura ku** matégekó/ {Rwanda} 'The thieves violate the law.' (Overdulve 1975:214)  
 /si bó bayituúyemó bóonyiné/ {Rwanda} 'They are not the only ones to live in it.' (R38.11)  
 /inzu batuuýé **mó** ni nziizá/ {Rwanda} 'The house they live in is beautiful.' (Overdulve 1975:214)  
 /muu nzu yó gutáambiramwó/ {Rundi} 'in a nightclub' [lit. 'in a house for dancing in'] (R7)  
 /ikinikwa mu mazi bityo isumu iyibamó ikabanza kuvamó/ {Rwanda} '... and they are immersed in water in that way their toxin within is first drawn out.' (R20)  
 /nabishyize **hó**/ {Rwanda} 'I placed them there.' [i.e., /ku méeza/ 'on the table'] (LN)  
 /akora **yó**/ {both} 'He works (somewhere) there.' (LN)  
 /i gitéga tubayó/ {Rundi} 'In Gitega where we live.' (Cristini 2000:273), 'In Gitega we live there.' (JN)

The second is when the object or other complement is stated. The postposition comes after the verb<sup>482</sup> in order to stress or FOCUS on the closeness or importance of that complement.

- V-loc-post + O

- /yahíinduye amáazi **mó** divaayi/ {Rwanda} 'He turned water into wine.' (LN)  
 /ntaa ndwi yahéra adáshooyé mwó kimwé/ {Rundi} 'There wasn't a week that passed without him taking to market one among them (livestock).' (R25.2)  
 /ugashyiramó ibitúungurú/ {Rwanda} 'Then you put in the onions.' (R18)  
 /yari umuuntu yiitáhó umwuuga/ {Rundi} 'She was a person who cared for her profession.' (R17.7)  
 /ucaaniyehó akaambi/ {Rwanda} 'If you light a match to it ...' (R24)

When the following nominal begins with a vowel, the final **ó** changes to **w** and is usually written conjunctively with the noun (with or without an apostrophe), but the postposition technically belongs to the verb as the high tone on the first mora indicates. Furthermore, the noun following a postposition is in its FULL FORM, whereas after a preposition, the noun is in its REDUCED FORM.

- /baamwoohereje **hw'**iintumwá/ {Rwanda} 'They sent him in the capacity of messenger.' (Overdulve 1975:281)  
 /araandika **hwíizína**/ {Rwanda} 'He is writing a name on it.' (Kimenyi 2002:142)  
 /mboonye **mw'**iibiri/ {Rwanda} 'I just find two in there.' (Bizimana 1998:189)  
 /hari **m**wáamáazi/ {both} 'There is water in it.' (Kimenyi 2002:142)  
 /yoohereje **y'**iimbwá/ {Rwanda} 'He sent dogs there.' (Kimenyi 2002:142)

Finally, these postpositions appear in certain instances of REVERSAL (see §16.3.6 below) where the subject is postponed.

- O + V-loc-post + S

- /amabáhashá arímwó ibicíiro/ {Rundi} (R9), /amabáhashá arímó ibicíiro/ {Rwanda} (LN)  
 'envelopes in which are prices'  
 cf: /ibicíiro birí mu mabáhashá/ {both} 'prices which are in envelopes' (LN)  
 /urugó ruri mwó abáana/ {Rundi}, /urugó ruri mó abáana/ {Rwanda} 'The enclosure there are in it some children.' (Overdulve 1975:216)  
 cf: /abáana bari mu rugó/ {both} 'The children are in the enclosure.' (Overdulve 1975:216)  
 /abatuúrage baaza **m**wó umunyámahaánga/ {Rundi}, /abatuúrage baaza **mó** umunyámahaánga/ {Rwanda} 'Among the inhabitants comes a stranger.' (Overdulve 1975:216)  
 cf: /umunyámahaánga aza mu batuúrage/ {Rwanda} 'A stranger comes among the inhabitants.' (Ibid)  
 /urugó ruri **kó** abáana/ {Rundi}, /urugó ruri **hó** abáana/ {Rwanda} 'The enclosure which guards the children.' (Overdulve 1975:216)  
 cf: /abáana bari ku rugó/ {Rwanda} 'The children are guarding the enclosure.' (Ibid)  
 /harihó ubukené bwiínshi mu rwaanda/ {both} 'There is a great deal of poverty in Rwanda.' (Hands 1952:85, LN)

<sup>482</sup> Note that the verb will be CONJOINT, never disjoint (see Overdulve 1975:216).

/naajyaanamú agapapuro kaandítsehó ingiingo imwé/ {Rwanda} 'I would take in there a small piece of paper on which is written a single issue.' (R32)

See §16.3.5 BELOW concerning constructions where the locative comes first in a sentence.

### 16.2. Standard Word Order within Sentences [SVO]

Linguists speak of the typology of a language. One of the main such distinguishing features is the order of words or phrases within a typical sentence. English and Bantu languages both have an unmarked sentence order of SUBJECT – VERB – OBJECT, abbreviated SVO. Object here refers to a whole range of complements such as locatives, adverbs, predicates, not just a direct or indirect object. The complement of a verb *to be* (ní, –rí, –bá) is, broadly speaking, its object (more accurately a PREDICATE COMPLEMENT).

- S + V + O

/[S] umugabo [V] yabwíye [O] umwáana wíwé.../ {Rundi} 'A man told his son...' (R1)

/[S] impanuka ya biísi [V] yoóretse [O] imbagá/ {Rwanda} 'A bus accident killed many.' (R16)

/[S] ikibázo c'isúkaári [V] kirasíga [O] ubwéenge/ {Rundi} 'The sugar problem defies reason.' (R33)

/[S] gisaabo [V] yaámbaye [O] ibisáanzwe/ {both} 'Gisabo wore casual attire.' (R5)

/[S] itaábi [V] ní [O] igití kibarírwa mu biyóbyabwéenge/ {Rwanda} 'Tobacco is a plant which is counted among drugs.' (R26.1)

/[S] umugoré [V] akorana [O] agahuúngu ké/ {both} 'The woman works with her baby (on her back).' (Overdulve 1975:212)

/[S] umugabo [V] arakórana [O-assoc] n'umuhuúngu wé/ {both} 'The man works (together) with his son.' (Overdulve 1975:212)

Of course, if the subject has already been mentioned or specified, or it is a first or second person pronoun, it will be incorporated into the verb:

- S-V + O

/twaábaaye intwári ku rugaamba/ {both} 'We have been valiant warriors on the battlefield.' (Bizimana 1998:347)

/yarárwaanije abagomé/ {Rundi} 'He fought insurgents.' (R3)

/yakóreesheje igitáramo iwé/ {both} 'He threw a party at his place.' (R14)

/yaámbaye ibisáanzwe/ {both} 'He wore casual attire.' (R5)

/yariirukanye ibitéero vy'abáarabú/ {Rundi} 'He pursued the Arab troops.' (R3)

Several verbs, especially those with augments (see §8.14) can take TWO OBJECTS (they are DITRANSITIVE) or even THREE OBJECTS (TRITRANSITIVE). Refer to the discussion of multiple objects in §4.3. While some constructions presented in grammar books with three or four objects are logically possible, they do not usually occur in actual speech.

- S + V + O1 + O2

/[S] umubyéeyi [V] yaheereye [O1] umwáana [O2] ibiryó [loc] muu nzu/ {Rwanda} 'The parent gave food to the child in the house.' (Bizimana 1998:341)

/[(S)V] asaba [O1] umugaanga [O2] umutí/ {both} 'He asks the doctor for medicine.' (Overdulve 1975:283)

/[(S)V] asabira [O1] umurwáayi [O2] umutí/ {both} 'He asks for a remedy for the patient.' (Overdulve 1975:283)

/[(S)V] arusha [O1] mukúru wé [O2] ubwéenge/ {both} 'He surpasses his older brother in intelligence.' (Overdulve 1975:280)

/[inf] guhá [O1] umuuntu [O2] ikiintu/ {both} 'to give something to someone' (Overdulve 1975:280)

/dukiraanure utubwiire [(S-rel)V] uúrusha [O1] undí [O2] akamaro/ {Rwanda} 'Settle our dispute and tell us who is more important.' [lit. '... the one who surpasses the other in value.'] (R28.10)

Since an INFINITIVE functions fully as both a verb and a noun, as a VERB it can take an object and as a NOUN it can serve as the object of a head or auxiliary verb.

- V + O + [O=V-inf + O]  
/ndóori ataanga mugabo gusoma igitabo/ {both} 'Ndori is ahead of Mugabo in reading the book.'  
(that is, Ndori reads the book before Mugabo) (Overdulve 1975:281)  
/mugabo arusha ndóori guhinga umurimá/ {Rwanda} 'Mugabo surpasses Ndori in cultivating the field.' (that is, Mugabo cultivates the field better than Ndori) (Overdulve 1975:281)

The complement of many verbs (see §8.6) and several auxiliary verbs may be an INFINITIVE (see §10.2.2 and Table 116), which itself may be followed by its own complement..

- V(-aux) + O=V-inf  
/twiiháatire gusoma/ {Rwanda} 'We should make every effort to read.' (R4)  
/bakuunda kóoga/ {both} 'They like swimming.' (Overdulve 1975:281)  
/tureenda kuryá/ {both} 'We are about to eat.' (Overdulve 1975:281)
- V-inf + Nobj  
/bugiingo nya ntaámbe igiye kuryá wá mugabo.../ {Rundi} 'Just when that lion was about to eat that man ...' (R27.8)  
/imvúra ishaaka kwóonoona imirimá/ {both} 'The rain is threatening to destroy the fields.' (Rodegem 1970:412)  
/iyó ishaaká kujugunya imyaanda/ {Rwanda} 'When it wants to discard waste ...' (R12)  
/umutegarúgori utáarashátse kwívuga izina/ {Rwanda} '... a woman who was not willing to reveal her name.' (R22)  
/ndashaaka kwiiga ikinyarwaanda/ {both} 'I want to learn Rwanda.' (Overdulve 1975:281)

An AUTONOME also functions fully as both a verb and a noun. Thus, as a VERB it can take an object or complement and as a NOUN it can serve as the OBJECT of a verb (or the PREDICATE COMPLEMENT of a copulative verb).

- V + O=V-auto  
/duteeké ibiryóoshye/ {Rwanda} 'Let's cook delicious food.' (R18)  
/ntuúvuge ibitári ngoombwá/ {both} 'You should not speak about unnecessary things.' (Bizimana 1998:146)  
/ní haagirá uwukómereka ntuúze uvugé ngo sinakúbwiye/ {Rundi} 'If there is anyone who gets hurt, you should not say that I didn't warn you.' (R23)  
/sinaménye ibyaákurikiyehó/ {Rwanda} 'I didn't realize what happened next.' (R34.5)  
/ntuúsabe ibidáhari/ {both} 'You should not ask for what is not there.' (Bizimana 1998:148)

A VOCATIVE usually comes sentence final, but may come sentence initial, especially if it followed by a modifying phrase.

- (S) + V + (O) + Voc  
/yaaga sogokú!/ {Rundi} 'Chat, Grandpa!' (R27)  
/uri mwiizá maáma/ {both} 'You are good, my mother!' (R36)  
/murézi utáanga urugero rwiizá/ {both} 'Oh teacher who provides a good example!' (36.5)

### 16.3. Forms of Sentence Reversal

Apart from the standard word order, Kinyarwanda and Kirundi have many means of REVERSAL available. Changing the word order generally changes the sense, impact, or overall implications of what is being said (such highlighting is termed FOCUS in linguistics). As Bizimana points out, not all instances of reversal or FRONTING result in emphasis. Many instances simply have completely different meanings:

- /inká ní itúungo/ {both} 'Cattle are livestock.' (Bizimana 1998:342)
- /itúungo ní inká/ {both} '(One kind of) livestock is cattle.' (Bizimana 1998:342)

/umukwé ntáabá umwáana/ {both} 'The groom is not a child.' (Bizimana 1998:343)

/umwáana ntáabá umukwé/ {both} 'The child is not a groom.' (Bizimana 1998:343)

### 16.3.1. Passivization [OVS]

The most common form of reversal available in both English and Bantu is the use of the PASSIVE VOICE (-w-) whereby the object is promoted to subject position and the doer of the action (the passive agent, if any is specified) is put in the place usually reserved for the object, marked by **na**.

- O + V-pass + (na-S)

/imbwá yiishwe n'ingwe/ {both} 'The dog is killed by the leopard.' (Overdulve 1975:283)

cf: /imbwá yiishe ingwe/ {both} 'The dog killed the leopard.' (Overdulve 1975:283)

/umurimá uhiingwa na Yohaána/ {Rwanda} 'The field is cultivated by John.' (Overdulve 1975:216)

/amasúka ahiingiishwa n'ábaantu/ {Rwanda} 'Hoes are used by people to plow.' (Bizimana 1998:345)

/ababyéyi buumvirwa n'úumwáana/ {Rwanda} 'The parents are obeyed by the child.' (Bizimana 1998:345)

cf: /ababyéyi buumvira umwáana/ {Rwanda} 'The parents obey the child.' (Bizimana 1998:345)

/ijaambo ryaavuzwé na wéwe/ {Rundi} 'The word that was said by you.' (Cristini 2000:169)

/bitumwe n'úukó indwáara nyiinshi zivurwá zigakira/<sup>483</sup> {Rundi} 'Due to the fact that many diseases are treated and cured.' (37.3)

/bátabiheérewé uburéangaanzirá n'úbutégetsi bwaa komiini/ {both} '... without their being given approval by the commune administration.' (R8a)

/haabwa impuúndu n'áabáawé/ {both} 'Be given the acclamation of your own people!' (R21.2)

Note that "in certain expressions a verb can have a passive meaning without taking a passive suffix, especially with regard to objects of everyday life" (Overdulve 1975:196).

/inzu isakaaye nézáz/ {both} 'The house is well covered (roofed).' (Overdulve 1975:196)

/nasaanze urugi rúkiinze/ {both} 'I found the door closed.' (Overdulve 1975:196)

/nzanira imyeénda iméshe/ {Rwanda} 'Bring me the washed clothes.' (Overdulve 1975:196)

### 16.3.2. Other Kinds of Object-First Constructions [OV(S)]

In one EMPHATIC CONSTRUCTION an object complement can be placed in front of the verb; in this case it is generally echoed as an object in the verbal form by an appropriate group-agreement infix.

- O + V

/ibitooke tubitarika héepfo y'úrugó/ {Rundi} 'The bananas, we let them ripen outside in the yard.' (R15, Cristini 2000:331)

/imirimo yaawe ndayigutéesha/ {both} 'Your tasks, I make you abandon them.' (R36.2)

/imiruho yaanjye ndayigukwúza/ {Rwanda} 'My troubles, I extend them out to you.' (R36.2)

/amarirá yaanjye ndayágutúura/ {Rwanda} 'My tears, I give them to you.' (R36.2)

RELATIVE CLAUSES may also have this OVS order, but the verb is ACTIVE and its subject is not marked by **na**.

- O + V-rel + S

/amafaraanga ntá yo ngirá/ {Rundi}, /amafaraanga ntáa yo ngirá/ {Rwanda} '... the money I don't have.' (Overdulve 1975:298)

/ivyáamwa birimá abaruúndi/ {Rundi} '... the fruits which the Rundis cultivate.' (Cristini 2000:169)

/inyána ziragiye abáana/ {both} '... the calves which the children guard.' (Cristini 2000:169, LN)

/inyama ziteetsé abagoré/ {both} '... the meat which the women cooked.' (LN, JN)

/ijaambo rivuzé abagabo/ {both} '... a word that is spoken by men.' (LN, JN)

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<sup>483</sup> Note that the second (sequence) verb /zigakira/ is ACTIVE, not passive.



Note that generally the order of RELATIVE CLAUSES is more fixed than their indicative counterparts.

- N + S + V-rel + Cop + Adj  
/ingwe **abahigi baroondéra ni mbí**/ {Rundi} 'The leopard that the hunters are looking for is dreadful.'  
(Cristini 2000:169)  
/udukwí **tweebwé turoondéra ní dukéeyi**/ {Rundi} 'Sticks for firewood that we are looking for are really small (in amount).' (Cristini 2000:169)
- N + S-V-rel + Cop + Adj  
/umurimá **duhiinga ní mwiizá**/ {Rwanda} 'The field that we plow is good.' (Overdulve 1975:280)
- N + S-V-rel + Obj  
/imirwaano **ihítana abatuúrage b'inzirakareéngane**/ {Rwanda} '... battles which kill innocent civilians.' (R10)
- Rel-Pro + N + S + V-rel + O  
/icéemezo **cúukó abáana baágoomba gutúungwa n'íibére**/ {Rundi} (JN) , /icyéemezo **cyúukó abáana baágoomba gutúungwa n'íibére**/ {Rwanda} 'a resolution that children must be breastfed.'  
(R6)
- Rel-Pro + N + S-V-rel + O  
/siinkigira **icó maríra abáanjé**/ {Rundi} , /siinkigira **icyó maríra abáanjyé**/ {Rwanda} 'I am no longer of any use to my family.' [lit. 'I no longer have that which I serve my family.'] (R34.5)
- Rel-Pro + S-O-V-rel  
/icó **unsabá ... ndakíguha**/ {Rundi} 'Whatever you ask from me, I will give it to you.' (R27.10)

### 16.3.3. Indefinite Constructions [VS]

There are certain INDEFINITE CONSTRUCTIONS with the order VS, i.e., wherein the verb comes first and the subject follows. These are usually translated by *there is* or *there are*. Kimenyi 1980:56 describes this process as "dummy insertion" with **ha-**. He points out that in this kind of construction, only subjects can be transformed in this way, i.e., not grammatical objects (as in passivization). However, this *nIO* construction can be found in both the active and the passive.

- V-indef + S  
/haaje **abaantu beénshi**/ {both} *v-indef-recent-perf-act-con* 'There came many people.' (Overdulve 1975:280)  
/hararira **umwáana**/ {both} *v-indef-imm-impf-act-dis* 'It is the child who is crying.' (Kimenyi 1980:56) or 'There is a child crying.'  
cf: /umwáana **ararira**/ {both} *v-ind-imm-impf-act-dis* 'The child is crying.'  
/hiibwe **umugoré**/ {both} *v-indef-imm-perf-pass-con* 'It is the woman who was robbed.' (Kimenyi 1980:56) or 'There was a woman robbed.'  
cf: /umugoré **yariibwe**/ {both} *v-ind-imm-perf-pass-dis* 'The woman was robbed.'  
/ntihiiwbé **umugoré**/ {both} *v-indef-neg-imm-perf-pass* 'It is not the woman who was robbed.' (Kimenyi 1980:56) or 'There was no woman robbed.'  
/haári **háatumiwe abaantu bóose**/ {Rundi} (R29.3), /haári **háatumiwe abaantu bóose**/ {Rwanda} (LN) *v-indef-cop-loc-aux-cmp-pret+v-part-pret-perf-pass-con* 'All the people had been invited.'  
/haaráhinguwe **imití myiínshi**/ {Rundi} *v-indef-pret-perf-pass-dis* 'There were many medicines manufactured.' (R37.3)  
/haarakozwe **ibibí vy'ágahomerabunwa**/ {Rundi}' (R37.4), /haákozwe **ibibí by'ágahomamunwa**/ {Rwanda} (LN) *v-indef-pret-perf-pass-dis* 'Evil beyond belief had been done.'  
/hari **abaantu batatu bahiingá**/ {Rwanda} *v-cop-loc-indef-imm + v-rel-imm* 'There are three people who cultivate.' (Overdulve 1975:233)

/hahiinga abaantu batatu/ {Rwanda} 'There are three people cultivating.' (Overdulve 1975:233)

#### 16.3.4. Impersonal Constructions [V(O)]

The first group plural **ba-** *they* and the fourth group neuter singular **ki-** and plural **bi-** *it* are used to form IMPERSONAL CONSTRUCTIONS which do not make reference to specific persons, things, or events. In these, the subject is bound up in the verb and the sentence has no head noun. Such a verb may occur alone or with a variety of complements: object, adverb, clause, etc.

- V-impers [the verb alone]
  - /biragayitse/ {both} *v-impers-n4-pl-ind-imm-perf-dis* 'It is despicable.' (R30.2, JN)
  - /birakomeye/ {both} *v-impers-n4-pl-ind-imm-perf-dis* 'It is difficult.' or 'That's hard.' (Overdulve 1975:88, Bizimana 1998:340)
  - /ntibishobóka/ {both} *v-impers-n4-pl-ind-neg-imm-impf* 'It is impossible.' (Overdulve 1975:88, JN)
- V-impers + O [verb + object or a variety of complements]
  - /bizooba vyízá/ {Rundi} (JN), /bizaaba byíza/ {Rwanda} 'This will be beautiful.'
  - /vyaáraangiye néézá/ {Rundi} (JN), /byaáraangiye néézá/ {Rwanda} 'This ended well.' (LN)
  - /vyaákozwe vubá/ {Rundi} (JN), /byaákozwe vubá/ {Rwanda} 'It was done quickly.' (LN)
  - /ní vyíza/ {Rundi} (JN), /ní byíza/ {Rwanda} 'It is good.' (Overdulve 1975:88)
  - /ní bibí/ {both} 'It is bad.' (Overdulve 1975:88)
  - /bavuga kó umugaanga ataazá/ {both} *v-impers-n1-pl-imm-impf* 'They say that the doctor isn't coming.' (Overdulve 1975:233)
  - /igipaánde c'impúzu y'igití y'úbuyoonga, baákomye caane/ {Rundi} *v-impers-n1-p-rell-pret-perf* 'a piece of cloth from fig bark, thoroughly pounded' [lit. 'which they pounded'] (R5)
  - /kirazira kaánda kunywa inzogá/ {both} *v-impers-n4-sg-ind-imm-impf-dis* 'Moreover it is forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages.' (R31.5)
  - /kirazira kwíca/ {both} *v-impers-n4-sg-ind-imm-impf-dis* 'Killing is forbidden.' (Overdulve 1975:233)
  - /birabújijwe kwíinjira/ {both} *v-impers-n4-pl-ind-imm-perf-pass-dis* 'Entry prohibited.' (Overdulve 1975:233)
  - /bikaba vyúumviikana kó.../ {Rundi} (JN), /bikaba byúumviikana kó.../ {Rwanda} *v-impers-n4-pl-cop-aux-cmp-seq-imm+v-part-imm* 'And it is clear that ...' (R26.2)
  - /vyaamutwaaye amafaraanga meénshi/ {Rundi} (JN) /byaamutwaaye amafaraanga meénshi/ {Rwanda} *v-impers-n4-pl-ind-recent-perf-con* 'This cost him a lot of money.' (LN)

#### 16.3.5. Locative First Constructions [LocV(S)]

If the sentence starts out with a locative, then the subject appears behind the verb which is itself in the locative, i.e., it will have either an indefinite *n10 subject* or an appropriate *postposition* attached (see §16.1.4).

- Loc + V+post + S
  - /kurí paríki y'ibirúnga yigaanjemo ingagi zó mu misózi/ {Rwanda} 'In the Volcano Park which is dominated by mountain gorillas ...' (LN)
  - /mu gicapó hakaba harimwó umuhoro/ {Rundi} 'In the picture, there used to be a machete.' (R29.5)
  - /mu rugó hari mó abaantu/ {Rwanda} 'There are people in the enclosure.' (Overdulve 1975:280)
  - /mu bibaánza usaanzwé udáandarizwamwó/ {Rundi} '... to places where it is usually sold.' (R35.4)
  - /murí baánki mfiseyó amafaraanga menshi/ {Rundi} (JN), /murí baánki mfitemó amafaraanga menshi/ {Rwanda} 'At the bank, I have (in it) a lot of money.' (Overdulve & Jacob 1998:265)
- Loc + n10-loc-V
  - /ku mugórooba harakóonja/ {both} 'In the evening, it is cold.' (Overdulve 1975:285)
  - /ku kivú ní héézá/ {both} 'At Lake Kivu, it is beautiful.' (Overdulve 1975:285)
  - /mu máazi hooga abahuúngu/ {both} 'There are (some) boys swimming in the water.' (Overdulve 1975:285)

- Loc + S + v+post  
/mu kabáandé inká ziriishayó/ {Rundi} (JN), /mu kabáandé inká ziriishamó/ {Rwanda} 'In a valley, cows graze there.' (Bizimana 1998:347)

### 16.3.6. Grammatical Reversal [(O)VS]

In this highly idiomatic construction, the object appears first, followed by an indicative conjoint verb, and lastly the subject.<sup>484</sup> Note that the verb agrees with the fronted object and a literal translation would often render the sentence's meaning as ludicrous.

- O + V + S  
/amafaraanga yaanje yiivye ndé?/ {Rundi} (JN), /amafaraanga yaanje yiibye ndé?/ {Rwanda} 'Who stole my money?' (LN)  
/ibi vyakoze ndé/ {Rundi} (JN), /ibi byakoze ndé/ {Rwanda} 'Who did this?' (LN)  
/uruguma ruva amaráso/ {both} 'Blood is flowing from the wound.' [lit: 'The wound is emitting blood.'] (Meeussen 1959:215f, LN)  
cf: /amaráso ava mu ruguma/ {both} 'Blood is flowing from the wound' (Meeussen 1959:215, LN)  
/uwo murimá uhiinga Paawúro/ {Rwanda} 'This field is cultivated by Paul.' (Overdulve 1975:196)  
/umurimá uhiinga Yohaána/ {Rwanda} 'John cultivates the field.' [lit. 'The field cultivates John.'] (Overdulve 1975:215–6)  
cf: /yohaána ahiinga umurimá/ {Rwanda} 'John cultivates the field.' (Overdulve 1975:215–6)  
cf: /umurimá uhiingwa na Yohaána/ {Rwanda} 'The field is cultivated by John.' (Overdulve 1975:216)  
/ijoro rimenya uwaríraayekó/ {Rundi} (Rodegem 1967:150), /ijoro rimenya uwaríraaye/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'Only he who has spent a sleepless night can talk about it.' [proverb]  
/ijaambo ryaavuzé wewé/ {Rundi} 'The word that you said.' (Cristini 2000:169)  
cf: /ijaambo ryaavuzwé na wéwe/ {Rundi} 'The word that was said by you.' (Cristini 2000:169)  
/yáa matá yanyooye umwáana/ {both} 'The child drank that milk.' [lit. 'That milk drank the child.'] (Bizimana 1998:343)  
cf: /umwáana yanyooye yáa matá/ {both} 'The child drank that milk.' (Bizimana 1998:343)  
/imbogá zibona abáana/ {both} 'The children get the vegetables.' [lit. 'The vegetables get the children.'] (Bizimana 1998:343)  
cf: /abáana babona imbogá/ {both} 'The children get the vegetables.' (Bizimana 1998:343)  
/amasúka ahiingiisha abaantu/ {both} 'People plow with hoes.' [lit. 'Hoes make people plow.'] (Bizimana 1998:345)  
cf: /abaantu bahiingiisha amasúka/ {both} 'People plow with hoes.' (Bizimana 1998:345)  
cf: /amasúka ahiingiishwa n'abaantu/ {both} 'Hoes are used by people to plow.' (Bizimana 1998:345)  
/ababyéeyi buumvira umwáana/ {Rwanda} 'A child obeys (his) parents.' (Bizimana 1998:345)  
cf: /umwáana yuumvira ababyéeyi/ {Rwanda} 'A child obeys the parents.' (Bizimana 1998:345)  
cf: /ababyéeyi buumvirwa n'úmwáana/ {Rwanda} 'The parents are obeyed by the child.' (Bizimana 1998:345)

In a similar construction, there is no fronted object, but an IMPERSONAL INDICATIVE conjoint verb is followed by the true subject (contrast the word order in §16.3.4). Note that the verb is in the NEUTER PLURAL (**bi-** *n4-pl*) but is ACTIVE, not passive as is the English rendition.

- V-impersonal + S  
/bítegetse mugaanga/ {both} 'It is ordered by the doctor.' (Overdulve 1975:196)  
/bivuze Yohaána/ {both} 'It is said by John.' (Overdulve 1975:196)

<sup>484</sup> As Overdulve 1975:216 illustrates for Kinyarwanda, this SYNTACTIC REVERSAL has the effect of avoiding the passive suffix without changing the order of the words. Overdulve & Jacob 1998:266f point out that INVERSION puts *emphasis on the verb*, while SYNTACTIC REVERSAL places *emphasis on the object*. Also consult the numerous possibilities for reversal in Bizimana 1998:342–353. For Kirundi, see Meeussen 1959:215.

## Chapter 16: Word Order

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Even a passive construction can have reversal when the verb is marked with the postposition **-mo** {Rwanda} / **-mwo** {Rundi}.

- O + V-post (**-mo** / **-mwo**) + S  
/nihó ibisagara bibiri vy'igihúgu c'úbuyápaáni vyaáteerwamwó boómbe atomike/ {Rundi} (R37.4), /nihó imigí ibiri y'igihúgu cy'úbuyápaáni yaáteerwagamó boómbe atomike/ {Rwanda} (LN) 'This is when atomic bombs were dropped upon two cities in Japan.' [lit. 'two cities of Japan were bombed upon atomic']

An infinitive can be separated from its head verb for dramatic effect:

- /nó kumwúumviriza ntaa wabáandaanije/ {Rundi} *v-inf + neg-pred-ind + auto-nl-sg-red* '... and there was no one who continued to pay attention to him.' [lit. ... and to pay attention to him there was no one.] (R11)

Some instances of reversal may appear awkward, especially where several nouns appear and the subject of the verb is sentence final.

- V + O1 + O2 + Loc + S  
/yaheereye umwáana ibiryó muu nzu umubyéeyi/ {Rwanda} 'The parent gave food to the child in the house.' (Bizimana 1998:341)

## 17. INDEX OF GRAMMATICAL TERMINOLOGY

The following bring together all of the technical terms used in this book and also terms one might encounter in French textbooks and grammars (mostly from Overdulse 1975).

**ablative case** – the place *from* or *out of* which an action proceeds

**abstract noun** – indicates an abstraction or non-tangible item, e.g., *love, friendship*, often marked by **ubu-** [n8], but also found in other noun classes [n5, n6]

**accusative** – the name of the case identifying the direct object of a verb or after certain prepositions in Latin which has been applied broadly to the grammar of other languages; in English and Bantu it occurs unmarked or zero after the verb, i.e., **word order** rather than **case** prevails; object pronoun infixes are also expressions of the accusative case

**addressee** – the one who is listening, the second person, as in English *you* (Old English *thou, ye*)

**adjective** – a smallish group of descriptive words in Bantu languages that modify a noun; each must match the class of the noun to which it is linked

**adverb** – a word that modifies a verb or an adjective and indicates time, place, manner, degree, intensity, frequency, measure, size, or opinion (§11)

**adverbial numeral** – the use of a number as an adverb, e.g., *at once, primarily, at once* (§7.3)

**affirmative** – a term indicating the positive logical value of the verb; contrast: **negative**

**affix** – a **prefix, infix, or suffix** (q.v.)

**agent** – the doer of an action

**agreement marker** – connects two nouns together and can serve to mark a whole range of relationships, including possession, attribution, etc.

**allophones** – alternate pronunciations of a given phoneme

**alternate form** – a word which has more than one shape, e.g., /ingufú/ or /inguvú/ 'strength'

**andative** – an auxiliary motion verb implying *go to VERB, go and VERB* (§10.2.2); contrast: **venitive**

**antonym** – a word with the opposite meaning of another, e.g., *good – bad*

**apodosis** – the *then* clause in a conditional statement (§8.1.4); contrast: **protasis**; see: **indicative conditional**

**appellative** (Overdulse 1975:252-254) – see: **vocative**

**applicative verb augment** – see: **benefactive**

**article** – the term sometimes used for the first vowel of a noun class marker, e.g., **umu-**, **ama-**; see: **thematic vowel**

**aspect** – indicates whether an action is ongoing or in progress (**progressive**), finished (**perfective**), or not yet completed (**imperfective**); contrast: **tense**

**aspiration** – the process of pronouncing a consonant with a puff of air, such as the first consonant of English *pit, ton, kick*

**assimilation** – the sound change whereby a sound becomes more similar to a neighboring sound, such as what happens to the English negative prefix *in-* in *imperfect, incomplete, irregular*

**associative verb** – the addition of the augment **-an-** indicates that the agents or subjects are doing an action *to each other* (**mutual**) or *with one another* (**reciprocal**)

**attributive or stative** – a verb augment (**-ik-** or **-ek-**) that has the force of turning a verb into an adjective-like or attributive construction (§8.14.5)

**augment**<sup>1</sup> – a morpheme that comes after the verb root and usually changes the valence

**augment**<sup>2</sup> – a morpheme which precedes the classifier and which has the same vowel as the latter; it is found in substantives and equivalent forms (Overdulve 1975:42,322); see: **article**

**automatic** – a predictable or consistent change in a language, such as some spelling differences between Rundi and Rwanda, e.g., Rwanda «**cy**» > Rundi «**c**», Rwanda «**shy**» > Rundi «**sh**», Rwanda «**by**» > Rundi «**vy**»; contrast: **sporadic**

**automatic sound changes** – each specific fusion (palatalization with **y** or velarization with **w**) will result in a special fixed pronunciation

**autonome** – the mood that changes a fully inflected verb into a noun (§8.4); it appears in all tenses to designate *the one who VERBs* or *those who VERB* (with appropriate tense changes, e.g., who VERBed, who will VERB, etc.), usually marked by high tone on the first vowel after the prefix

**auxiliary verb** – a verb that loses its original meaning when it serves as the head of another verb, it takes on instead aspectual or temporal functions; forms of the verb "to be" (–**rí** or –**bá**) used to show progressive and future tenses or an action out of the main time line

**back** – refers to the location in the mouth or oral cavity where certain vowel sounds are made; see: **front – central – back**

**benefactive** or **applicative verb** – the addition of the augment –**ir-** or –**er-** shows the result of applying the action; doing s.t. *for*, *to*, or *on behalf* of someone; it can turn a transitive verb into a ditransitive one (§8.14.1)

**bisyllabic** – a word consisting of two syllables

**both** – for the purposes of this study, the word or example occurs in Kirundi (Bujumbura dialect) and in Kinyarwanda (Kigali dialect)

**cardinal numeral** – a primary number, e.g., **one, two, three, four**, etc. (§7.1, Tables 86–94)

**cardinal vowel system** – the five major vowels /**a, e, i, o, u**/

**Cas i** – monophonic, non-prevocalic prefix (Overdulve 1975:308 note 6); see: **weak**

**Cas ii** – diphonic and/or prevocalic prefix (Overdulve 1975:308 note 6); see: **strong**

**case** – an affix or a word order position that indicates the grammatical role of a noun in a sentence; see: **nominative, possessive** (also known as genitive), **object** (also known as accusative), and **locative**; way to keep the satellites (nouns) apart by marking them for their relationship within the sentence to avoid confusion

**causative verb** – the addition of the augments –**iish-** or –**eesh-** implies that the action is *made to happen* or *caused to occur* (§8.14.2); see also: **factitive verb**

**caused actor** – the person made to do some action as the result of adding the causative augments –**iish-** or –**eesh-** (§8.14)

**cell** – morphonological unit which bears morphotonemes: vowels (short and long), the morphoneme of quantity at the beginning of a morpheme, a nasal consonant (**n** or **m**) at the beginning of a morpheme if it is alone and before a consonant (Overdulve 1975:322)

**central** – refers to the location in the mouth or oral cavity where certain vowel sounds are made; see: **front – central – back**

**circumfix** – the combination of two or more affixes around a root, e.g., **umu-Δ-i** or **imi-Δ-er-e**

**circumflex** – symbol which marks a long vowel the first of which is high-toned in Kirundi, e.g., (**gu**)**têka**/ {Rundi}, /(**gu**)**téeka**/ {Rwanda} 'to cook;' in recent Kinyarwanda books (Bizimana 1998, Overdulve & Jacob 1998) this symbol marks a high tone, e.g., (**gu**)**têeka**/ {Rwanda}

**citation form** – the standard form given when one says a noun or a verb; the form most likely to appear in a dictionary

- class** – a member of a grammatical subdivision of nouns in the Bantu language family; one of 19 categories in Kinyarwanda or Kirundi in which the majority of nouns are arranged; a class is characterized by its own classifier (Overdulve 1975:41,322); contrast: **group**
- class marker** – an affix associated with a particular noun class, e.g., **ki (iki)** *n4-sg*, **bu (ubu)** *n8-sg*
- classifier** – prefix or infix characteristic of or associated with a specific noun class (Overdulve 1975:41,322)
- closed set** – a part of speech not open to borrowing
- cognitive verb** – a verb that expresses some form of *knowing* (e.g., *assume, suppose, perceive, or be acquainted*, §8.16.2)
- collective noun** – a noun that refers to a collection of entities, e.g., **/ubwaátsi/** {both} *n8-sg-col* 'grass,' **/umuceri/** {both} *n2-sg-col* 'rice,' or a noun in the plural that does not have a singular, sometimes called PLURALIA TANTUM, e.g., **/amahóro/** {both} 'peace,' **/amáazi/** {both} 'water'
- comparative degree** – an inflected (e.g., English *-er*) or phrasal (e.g., English *more*) form of an adjective which is in an ascending series and shows that a noun has more of a quality than some other noun with which it is compared, not found in Rwanda and Rundi
- comparative verb** – two verbs (**/-ngana/** {both} 'be the same size, be equal or equivalent; be so many' and **/-sa/** {both} 'look like, resemble') that express some form of comparison (§8.16.3)
- comparison of inferiority** – use of an active verb to compare one noun to another (§6.6)
- comparison of superiority** – use of an active verb to compare one noun to another (§6.6)
- compensatory lengthening** – the lengthening of a vowel which compensates for the loss of another vowel, e.g., **/mur'úuru/** {both} 'in this one' [*n6-sg*] < **/murí uru/**
- completely different word** – a situation where two otherwise closely-related dialects do not overlap at all, e.g., **/igitígiri/** {Rundi}, **/umubaré/**{Rwanda} 'number'
- compound** – two or more roots or stems put together into a single word
- conditional** – the verb tense marked by **/-oo-/** {Rundi} or **/-aa-/** {Rwanda} signifying some hypothetical condition or eventuality, often translated by *should* or *would* (§8.1.4)
- conditional future** – the tense and affix combination **/-aa-zaa-/** found only in Kinyarwanda which refers to a hypothetical condition or eventuality at least one day in the future
- conditioning mood** (Overdulve 1975:241f, French: *mode conditionnant*) – see: **relative conditional**
- conjoint** – refers to a verb that has an object or some other complement following it; it is unmarked and loses any high tone; contrast: **disjoint**
- conjugation** – moving around from one verb form to another
- conjunction** – word form that links words or sentence parts; see: **coordinating** and **subordinating**
- conjunctive**<sup>1</sup> – a word that behaves like a conjunction
- conjunctive**<sup>2</sup> (Overdulve 1975:155f, 258–260, French *conjunctif*) – see: **participial**
- conjunctive writing** or **written conjunctively** – entire phrases are written together as one word, as in Rwanda and Rundi **/baramúfasha/** 'they are helping him;' contrast: **conjunctive writing**
- consonant** – sounds which, in one way or another, obstruct the flow of air through either the mouth or nose; contrast: **vowel**
- consonant roots** – stems that begin with a consonant
- context** – the total setting or situation of a word in a sentence or a story, one should always be on the lookout for clues given by context

- contraction** – a sequence of two or more vowels within a word
- coordinating conjunction** – a word linking equal grammatical elements, e.g., *and*, *or* in English; contrast: **subordinating conjunction**
- couple** – a group of two classes which regularly go together to express singular-plural contrast (Overdulse 1975:41,322); see: **noun group**
- copulative verb** – the invariable /**ni**/ and /**si**/ and the conjugated forms of /-**bá**/, /-**báaye**/ and /-**rí**/ which express the idea of *to be* (§8.17)
- coverb** – four monosyllabic verb roots that follow another verb which serves as its head verb: /-**té**/ {both} *how?*, /-**ti**/ {both} *said*, /-**tyá**/ {both}, /-**rtyá**/ {Rundi} *like this*, /-**tyó**/ {both}, /-**rtyó**/ {Rundi} *like that* (§10.1)
- current relevance** – an implication of the perfective aspect that an action or state has been achieved but its effects are still present, e.g., *has arrived (and is still here)*, *is hungry (has become hungry and still is)*
- daerisis** (or double dots) – designates a long vowel, both of which are high-toned, e.g., /**mwése**/ {Rundi} 'all of you' = /**mwéése**/
- definite** – equivalent to *the* in English; contrast: **indefinite**
- degree** – category of tense in a verb conjugation (Overdulse 1975:322)
- deictic** – a demonstrative pronoun, e.g., *this*, *that*
- dependent** – a form which cannot be used alone because it is tied to other words within the phrase
- derivation** – the process of moving from one part of speech to another (e.g., *friend* noun > *befriend* verb) or even to a subclass of a given part of speech (*friend*, *friendship* nouns); contrast with **inflection**
- derived homographs** – words that happen to be pronounced the same although the difference is exaggerated by different grammatical patterns, e.g., *rays* [n-pl] and *raise* [v-tr] in English; «**basoma**» in Rundi has nine different readings based on mood or tense distinctions, while it has five differences in Rwanda (Table 10)
- dialect** – a member of a speech community that is mutually-intelligible with at least one other member of that community all of which then form a single **language** (q.v.)
- digraph** – a combination of two letters which represents a single sound
- diminutive** – meaning involving something smaller in size, relationship, or degree to a correlate noun in another class
- discourse verb** – a verbal ideophone or interjective verb that occurs alone and is invariable or uninflected
- disjoint** or **disjunctive** – refers to a verb that does not have any object or other complement following it; it is usually marked by **-ra-** and preserves root tonality; contrast: **conjoint**
- disjunctive writing** or **written disjunctively** – whole words are separated by spaces, as in English *they will have bought it*; contrast: **conjunctive writing**
- disjunctively** – written as whole words and separated by spaces (contrast: conjunctively)
- disyllabic** – having two syllables; contrast: **monosyllabic**, **trisyllabic**, **polysyllabic**
- ditransitive** – a verb that takes two objects
- dual** – just two individuals or items are specified
- dual meaning** – enumerative pronoun that covers the sense of English *both*, *two of*
- durative** or **frequentative** – a verb augment (**-iriz-**, **-erez-**) that carries the sense of *do VERB persistently, repeatedly, or over a prolonged time* (§8.14.8)



**echo** – a sound or a form that is found identically elsewhere in the same word, such as the first vowel of most class affixes (**umu-**, **iki-**, **ama-**, **uku-**, etc.) or the second part of a reduplication (**kugeendageenda**, **gukórakora**, etc.)

**echo form** – emphatic pronoun forms that relate to each of the noun groups (§4.1)

**elision** – loss of vowels across a word boundary

**emphatic personal pronouns** – the long form of personal pronouns (§4.1)

**ending** – morpheme which habitually terminates a word (Overdulve 1975:323); see: **suffix**

**enumerative** – a word that overlaps with a number in terms of its meaning (§7.5)

**enumerative interrogative** – a question word asking *Which (of two or several)?* (§13.5)

**enumerative pronoun** – pronouns that share semantic features with numbers (§7) in that they imply some form of enumeration (§4.10)

**exclamative** (Overdulve 1975:252) – see: **interjection**

**existential verb** – forms of the verb (ku)**gira** {both} 'be (such and such, of a certain quantity or number)'

**expression** – a group of words usually used together

**extended meaning** – a secondary, but related meaning

**external object** – a full noun that appears in the sentence as a complement after the verb

**factitive verb** – the addition of the augment **-y-** or palatalization implies that the action is or has become a fact (§8.14.3); see also: **causative verb**

**false friends** – words that sound the same or similar but do not have the same meaning, e.g., English *demand* and French *demande* 'request'; cf: **inter-dialectal homograph**

**feminine** – female gender

**final vowel** – a vowel that occurs at the end of a word; contrast: **initial vowel**, **penult vowel**

**first person** – the speaker, as in English *I*, *we*

**fixed or obligatory tone pattern** – tone is always found on a given syllable

**focus** – a means of highlighting noun complements, e.g., passive voice (**-w-**) makes the object of an action into a subject, or word order reversal puts sentence elements out of their usual SVO order

**free word order** – the order of words per se does not serve a grammatical function so they may be switched around without any significant meaning change

**frequentative** – see: **durative**

**fricative** or **spirant** – sound made when the air flow gets partially obstructed, resulting in some form of friction within the mouth

**front** – **central** – **back** – refers to the location in the mouth or oral cavity where vowel sounds are made

**future** – verb tense signifying that an action is proposed to be completed

**Ganda law** also called **Meinhof's law** – see: **nasal harmony**

**general kinship terms** – kin nouns that have the usual possessive marking (§1.8.1, Table 18); contrast: **primary kinship terms**, **secondary kinship terms**

**generic interrogative** – the declined question root /-**kí**/ asking *What?* (§13.3, Table 130)

## Chapter 17: Index of Grammatical Terminology

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**gerund** – an auxiliary construction composed of the copulative **-rí** (always inflected with a high tone) plus a subjunctive verb invariably in *n8-sg*; its present tense form implies that an action is expected to occur within the same day of speaking; in the past, it implies an anticipated action in a previous time frame (§8.5.3)

**glide** or **semivowel** – if the air flows freely (which is the characteristic of a vowel), but is affected by the shape of the mouth

**government** – requiring that another word be in a specific grammatical category, e.g., adjectives or subjects must agree with the class and number (group) of the noun to which they refer

**grammar differences** – the case where two dialects inflect words in a completely different way, e.g., [future] {Rundi} **-zoo-**, {Rwanda} **-zaa-**

**grammarian** – a person who studies the structure and parts of speech of a language

**grammatical class** – see: **class**

**group** – way of looking at Bantu noun classes on the basis of their singular and plural forms taken together, e.g., group 1 = class 1 (**umu-**) & 2 (**aba-**), group 2 = class 3 (**umu-**) & 4 (**imi-**), etc.

**hacek** (or **upside-down circumflex**) – indicates a long vowel, the second of which is high-toned, e.g., **/ububăsha/** {Rundi}, **/ububaásha/** {Rwanda} 'ability'

**head verb** – the main verb in a sentence; term usually used if an auxiliary or subordinate verb is present, such as *I want to go* (*want* is the head verb)

**high – mid – low** – refers to the position of the tongue (tongue height) in the pronunciation of a vowel

**high tone** – the rising in pitch on a given mora or syllable; contrast: **low tone**

**high tone root** – a base or stem that is marked by at least one high tone, usually on the first vowel

**homograph** – a word with the same spelling but different sound, which also has a completely different meaning, e.g., English *close*, /klos/ 'near' as opposed to /klo:z/ 'shut'

**homonym** – one of two or more forms that have the same sound but a completely different meaning, e.g., English *right* 'correct' vs. 'not left'

**homophone** – a word with the same sound but different spelling, e.g., English *raise* vs. *rays*

**hortative** – the mood of a verb expressing some form of urging or encouragement, e.g., *let's do x* (§8.9), contrast: **optative**

**human ecosystem** – the total local environment established by people living in a particular area, e.g., a dam in a river, a city, a house, etc

**hypothetical** – the logical value of a verb marked by **/ní-/** *if* followed by an object relative construction, immediate in Rwanda and recent in Rundi; see also: **affirmative**, **negative**

**ideophone** – a word that imitates an event, a sound, or even a color (as if it were speaking)

**idiomatic meaning** – the true meaning which usually does not relate to the individual meaning of the words; contrast: **literal meaning**

**immediate** – the verb tense comprising four distinct meanings: (1) general, timeless truth (e.g., in a proverb); (2) present, current action; (3) today or immediate future; (4) immediate past (§8.1.1)

**immediate disjunctive** – verb tense marked with **/-ra-/**; in addition to its general use it is used, even before a complement, to express the present (current action) or the today future (Overdulve 1975:61)

**imperative** – the mood of a verb expressing a command (§8.7)

- imperfective** – the **-a** aspect suffix on a verb which shows that an action has not yet been completed or is still in progress
- impersonal** – a construction which does not make reference to specific persons, things, or events, marked by first group plural **ba-** *they* and the fourth group neuter singular **ki-** and plural **bi-** *it*
- inalienable possessive** – a construction based on *n6-sg rw-* with the sense of 'very own' (§4.4)
- inceptive** – verb tense signifying *yet* or *already* in the affirmative and *not yet* in the negative
- inchoative** – a verb signifying *becoming x*
- indefinite** – equivalent to *a* or *an* in English (§4.8)
- indefinite nouns** – forms used when the speaker has either forgotten a word (or a name), or would rather not reveal it (§4.8)
- independent** – a form which can be used alone; a form that can be a complete utterance
- indicative** – the mood of main or independent clauses, used in making assertions or asking questions (§8.1; cf: Overdulve 1975:61)
- indicative conditional** – the *then* clause in a *if ... then* statement; see: **relative conditional**, cf: **apodosis**
- infinitive** – citation form of a verb meaning *to VERB* in English (§8.6); can also serve as a noun in group 9a; serves as the complement of auxiliary verbs like *to want* or *to be able*
- infix** – an affix specifying the noun group of an object that comes after other prefixes but immediately before the root
- inflection** – moving about within a given part of speech, such as changing a noun from singular to plural or conjugating a verb for a different tense or mood; contrast: **derivation**
- initial unstable tone** (Cristini 2000:186f, Rodegem 1967:102 French: *ton initial instable*) – see: **non-stable initial tone**
- initial vowel** – a vowel that occurs at the beginning of a word; contrast: **penult vowel**, **final vowel**
- insideness** – an interior location in space or in time
- instrumental** – specifies *with* or *using x* and marked by the augment **-iish-** or **-eesh-**; the reason for or result of an action; a way or means; carries the sense of *while* or *during* with time words
- intensive degree** – a form of an adjective (e.g., phrasal in English using adverbs like *very*, *extremely*) which is in an ascending series and shows that a noun has more of a quality than some other noun with which it is compared. marked by the suffixes **:-nyá**, **:-yá**, and **:-yí** in Kirundi (§6.6)
- intensive or repetitive** – a series of verb augments (**-agur-**, **-agir-**, **-agagur-**, **-agar-**) that imply that an action is *repeated many times* or *takes place over a long period of time* (§8.14.7)
- intensive or repetitive action** – the implication of reduplication on verbs (§2.5.17)
- inter-dialectal homograph** – words that look (or even sound) the same, but have a completely different meaning, e.g., «**nyakanga**» 'September' {Rundi}, but 'July' {Rwanda}; cf: **false friends**
- interjection** – a call or outcry made by a speaker, expressing his or her attitude or personal reaction to something which has arisen; a verbal gesture or emotive word, such as in English *ouch!*, *help!*, *oh!*
- internal object** – an object pronoun that occurs immediately before the verb root; see: **infix**
- interrogative** – a question word
- intonation** – tone marks a sentence type (e.g., question, exclamation, statement, etc.); the function of high sounds and low sounds at the level of the sentence (Overdulve 1975:322)

## Chapter 17: Index of Grammatical Terminology

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**intransitive** – a verb that does not take a direct object

**invariable** – a word that does not inflect or change (copulatives /**ni**/ or /**si**/, adverbs, prepositions, and interjections)

**invariable interrogative** – the question word /**iki**/ asking *What?* (§13.3)

**invariable interrogative** – the question word /**ki**/ asking *What kind?* or *What sort of?* (§13.4)

**irregular** – any form that does not fit the pattern considered basic for that part of speech

**irregular noun** – any noun that either is missing either a plural or singular form, or a noun that jumps from one noun class to another in its plural form (§3.5)

**irregular verb** – any verb not inflected according to the general patterns of a verb conjugation (§8.16)

**iterative** – doing something again, e.g., the English prefix *re-*

**jump tonal rule** – moves a high tone within the root word one mora to the right

**jussive** – the mood of a verb in Kinyarwanda expressing negative wishes or expectations (§8.8)

**kin term** – a word or phrase specifying one's relationship (i.e., my father, your father vs. his father)

**Kinyarwanda /ikinyarwaanda/** – in this study the Rwandan dialect of the greater Kigali area

**Kirundi /ikiruúndi/** – in this study the Rundi dialect of the greater Bujumbura area

**language** – the collection of all dialects (q.v.) that are mutually intelligible

**left-branching** – the tendency to put all the details that modify, qualify or otherwise explain a noun ahead of it, i.e., to the left in writing; English is a left-branching language (§16.1)

**letter** – a character used in the spelling of a language

**lexical** – that which pertains to the wordstock of a language, all that is presented in the dictionary (cf: Overdulve 1975:70,322)

**lexical morphotoneme of the root** – morphotoneme which plays an integral role in the root which is presented in a dictionary (Overdulve 1975:70); see: **root tonality**

**limitation** – having the sense of English *only, just* (§3.2.8.4)

**literal meaning** – the meaning obtained if the words are translated one by one; contrasts with **idiomatic meaning**

**locative** – expresses the location of an action, such as the place *in* or position *at*; marked by the prepositions **ku, mu, i, kwaa** or by the suffixes **-ko, -mo / -mwo, -yo**

**logical value** – the nature of the assertion: **affirmative, negative, or hypothetical**

**long vowel** – a double vowel; a vowel that lasts two morae /**aa, ee, ii, oo, uu**/

**low tone** – the falling in pitch on a given mora or syllable; contrast: **high tone**

**low tone root** – a root with all vowels pronounced with low pitch and written without any characters above (unmarked)

**macron** – designates a long low-toned vowel in Kirundi, e.g., /**(ku)gīsha/** {Rundi}, /**(ku)giisha/** {Rwanda} 'make s.o. go'

**manner interrogative** – a question word asking *How?* (§10.1.3, §13.9)

**marked<sup>1</sup>** – having an affix or high tone, e.g., indicative immediate disjoint (marked with **-ra-**), passive (marked with **-w-**); contrast: unmarked

- marked<sup>2</sup>** – having a presupposition or special meaning attached, e.g., *How young are you?* implies that the person is young, not old; contrast: unmarked
- marker** – a verbal morpheme placed immediately after the prefix, and which characterizes in particular the category of degree (Overdulve 1975:61,322)
- masculine** – male gender
- Meinhof's law** also called **Ganda law** – see: **nasal harmony**
- metathesis** – sound switching, e.g., English *ask* > African-American English *aks*
- Meussen's rule** – elimination of the second of the two high tones in a row; two high tones do not normally occur on immediately-following morae; the second one will be dropped (§2.4.25); cf: **tonal hapology**
- mobile tonal rule** or **leftward tone shift** – moves a high tone one mora to the left
- monosyllabic** – consisting of just one syllable, e.g., monosyllabic verbs; contrast: **disyllabic**, **trisyllabic**, **polysyllabic**
- mood** – the verbal function within the type of statement being made; see: **indicative**, **participial**, **relative**, **autonome**, **infinitive**, **imperative**, **jussive**, **hortative**, **optative**)
- mora** [pl: **morae**] – the length or duration of a vowel; a long vowel represents two morae
- moraic tonality** – the placement of high tone on a given mora (rather than on a specific syllable); contrast: **syllabic tonality**
- moraic tone rule** – high tone appears on the first mora following the first consonant of the word
- morpheme** – the smallest meaningful unit obtainable by linguistic analysis; a word is made up of morphemes (Overdulve 1975:42,322)
- morphology** – the layering of affixes around a root (§8, Table 101); the study of the grammatical structure of words (Overdulve 1975:322)
- morphonology** / **morphophonology** – the study of different phonological forms that can serve as morphemes (Overdulve 1975:322); see: **morphophonemic change**
- morphophonemic change** – a sound change brought about by contact with different morphemes, e.g., /d/ > /r/
- morphotoneme** – unit of tonality at the level of the morpheme; one passes from morphotonemes to tonemes by the rules of representation (Overdulve 1975:70,322)
- mutual** – the addition of the augment **-an-** indicates that the agents or subjects are doing an action *to each other* (§8.14.4); see also: **reciprocal**
- narrative** – a simple (immediate tense) form of the verb that acquires its time value from context; it has a logical connection to the main action (§8.1.1, §8.1.9); contrast: **subsecutive**
- nasal** – sound produced when the air flows through the nose rather than the mouth
- nasal harmony** (Ganda law, Meinhof's law) – instead of a nasal becoming more like a consonant (e.g., **in-** > **im-** in §2.5.2), the consonant /b/ becomes the nasal /m/ if the following syllable begins with a nasal, e.g., /**imaánza**/ {both} *n6-pl* 'disputes, litigations < **iN-baánza**
- natural gender** – based upon the sex of the referent
- negative** – any word that contains or expresses the idea of *no* or *not*; a term indicating the negative logical value of the verb, e.g., **nti-** or **-ta-** are negative markers for verbs; contrast: **affirmative**
- neuter** – neither gender, i.e., not masculine or feminine
- nil** – nothing, no data available or the form is not known to occur
- nominal** – a word that serves as a noun, such as pronouns, autonomes, infinitives, or adjectives

- nominal prefix** – a prefix which relates to the noun (Overdulse 1975:42)
- nominative** – the name of the case identifying the subject of a finite or copulative verb in Latin which has been applied broadly to the grammar of other languages
- non-stable initial tone** – several verb constructions have high tone on the first syllable so long as the verb does not come first in the sentence or follow a pause, e.g., negative verbs with **nti-**, copulatives with **ni**, **si** or **-rí**, and imperatives (§2.4.13); cf: **provisional high tone** (Stevick 1965:22) or **initial unstable tone** (Cristini 2000:186f, Rodegem 1967:102 French: *ton initial instable*)
- noun** – a form inflected for class, number, and case, and which refers broadly to persons, places, or things
- noun class** – a way of marking nouns among Bantu languages somewhat like gender in Indo-European languages; there are 19 noun classes in Rwanda-Rundi; contrast: **noun group**
- noun group** – the combination of singular and plural noun classes; there are 13 in Rwanda-Rundi
- noun phrase** – a head noun linked with another nominal, a numeral, or an adjective
- noun phrase agreement markers** – see: **possessive markers**
- number** – singular and plural; grammatical category encompassing class agreement (for the first six or seven) and fixed forms for those higher
- numeral** – a number in the form of a **cardinal** (*one*), **ordinal** (*first*), or **adverbial** (*once*)
- numerical interrogative** – a question word asking *How much?* or *How many?* (§13.8, Table 132)
- object** – the receiver of the action
- object pronoun infix** – an affix specifying the noun group of an object that comes after other prefixes but immediately before the root
- object relative pronoun** – a relative pronoun followed by a verb in the object relative mood; also called: **precessive pronoun** (§4.5 and Table 61)
- optative** – the mood of a verb expressing a wish (cf: Overdulse 1975:251f)
- ordinal** – any number expressing a sequence in a series equivalent to English *-th* (§7.2, Table 95)
- orthography** – the spelling system of a language
- outsideness** – an exterior location in space or in time
- palatalized consonant** – sound combinations with /y/
- participial** – the mood of dependent or subordinate clauses (§8.2), literally translated with *-ing*; also used in temporal clauses implying *when* or *as soon as*, after certain head verbs involving cognition, plus a number of auxiliary verbs (see §10.2.1 and Table 115), and always after the copulative auxiliaries **-rí**, **-bá** that show that an action is out of the main time line (see §10.3), usually marked by high tone on the first postconsonantal vowel
- passive** – a transitive verb form marked by the pre-suffix **-w-**, allowing the object of an action to serve as the subject of the sentence (§8.15); see: **voice**; contrast: **active**
- pejorative** – derogatory, depreciatory, reflecting a negative attitude
- penult** or **penultimate** – the next to last syllable or the second syllable from the end of the word; contrast: **initial syllable**, **final syllable**
- perfective** – the **-ye** aspect suffix on a verb which shows that an action has been completed or a state has been achieved, i.e., *have VERBed*; see: **current relevance**
- persistive** – verb tense signifying that an action is *still* going on

**person** – grammatical category relating to the speaker (**first person** *I* or *we*), the addressee or person who is listening (**second person** *you*), or another, i.e., who or what is being talked about (**third person** *he, she, it, they*)

**personal interrogative** – the question word /ndé/ asking *Who?* (§13.3)

**phoneme(s)** – significant sounds making up all words within a language

**phonemic representation** – sounds are written between slashes /a/

**phonesteme** – an equivalent of Bantu **ideophones** (q.v.) in some other language families

**phonetic rendition** – sounds are written within square brackets [a]

**phonetics** – describes how the sounds that actually occur in words are pronounced

**phonologist** – a person who analyzes which sounds are critical to a specific language

**phonology** – the area of linguistics that deals with sounds that are critical to a specific language; the study of different sounds and their pronunciation (Overdulse 1975:322)

**phonotactics** – the study of sound combinations which are permissible in a language

**phrase** – two or more words that together serve as a single part of speech, such as a noun phrase or a verb phrase

**place interrogative** – a question word asking *Where?* (§13.7)

**plural** – grammatical category of number identifying more than one; contrast: **singular**, **dual**

**pluralia tantum** – collective nouns (q.v.) in the plural that do not have a singular

**polysyllabic** – having four or more syllables; contrast: **monosyllabic**, **disyllabic**, **trisyllabic**

**positional** – a word that occurs in a fixed position, e.g., before or after a noun; see: **postposition** and **preposition**

**positive degree** – the basic form of an adjective which implies no comparison

**possessed** or **thing possessed** – the first member of a possessive phrase in Kirundi and Kinyarwanda followed by a possessive marker, e.g., /**umwiigiisha wa yóhaáni**/ {both} 'John's teacher' (§3.6.3.2, §4.4)

**possessive** – marks the relationship between **possessor** (like English 's) and **thing possessed**; also marks some association with a head noun (like English *of*); sometimes such a construction behaves like an adjective (§3.6.3)

**possessive marker** – a special series of particles that agree with the noun group of the possessor (Table 48)

**possessive verb** – a verb that expresses possession or ownership, /-fise/ {Rundi}, /-fite/ {Rwanda} 'have, own, possess' (§8.16.1)

**possessor** – the second member of a possessive phrase in Kirundi and Kinyarwanda preceded by a possessive marker, e.g., /**umwiigiisha wa yóhaáni**/ {both} 'John's teacher' (§3.6.3.2, §4.4)

**postposition** – a form specifying a location that comes after the verb

**postprefix** – the morpheme that immediately follows a prefix (Overdulse 1975:322)

**postradical** (syllable) – the syllable that immediately follows the root syllable (Overdulse 1975:70,322)

**precessive pronoun** – a relative pronoun followed by a verb in the object relative mood (§4.5 and Table 61); also called: **object relative pronoun**

**predicate** – the part of a sentence that follows the subject, usually consisting of the verb and any complements (object, locative, etc.) attached to it

**predicate complement** – the "object" or complement of a copulative verb (**ní, –rí, –bá**)

**predicative copulative** – invariable monosyllabic verbs (**ní, sí**) which can only have a third person (*he is, she is, they are*) or indefinite (*it is*) subject (§8.17.1)

**predicative negative** – a construction signifying *there is not* or *there are none*, marked with /ntaa/ and its other conjugated forms

**prefix** – any affix that comes before the root; small word part or morpheme that comes before a root or stem; indicates the class membership of a noun, the subject or tense of a verb

**preposition** – a form that comes before the noun or nominal (contrast: postposition)

**pre-prefix** – the morpheme which immediately precedes the prefix (Overdulve 1975:70,323)

**preterit** – the verb tense signifying an action completed previous to the day of speaking about it (§8.1.3)

**primary homographs** – words which in their root form happen to be pronounced the same and belong to the same part of speech, e.g., English *light* 'not heavy' – 'not dark.'

**primary kinship terms** – kinship nouns where the possessor is built in, with no possessive marking, e.g., /daatá/ {both} 'my father,' /só/ {both} 'your father' (§1.8.1, Table 16)

**progressive** – denotes an ongoing action

**prohibitive** – an auxiliary verb/-ooya/ {both} ordering one to *stop doing VERB* or which *does not allow VERB* (§8.16.4)

**pronoun** – a word that stands for a noun (a person, location, or other noun)

**proper noun** – a personal, family, or place name; always capitalized

**protasis** – the *if* clause in a conditional statement (§8.1.4); contrast: **apodosis**

**Proto Bantu** – the prehistoric or parent language of all Bantu languages

**provisional high tone** (Stevick 1965:22) or **initial unstable tone** (Cristini 2000:186f, Rodegem 1967:102 French: *ton initial instable*) – see: **non-stable initial tone**

**proximity** – a near location in space or in time

**question word** – an interrogative form

**quotative** – a form used to state the words said by oneself or another, either in a direct quote (exact words) or indirect quote (paraphrased or following a conjunction such as *that*, §10.1.1)

**radical syllable** – the first syllable of the root (Overdulve 1975:323)

**reason interrogative** – a question word asking *Why?* (§13.10)

**recent past** – the verb tense signifying an action completed on the same day of speaking about it (§8.1.2)

**reciprocal** – the addition of the augment **-an-** indicates that the agents or subjects are doing an action *with one another* (§8.14.4); see also: **mutual**

**reduced form** – the initial vowel of the prefix is dropped; the short form of a noun class prefix, e.g., **ba-** (**aba-**), **ki-** (**iki-**), **ku-** (**uku-**), etc.

**reduplication** – the process of repeating part or all of a word

**reflexive** – performing an action upon oneself; the prefix /ii-/ indicates that the agents or subjects are performing the action either *upon themselves* or *by themselves* (§8.13)

**regressive assimilation** – for words having four or more syllables, **vowel harmony** (q.v.) can work backwards to such an extent that it changes a root vowel, e.g., /-gomorora/ {both} *v-rev-tr* 'take down a dam or blockade, remove an obstacle' < /-gomera/ *v-tr* 'build a dam, obstacle, blockade' (§2.5.13)



**repetitive** – see: **intensive**

**relative** – the verb mood of dependent or subordinate clauses that broadly translate as *who, which, or that* in English; relative clauses are linked to an element (subject or object) within the main clause and are usually marked by high tone on the second syllable of the root (§8.3)

**relative conditional** – the *if* clause in a *if ... then* statement; see: **indicative conditional**, cf: **protasis**

**relative subjective** – see: **autonome** (Overdulse 1975:156-158, 231)

**reversive** – a verb augment that creates a verb with the reverse meaning of the root, e.g., *open* vs. *close, cover* vs. *uncover* (§8.14.6)

**right-branching** – the tendency to put all the details that modify, qualify or otherwise explain a noun after it, i.e., to the right in writing; Kirundi and Kinyarwanda are right-branching languages (§16.1)

**root** or **radical** – the minimal part of a word that carries its basic meaning; meaningful form that occurs as an element of inflection or derivation; contrast: **stem**; the fundamental morpheme of a word, which contains its lexical meaning (Overdulse 1975:42)

**root cell** – first cell of a root (Overdulse 1975:322)

**root syllable** – the first syllable of the root (Overdulse 1975:70)

**root tonality** – basic unit of tonality assigned to a word

**Rundi /ikiruúndi/** – in this study the dialect of the greater Bujumbura area

**Rwanda /ikinyarwaanda/** – in this study the dialect of the greater Kigali area

**second person** – the addressee or person spoken to, i.e., *you*

**secondary homograph** – see: **derived homograph**

**secondary kinship terms** – kin nouns with obligatory plural possessive marking (§1.8.1, Table 17)

**sequence** – the marker (-**ka**-) that establishes an action as chronologically related to a prior action (§8.12); see: **subsecutive**

**singular** – grammatical category of number identifying one and only one; contrast: **plural, dual**

**singulative pronoun** – an enumerative pronoun that covers the sense of English *alone, only, by oneself* (§4.10.1)

**sound change** – also called: **morphophonemic change**

**sporadic** – a unusual or inconsistent change in a language, e.g., when two speech varieties have words that are slightly different: Rundi «-**anka**» vs. Rwanda «-**anga**» 'dislike, reject;' contrast: **automatic**

**stative** – a verb showing an emotion, feeling, or state, usually it is **intransitive**; such verbs usually are in the **perfective** to show **current relevance** (q.v.)

**stative verb augment** – see: **attributive** (§8.14.5)

**stem** – a small word-part that is stripped of all affixes, but which occurs in word-formation; contrast with root; a form to which affixes may be or have been added

**stop** or **obstruent sound** – the airflow that passes through the vocal chords gets fully obstructed

**strong noun** – has a consonant (stop or strong nasal) in its prefix; contrast: **weak noun**

**subject** – the doer or agent, usually the first part of a clause or sentence; also called the nominative case

**subject agreement prefixes** – the pronoun and noun group affixes that usually appear first on the verb agreeing with the doer of the action (Table 54)

**subjunctive** – the **-e** aspect suffix of a verb which expresses a wish or obligation, e.g., /**tugeendé**/ 'we should go' (§8.5)

**subordinate verb** – a verb governed by a **head verb** (q.v.)

**subordinating conjunction** – a word linking unequal grammatical elements, e.g., *if, that, unless, nevertheless* in English; contrast: **coordinating conjunction**

**subsecutive** – a pragmatic feature of a verb showing that is a **sequence** to another action, marked with **-ka-** and having chronological implications (§8.12)

**suffix** – small word part or morpheme that comes after a root or stem, e.g., **-a, -e, -ye** on a verb or **-i, -o** on a noun; any affixes that come after the root

**superlative degree** – an inflected (e.g., English *-est*) or phrasal (e.g., English *most*) form of an adjective which expresses the greatest amount or intensity of a quality that is found among all the objects compared, not found in Rwanda and Rundi

**suppletion / suppletive** – the complete replacement of a form by an unrelated word, such as English *went* as the past of *go*, *first* as the ordinal of *one*, or Rundi-Rwanda **sin-** 'I not' (**n-** + **nti-**) or **mbere** 'first' (**mwé**)

**syllabic tonality** – the orientation of tone to a given syllable; contrast: **moraic tonality**

**syllabic tone change** – causes tone to appear on or move to another syllable of the root

**syllable** – a combination of consonants surrounding one vowel (short or long) that can be pronounced independently

**tap or flap** – the sound produced when air is stopped by the tongue tapping against the ridge just behind the teeth

**tense** – refers to the placement of an action in time: present, recent past, preterit, conditional, future, persistive, inceptive (contrast: **aspect**)

**thematic cluster** – a group of morphemes including the root, suffixes, and, in certain cases, the ending (Overdulse 1975:42,323)

**thematic consonant** – serves to identify a *specific noun class*, e.g., **b** *n1-pl*, **ry** *n3-sg*, **c** {Rundi}, **cy** {Rwanda} *n4-sg*, **z** *n5-pl* or *n6-pl*, **rw** *n6-sg*, **k** *n7-sg*, **tw** *n7-pl*, **bw** *n8-sg*, etc.

**thematic vowel** – one of three vowels (**a, i, u**) that occurs before the noun class prefix, e.g., **ama-**, **imi-**, **iri-**, **uku-**, **umu-**; also referred to as an **article**

**theme** – see: **valence, transitive, intransitive**

**third person** – the person or thing being discussed, someone or something other than the speaker or addressee, i.e., *he, she, it, they*

**time interrogative** – a question word asking *When?* (§13.6)

**tiroir** (French) – group of verbal forms which are found in the same section of a conjugation table, e.g., affirmative indicative immediate imperfective disjunctive (Overdulse 1975:94,323)

**tonal haplology** – elimination of the second of the two high tones in a row (§2.4.25)

**tonality** – function of high and low sounds at the level of syllables (Overdulse 1975:323)

**tone** – the pitch contour assigned to a particular vowel: high or low (§2.4)

**tone anticipation** – slight rise in pitch of a low tone vowel if the next syllable has a high tone vowel, e.g., brings word-final high tone to the penult

**tone dissimilation** – the tonality of the prefix and that of the root intertwine

**toneme** – unit of tonality at the level of the word (Overdulse 1975:323); see: **root tonality**

**totality** or **wholeness** – the ranges of English *all, each, every, the whole of*

**transitive** – a verb that has or takes a direct object

**trigraph** – a combination of three letters which represents a single sound, such as «**shy**»

**trisyllabic** – having three syllables; contrast: **monosyllabic, disyllabic, polysyllabic**

**tritransitive** – a verb that takes three objects

**truncation** – shortening of the word, such as by syllable deletion

**two for the price of one** – the fact that one word in Rwanda has two equivalents in Rundi, or vice versa

**ultima** – final syllable

**unit of time** – names of the hours of the day, the days of the week, or the months of the year based on numerals (§7.4, Tables 98–100)

**unmarked**<sup>1</sup> – not receiving any affix or high tone, e.g., indicative immediate conjoint (-Ø- as opposed to disjoint marked with **-ra-**), active (-Ø- as opposed to passive marked with **-w-**); contrast: marked

**unmarked**<sup>2</sup> – not having any presupposition or special meaning attached, e.g., *How old are you?* does not presuppose the person is young or old; contrast: marked

**unrounded vowels** – the lips are drawn or flat /i, e, a/

**valence** – relates to the total number of noun complements that a verb takes (§8.14), e.g., subject (1) + object (2) + indirect object (3) + location (4) + instrument (5); see **intransitive, transitive, ditransitive**

**variation** – a minor change, an alternate form (q.v.)

**varying patterns** – tone shifts of one or two morae

**velarized consonants** – sound combinations with /w/

**venitive** – an auxiliary motion verb implying *come to VERB, come and VERB* (§10.2.2); contrast: **andative**

**verb** – any form inflected for tense, voice, mood, aspect, etc.

**verb phrase** – a verb and any other part of speech, including an auxiliary or an object or locative complement, that together serve as a verb

**verbal noun** or **deverbal noun** – any verb form that serves as a noun, such as an infinitive, an autonome, or a noun formed directly from a verb root

**verbal prefix** – just as each substantive has its nominal prefix, each verb has its corresponding verbal prefix: **a-** is the class 1 verbal prefix corresponding to **-mu-**; **ba-** is the class 2 verbal prefix corresponding to **-ba-** (Overdulse 1975:42,61); see: **subject agreement prefixes**

**vocative** – a special nominal case form used to call a person or address a thing

**voice** – form of a verb that involves either an **active** construction (wherein an agent does s.t. to an object) or a **passive** one (whereby the object is acted upon by an agent)

**voiced sound** – sound produced when the airflow passes through the vocal chords and they are vibrating

**voiceless sound** – sound produced when the airflow passes through the vocal chords and they are at rest

**vowel** – sound produced in such a way that the airflow is not blocked /a, e, i, o, u/; contrast: **consonant**

## Chapter 17: Index of Grammatical Terminology

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**vowel harmony** – a change in vowel quality to match a previous vowel; in a few cases involving words having four or more syllables, vowel harmony can work backwards to such an extent that it changes a root vowel; this results in a process which linguists call **regressive assimilation** (§2.5.13)

**vowel roots** – roots that begin with a vowel

**weak noun** – the noun prefix consists of a single vowel, e.g., /i-/ , or if it always has a single nasal, /m-, n-/

**weak noun class** – the noun prefix consists of a single vowel or a single nasal; contrast: strong noun class

**word family** – the full collection of all derived forms in a language

**word formation** – the process whereby words acquire affixes to change their use or meaning

**word order** – determines the position of the subject and the object in relation to the verb (§1.8.5, §16)

**word pairs** – equivalent words with the same meaning between two or more dialects, e.g., for 'bicycle' both Rwanda and Rundi have /igaáre/, but Rundi also has /ikiínga/

**zero** ( $\emptyset$ ) – the lack of a prefix or other affix in a pattern where one might be expected, such as the active voice is marked by  $\emptyset$  in contrast to the passive marked by -w-, or the immediate conjoint is marked by  $\emptyset$  in contrast with the immediate disjoint marked by -ra-