DEDICATION

To the Kibogos, my mother Mrs Mary Kibogo, my daughter Marylyn and my siblings, Ruth, Moses, Steven and Rhoda.

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Any errors, omissions and misinterpretations made in this thesis remain my responsibility.

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AUG: augment
GH: Giveness hierarchy
GHZ: Gundel Hedberg and Zacharski
IV: initial vowel
NCL: noun class
NP: noun phrase
OBJ: object
SBJ: subject

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Topic and main goal

In this thesis, I will look at various forms of referring expressions in Kinyarwanda and my main aim is to gain more insight into what constraints there are on the use of the various forms. More specifically, I will test the hypothesis of Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski (1993, 2010) that cognitive status is a relevant parameter for the use of referring expressions in all languages. The linguistic items that will be investigated include the following Kinyarwanda categories:

a) Augment
b) Verbal affixes
c) Demonstratives
d) Pronouns

I will attempt to find out when these items can be used and when they cannot be used and how hearers are able to identify their correct referent.

1.2 The Kinyarwanda language

Kinyarwanda is a Bantu language spoken in Rwanda and in other parts of the east African nations Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The inhabitants of Rwanda and Burundi belong to three different ethnic groups: Hutu (84%), Tutsi (15%), and Twa (1%). Rwanda is one of the few sub-Saharan African countries where the native language (Kinyarwanda) is spoken by all ethnic groups of the country.[1] According to Kimenyi, Kinyarwanda, the national language of Rwanda is probably, after Kiswahili, the second largest spoken language in the Bantu group. It is a sister dialect of Kirundi, the national language of Burundi and Giha, another dialect spoken in Tanzania. Despite genocide which took place taking lives of more than one million Tutsi, Kinyarwanda speakers probably include more than 20 million people in all the above mentioned regions. Rwanda has around 9 million people right

[1] Retrieved on 04.11.2013 from http://www.omniglot.com/writing/kinyarwanda.htm

now, Burundi has around 7 million. In addition to the Giha speakers, there are also ethnic Banyarwanda in Southern Uganda in the Kigezi district known as Bafumbira. Other Kinyarwanda speakers are Banyamulenge in Southern Kivu and ethnic Banyarwanda in Masisi and Rutshuro in Northern Kivu in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Kinyarwanda belongs to the interlacustrine (Great Lakes) Bantu languages[2]. In other words, Kinyarwanda is spoken in Rwanda and beyond its borders within the great lakes region and is recognized as one of the languages spoken in Uganda as stipulated in the 1995 Ugandan constitution.

1.3 The concept 'cognitive status'

During communication, people use different forms of expressions to refer to the same thing but also the same form can be used to refer to different things. For example, the pronoun 'it', the proper name 'Kinyarwanda' and the noun phrase 'this language' can refer to the same entity on certain occasions. And the pronoun 'it' can refer to many different things. Still in the end, hearers are almost always able to know which entity has been referred to. The question then is: how are people able to know what a referring expression actually refers to?

Gundel et al (1993:274): say "different determiners and pronominal forms conventionally signal different cognitive statuses (information about location in memory and attention state), thereby enabling the addressee to restrict the set of possible referents". They claim that various nominal forms signal the cognitive status of the associated referent. The cognitive status of a referent is either in focus, activated, familiar, uniquely identifiable, referential or type identifiable, according to Gundel et al. (1993). This is as presented on the Givenness Hierarchy which will be shown in Chapter three.

1.4 Motivation for the study

In GHZ' (1993) paper, the authors only mention that nominal forms consist of either a pronoun or a noun possibly preceded by a determiner. Notably, the present study will extend the investigation to look at nominal and verbal affixes in addition to pronouns and demonstrative

[2]The information in this section is retrieved 23 May 2013 from http://www.kimenyi.com/kinyarwanda.php

determiners. The present study is also the first one that looks at the linguistic relevance of cognitive status in a language in which noun classes play a crucial role. The fact that Kinyarwanda has noun classes, and how this might be assumed to affect reference assignment, will be investigated. Furthermore, not much research has been done on the meaning and distribution pattern of referring forms in Kinyarwanda, as far as I am aware. Thus, this study will contribute to new knowledge about Kinyarwanda.

1.5 Research questions

This study attempts to answer the following questions:

a) Do Kinyarwanda nominal forms such as augment, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative determiners and verbal affixes encode any cognitive status, and if so, which one?
b) If cognitive status does not affect reference resolution in Kinyarwanda, what else does?

1.6 Methods of data collection

Data was collected from a fieldwork study undertaken over a period of eight weeks in Kigali Rwanda. Many narratives were collected from archived radio recordings and live recordings from a radio station. Written literature from the Kinyarwanda Bible was looked at as well as other on-line sources like newspaper articles. Additionally, folk tales were recorded by the researcher. Nine narratives were transcribed, translated and later annotated. For the purpose of consistent annotation and sharing of data, I have saved my data using the web-based linguistic annotation tool TypeCraft (see: http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Main_Page). For organization purposes, links to the mentioned TypeCraft narratives used are provided in the appendix. Other examples have also been created for further explanation and discussion. (See details in chapter 5).

1.7 Thesis outline

The rest of the thesis is organized as follows: Chapter 2 is a brief overview of the Kinyarwanda language, its general properties and especially the linguistic items to be studied. Chapter 3 is a

presentation of the theoretical framework. The Givenness hierarchy is discussed and employed to test new data in Kinyarwanda. Chapter 4 outlines the research method, the sources and method of data collection. Chapter 5 presents the data and analyses it. In this section I present and discuss the data, summarize the results and answer the research questions. I also attempt to compare the results to previous claims in the literature. Finally chapter 6 is a summary of the thesis and conclusions from the analysis.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 THE KINYARWANDA LANGUAGE

This chapter looks at Kinyarwanda's general properties. I will also mention the referring expressions that will be studied and their relevant linguistic properties. These referring expressions include demonstrative determiners, pronouns, the augment, and verbal affixes.

2.1 General properties

2.2 Kinyarwanda Noun

Kayigema (2012:68) states that "the morphological order of a noun in Kinyarwanda is: Augment + Nominal prefix + Stem. Most nouns begin with an augment but some others do not have any augment at all". When presenting the data, this linguistic item (the augment) will be glossed as IV (initial vowel). This is an element that stands before the nominal prefix (noun class marker). The stem on the other hand denotes a concept, and it is that element which remains after removal of any nominal prefix.

2.1.0 Noun class

A common element of most Bantu grammars is the extensive system of noun classes. The number of classes varies from language to language, but is rarely fewer than ten or more than eighteen (Guthrie 1975:14). A noun class system is a grammatical system that some languages use to overtly categorize nouns. Like in other Bantu languages, each Kinyarwanda noun is a member of a certain noun class. These classes differ in number from one language to another but Kinyarwanda has sixteen (16) noun classes (Kimenyi 1980:2). Bantu languages have noun class prefixes which command the concord. A concord prefix is any prefixed element that serves to operate the system of grammatical agreement that characterizes all Bantu languages (Kayigema 2012: 68).

2.2.1 Noun class chart

Based on Kimenyi (1980:3), Katushemererwe & Hanneforth (2010:6) and wikipedia[3], I have constructed the following table showing the 16 noun classes present in Kinyarwanda with some of the affixes that will be investigated.

Table 1: Kinyarwanda Noun classes and some of the affixes under study

NCL	Aug	NCL marker prefix	Possessive prefix	Adj. Prefix	Verbal prefix	Infix	Semantic description	Example& gloss
1	u-	-mu-	mu-	wa-	a-	-mu-	Humans	umuntu-person
2	a-	-ba-	ba-	ba-	ba-	-ba-		abantu- people
3	u-	-mu-	mu-	wa-	u-	-wu-	trees, shrubs and things that extend	umusozi – hill
4	i-	-mi-	mi-	ya-	i-	-yi-		imisozi – hills
5	i-	-ri-	ri/ry-	rya-	ri-	-ri-	things in quantities and liquids	iryinyo – tooth
6	a-	-ma-	ma-	ya-	a-	-ya-		amenyo – teeth
7	i-	-gi-	cy-/ki-	cya-/kya-	cy-/ki-	-cy-/-ki-/-gi-	generic, large and abnormal things	gitabo-book ikirahure-glass
8	i-	-bi-	by-/bi-	bya-	bi-/by-	-bi-/-by-		ibitabo-books ibirahure-glasses
9	i-	-n-	n-(m-)	ya-	i-/yi-	-yi-	inanimate referents e.g plants,animals, and household items	injangwe-cats
10	i-	-n-	n-(m-)	za-	zi-	-zi-		injangwe –cats
11	u-	-ru-	ru-	rwa-	ru-	-ru-	mixture, body parts	urugo – home urutugu-

[3] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kinyarwanda

12	a-	-ga/ka-	ka-	ka-	ka-	-ga-/-ka-	diminutive forms of other nouns	akaguru-leg agasaro-bead
13	u-	-tu/du-	tu-/du-	twa-	du/tu-	-tu-/-du-		utuguru-legs udusaro-beads
14	u-	-bu-	bu-	bwa-	bu-	-bu-	abstract nouns,qualities	ubuntu-humanity
15	u-	-ku/gu-	ku-	kwa-	ku-	-ku-	actions,verbal nouns and gerunds	ukuboko-arm ukuntu-means
16	a-	-ha/-ku-/-mu-	ha-/ku-/mu-	ha-	ha/ku/mu-	-ha-/-ku-/-mu-	places, locations	ahantu-place/ location

The noun classes are each paired up in singular and plural respectively; 1 & 2, 3 & 4, 5 & 6, 7 & 8 , 9 & 10 , and 12 & 13, with an exception of 11, 14, 15 and 16. Plural referents that belong to class 11 rather take on the class 10 marker (-n-). Forexample *u-ru-go,*"home" and *i-n-go* "homes".

2.3 Morphology

The Kinyarwanda language is agglutinative. That is, complex words are formed by stringing together morphemes, each with a single grammatical or semantic meaning. It has multiple morphemes which appear as affixes. These affixes are prefixes, infixes or suffixes and in this study focus will be on the affixes that appear as subject and object markers, (see Table 1 above).[4] Kinyarwanda has an SVO (subject verb object) word order. Modifiers (adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, possessives) agree with the head noun by taking the head noun's class marker. The verbal prefixes must also agree with the class of the subject. Kimenyi (1980) explains that the agreement is obtained by prefixing the class marker of the head noun to the verb. However, it is also possible that agreement can be obtained by prefixing the augment of the head noun to the verb. A Kinyarwanda sentence that illustrates the effect of noun class in this language is provided in (1) below:

[4] Table 1 includes affixes that are possessive markers and adjectival markers because they appear a lot in the data but these will not be investigated with respect to cognitive status.

(1)

Injangwe ya Simon ibonye isaazi irayikurikira irayifata irayica. *"The cat of Simon has seen a fly, it has followed it, it has caught it and it has killed it."*

Injangwe	ya	Simon	ibonye
i n jangwe	y a		i bon ye
IV CL9.AGR *cat*	CL9.AGR *of*.GEN		CL9.SBJ *see* ASP
CN	PNposs	Np	V

isaazi	irayikurikira
i saazi	i ra yi kurikir a
IV *fly*	CL9.SBJ PRES CL9.OBJ *follow* FV
CN	V

irayifata	irayica
i ra yi fat a	i ra yi c a
CL9.SBJ PRES CL9.OBJ *catch* FV	CL9.SBJ PRES CL9.OBJ *kill* FV
V	V

Generated in TypeCraft.

The sentence above shows how noun class agreement works. The head noun *i-n-jangwe*, 'cat' which belongs to class 9 with the augment -i-, has copied the prefix to all the following verbs (see, follow, catch and kill). This form of agreement is the subject-verb agreement. Note however that there are other forms of noun class agreement which will not be explained here, since they are not the focus of this study.

2.4 The Kinyarwanda writing system

A standardized spelling system for Kinyarwanda has been in use since the 1940s, though the spelling used by Roman Catholic and Protestant missions differ somewhat.

Kinyarwanda is a tonal language but the tones are not usually indicated in writing[5]. The language also has both long vowels and short vowels. However, the official orthography does not mark vowel length nor melody. As a result, Kinyarwanda speakers depend on the context to tell apart the meaning of words that are written in a similar way, but pronounced differently.

It is therefore important to note that while transcribing the data, used in this study, I followed the official orthographic system where vowel length and tone marking are not indicated.

2.5 Linguistic items to be studied

This section is a brief over-view of the various forms of referring expressions that will be studied in this thesis, along with their linguistic properties.

2.5.1 Demonstrative determiners

Kinyarwanda demonstratives usually precede the head noun. There are several demonstratives, but which demonstrative is used depends on how close or far the referent is to or from the speaker or the hearer, either in memory or the physical context. This is in accordance with what Diessel (1999) says about demonstratives. According to Diessel (1999:2) "demonstratives generally serve specific pragmatic functions. They are primarily used to focus the hearer's attention on objects or locations in speech situations (often in combination with a pointing gesture), but they may also function to organize information flow in the on going discourse".

I have summarized the various forms of demonstratives in Table 2 below. Notice that Kinyarwanda demonstratives are not free morphemes like the English demonstratives *this, that, these* and *those*. Kinyarwanda demonstratives are usually formed based on the noun class of the referent.

[5]Retrieved on 04.11.2013 from http://www.omniglot.com/writing/kinyarwanda.htm

Table 2: Kinyarwanda Demonstrative forms

Noun Class	Demonstrative determiner (This/These)		Demonstrative determiner (That/Those)		Demonstrative determiner (That- for referents in the past)	
	Category 1 Sg/pl	Category 2 Sg/pl	Category 3 Sg/pl	Category 4 Sg/pl	Category 5 Sg/pl	
NCL 1/2	uyu/aba	uno/bano	u-riya/ba-riya	uwo/abo	u-rya/ ba-rya	w-aa/b-aa
NCL 3/4	uyu/iyi	uno/ino	u-riya/i-riya	uwo/iyo	u-rya/i-rya	w-aa/y-aa
NCL 5/6	iri/aya	rino/ano	ri-riya/a-riya	iryo/ayo	ri-rya/a-rya	ry-aa/y-aa
NCL 7/8	iki/ibi	kino/bino	ki-riya/bi-riya	ikyo/ibyo	ki-rya/ bi-rya	ky-aa/by-aa
NCL 9/10	iyi/izi	ino/zino	i-riya/zi-riya	iyo/izo	i-rya/ zi-rya	y-aa/ z-aa
NCL 11/12	uru/aka	runo/kano	ru-riya/ka-riya	urwo/ako	ru-rya/ ka-rya	rw-aa/k-aa
NCL 13/14	utu/ubu	tuno/buno	tu-riya/bu-riya	utwo/ubwo	tu-rya/bu-rya	tw-aa/bw-aa
NCL 15/16	uku/aha	kuno/hano	ku-riya/hariya	uko/aho	ku-rya/ ha-rya	kw-aa/h-aa

Table 2 above is partly based on insights presented in Kimenyi (1980). Kimenyi (1980:7-8) points out two types of demonstratives in Kinyarwanda, i.e. temporal and spatial. The temporal demonstratives -aa and -rya refer to something in the past which is known by both speaker and hearer. Kimenyi further explains that there are four types of spatial demonstratives. The first, which has the shape VCV (the two vowels being always identical), refers to an object that is near the speaker; the second, marked by the morpheme -o, refers to something that is near the hearer; the third is marked by -no and refers to something that is near both the speaker and hearer and the fourth; which refers to something that is far from both speaker and hearer, is marked by -riya. Examples of demonstratives under each category in table 2 above following Kimenyi's explanation are illustrated in (2) below:

(2) Spatial demonstratives:

a) Category 1 which takes on the VCV shape

u-y-u mwana (near the speaker)

'this child'

b) Category 2 which is marked by –no

u-no mwana (near both speaker and hearer)

'this child'

c) Category 3 which is marked by –riya

u-riya mwana (far from both speaker and hearer)

'that child'

d) Category 4 which is marked by-o

u-w-o mwana, (near the hearer)

'that child'

(3) Temporal demonstratives:

a) Category 5 which is marked by -aa[6] and-rya

waa mwana (refer to referents in the past which are assumed to be

'that child' known by both speaker and hearer).

urya mwana

'that child'

As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, Kinyarwanda demonstratives are one of the categories that will be investigated. The classes in the table will not be looked at separately; they are treated as one category.

2.5.2 Augment

De Bois (1970:92) states that "some writers describe the augment as the initial vowel of nominal or pronominal prefixes. Others compare the augment to the article found in European

[6] Note that in -aa the first 'a' is the past tense marker and the second 'a' is the stem of the demonstrative.

languages". The fact that the augment is compared to the article, motivates my goal to investigate whether it is associated with particular cognitive statuses or not, since the indefinite and definite articles are assumed to encode cognitive status.

The augment exists in most but not all Bantu languages. Most nouns in Kinyarwanda have this linguistic element which occurs as a prefix. It is also referred to as an initial vowel and it is glossed as IV, as mentioned earlier.

The augment usually corresponds with the vowel of the noun class marker and as a result has very many variants. The augment disappears in some environments; it is always deleted after demonstratives, prepositions and negation. There are three kinds of augments observed throughout the data and I have summarized the three in Table (3) below:

Table 3: Kinds of augments in Kinyarwanda

Augment	**Noun CL**	**Example and gloss**
a	2	a-bana – children
	6	a-mata - milk
	12	a-kaguru - small leg
	16	a-hantu – location
i	4	i-misozi - hills
	5	i-ryinyo - tooth
	7	i-gikombe - cup
	8	i-bikombe - cups
	9	i-nka - cow
	10	i-nka – cows
u	1	u-musozi – hill
	3	u-musuzi - fart
	11	u-rutugu - shoulder
	13	u-tuguru - small legs
	14	u-bugome - evil-mindedness
	15	u-kuboko – arm

Some nouns, for instance names of people or places, (i.e proper names), do not have the augment included. Proper names are not included in my study of referring expressions in Kinyarwanda.

2.5.3 Pronouns

There are three types of pronouns in Kinyarwanda, namely, emphatic pronouns, incorporated pronouns and impersonal pronouns (Kimenyi, 1980:173).

2.5.3.1 Emphatic pronouns

The emphatic pronouns are used independently, like regular nouns: they are free morphemes. These pronouns grammatically function as subject, possessive, or oblique.

Table 4: Emphatic pronouns (see Kimenyi, 1980:173)

Subject	Possessive	Oblique
jyewe - I	-njye - my	njye - me
wowe - you	-we - your	we - you (sg)
twebwe - we	-acu - our	twe - us
twebwe - you	-anyu - your	mwe - you (pl)

The table above only contains 1st and 2nd person pronouns and possessives. According to Kimenyi (1980:173), "The third person is realized identically in all cases. Like the possessive case, the third person emphatic pronoun is always preceded by the class marker of the pronominalized noun. The human singular third person is marked by the morpheme -e, the emphatic pronoun for all other classes is-o. For example, class 1: we, class 2: bo, class 3: wo". Examples of Kinyarwanda sentences that illustrate the table above are given in (3) below:

(3)

a) Njyewe n-d-ig-a
I I-pres-study-asp
I am studying.

Example a) above illustrates use of the first person singular pronoun in subject position. Example b) below illustrates a first person singular possessive pronoun as well:

b) N-kumbuy-e u-mw-ana wa-njye
I-miss-asp aug-cl1-child cl1-my
I miss my child.

In examples such as b) above, the possessive is always preceded by the class marker (wa) of the pronominalized form. Example c) below illustrates the use of an oblique first person singular pronoun:

c) Mama y-a-vugany-e na njye
Mother she-past-speak-asp with me
Mother spoke with me.

In c) above, the oblique pronoun is preceded by a preposition.

2.5.3.2 The incorporated pronoun

Pronoun incorporation, a process which only direct objects may undergo, applies if the referent of the pronoun has been mentioned previously in discourse. As will be illustrated in the data, most of these pronouns appear as infixes (also see Table 1). When a verb has two free object pronouns either or both of them appear as an infix. Consider the following example:[7]

[7] This example contains some cognitive status abbreviations, i.e. RFTL and INFOC. These will be explained later.

(4)

Injangwe irayimutamika *"The cat puts it (fly) in his (Simon's) mouth".*

Injangwe		
i	n	jangwe
IV	CL9.AGR	*cat*.RFTL CN

irayimutamika						
i	ra	yi	mu	tamik	a	
it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC	PRES	CL9.OBJ.INFOC	CL1.OBJ.INFOC	*feed*	FV	V

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The above sentence is an example in which both object pronouns appear as infixes, there are two object infixes. The infix -yi- refers to the fly whereas the infix -mu- refers to Simon.

2.5.3.3 Impersonal pronouns

Kimenyi (1980:184) states that "impersonal pronouns, which are also called neutral, dummy, or empty pronouns, are those which do not refer to any referent mentioned either in the sentence or in the preceding discourse". Kinyarwanda has four types of such pronouns and these are; ba-, bi-, bu-, and ha-. Kimenyi further claims that these pronouns can only occur as subjects and cannot have any other kind of grammatical relations to the verb.

The impersonal pronoun ba- refers to unspecified human subjects as in the example below:

(5) **Bazatwanga** *"They will hate us/We will be hated".*

Bazatwanga					
ba	za	tw	ang	a	
They.CL2	*will*.FUT	*us*.1PL	*hate*	FV	V

Generated in TypeCraft.

In the above sentence, the speaker puts emphasis on the action of the verb without necessarily stressing the agent of the action, and the addressee is not expected to know who the referent of *'ba'* is. Also, characteristic of this pronoun is that it doesn't necessarily have a plural meaning. It

only occurs with transitive verbs because it always functions as an unspecified agent and it cannot be used with passives.

The impersonal pronoun bi- stands for an idea already expressed in the discourse, according to Kimenyi (1980). Consider the example below:

(6)

Bi-ra-shobok-a

It –pres-be-possible-asp

In the above example, bi- stands for an idea already mentioned. The pronoun bi- can also figure as the apparent subject of a sentence that has a real sentential subject as well as be used to express an indefinite time, according to Kimenyi.

The impersonal pronoun bu- is used to mark the time of the day and it is used with only intransitive stative verbs. Consider the example below:

(8)

Bu-ri-je	buriya	mu-rar-e.
It-get dark-asp	it-in fact	you-sleep-asp

It is getting dark; in fact you should sleep over.

Finally, Kimenyi describes the impersonal pronoun ha- as 'The dummy pronoun' which is used to refer to the weather or when one is talking about atmospheric conditions. It is also inserted in a sentence to give it a cleft meaning. The pronoun ha- when inserted in a sentence shifts the subject to the right of the verb. Two examples are given below in (9):

(9)

a) Ha-hora ha-konj-e

It- pres-be it-be-cold-asp

It is always cold.

b) Ha-ra-rir-a umwana

It-pres-cry-asp child

It is the child who is crying (instead of, the child is crying).

In this thesis these pronouns are not included in the data material, neither have I grouped them with other kinds of pronouns.

2.5.4 Verbal affixes

The verbal affixes in the narrative texts that I have studied appear as verbal prefixes and verbal infixes and are always in agreement with the noun class of the subject or object. The list of verbal affixes corresponding to their respective noun classes can be found in Table 1, under the columns "verbal prefix" and "infix". Below is a table showing the affixes for Kinyarwanda 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person subject pronouns, some of which are found in the narrative texts that have animate characters.

Table 5: Personal subject pronouns in Kinyarwanda.

n/m	I
u	you
a	he/she
tu/du	we
mu	you
ba	they

It is important to note that the 3rd person subject pronouns in Table 5 above overlap with the forms of NCL 1 and NCL2 of Table 1. The major difference is that the verbal affixes in Table 1 are all 3rd person corresponding to's/he','it' and 'they' while the 3rd person subject pronouns in Table 5 correspond to 's/he' and 'they'and are only used in subject position.[8]

[8] The 3rd person singular pronoun 'a' in Table 5 and 1 can only be used in subject position whereas the 3rd person plural pronoun 'ba' in Table 1 can be used both in subject and object positions.

It is also important to mention that Gundel et al. (1993) claim that only 3rd person pronouns encode cognitive status. Thus, in this thesis, the scope of the GH theory is tested on a wider set of pronouns.

In conclusion, the linguistic items under investigation include the following:

- Augment (For different kinds of augment, see Table 3)
- Demonstratives (The relevant categories with different noun class realizations, see Table 2)
- Pronouns (1st, 2nd and 3rd person (singular and plural), see Table 4 and 5)
- Verbal affixes- 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, with different noun class realizations, see Table 1)

Kinyarwanda is a noun class language, thus each of the categories above are realized in numerous ways, as illustrated earlier in this chapter. This makes the Kinyarwanda system of referring expressions quite different from, e.g, the English one, and thus a particularly interesting language to study.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 The GHZ framework

Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski (1993:274) pose the following question: "What do speakers /writers know that enables them to choose an appropriate form to refer to a particular object and what do hearers/readers know that enables them to identify correctly the intended referent of a particular form?" In their attempt to provide an answer to the above question, Gundel et al. propose six cognitive statuses relevant to the form and interpretation of referring expressions in natural language discourse. These six statuses constitute what they have termed the Givenness Hierarchy, presented in the figure below:

Figure 1 The Givenness Hierarchy (GH)

In focus >	activated >	familiar >	uniquely identifiable >		referential >	type identifiable
	that					
it	this	that N	the N		Indefinite this N	a N
	this N					

According to Gundel et al.(1993), ''In using a particular form, a speaker signals that she assumes that the associated cognitive status is met and since each status entails all lower statuses, she also signals that all lower statuses (statuses to the right) have been met.'' (1993:275-276). The English forms on the above hierarchy are placed under the cognitive status that they are assumed to encode. For instance, since *it* is placed under the cognitive status 'in focus' then it signals that the referent is in focus of the hearer's attention. The form *this* is placed under the cognitive status 'activated'. This means it signals that the hearer already has a mental representation of the referent, that is, it is already activated in his/her short-term memory. The demonstrative determiner *that* in a phrase such as *that N* signals the cognitive status 'familiar' which means that

the addressee has a mental representation of the referent in memory, (possibly in long-term memory) and is thus familiar with it. The definite article *the* in a phrase *the N* signals the cognitive status 'uniquely identifiable' which means that the addressee can uniquely identify the referent. The indefinite determiner labeled *indefinite this N* is placed under the cognitive status 'referential'. This means that the referent may be mentioned subsequently in the discourse and the speaker intends to refer to that specific entity. The form *a N* is placed under the cognitive status 'type identifiable'. This means that the descriptive / conceptual content the phrase encodes should be understandable by the hearer.

The authors assert that the statuses above are ordered from the most restrictive to the least restrictive with respect to how narrowly the statuses are defined. For example an entity which is in focus is necessarily also activated, familiar, uniquely identifiable, referential, and type identifiable but not the other way round.

To illustrate the various cognitive statuses further, consider the following examples from Gundel et al. (1993):

(1) I couldn't sleep last night.
   a) A dog (next door) kept me awake
   b) This dog (next door) kept me awake
   c) The dog (next door) kept me awake
   d) That dog (next door) kept me awake
   e) This dog/that/this kept me awake
   f) It kept me awake

Gundel et al. (1993) describe the six cognitive statuses the following way:

Type Identifiable: The indefinite article *a* in (1a) signals that the hearer can identify the type of thing described. This means that the phrase *a dog* is appropriate if the addressee knows the meaning of the word *dog*.

Referential: The indefinite determiner *this* in (1b) signals not only that the addressee is expected to identify the type of thing described, but that the speaker has a particular dog in mind.

The definite article *the* in (1c) signals the cognitive status **uniquely identifiable**. This means that the addressee is expected to uniquely identify the speaker's intended referent either on the basis of prior knowledge about the entity or from the description given. The phrase *the dog next door* has enough description to enable the addressee to imagine a specific and unique *dog* and not any other. The corresponding expression *the dog* would not be appropriate in the context in (1), on the other hand.

The cognitive status **familiar** signaled by the demonstrative determiner *that* as in (1d) tells the addressee that s/he already has a mental representation of the referent. Thus the demonstrative determiner *that* assumes prior familiarity with the referent. Therefore, this expression is only appropriate if the addressee is aware that there is a dog next door in the speaker's vicinity.

Activated: The demonstrative determiner *this*, and the demonstrative pronouns *this* and *that* in (1e) tell the hearer that the referent is activated, that is (stored in current short-term memory or may have been retrieved from long term memory). These forms are therefore appropriate only if the referent has recently been mentioned or is in the immediate extra linguistic context.

In focus: The unstressed personal pronoun *it* in (1f) informs the addressee that the referent is not only activated but is also at the current centre of attention. The phrase *it* cannot be suitably used if the entity it refers to is not in short-term memory, nor if it is not in focus of attention.

In sum, these cognitive statuses are assumed to be crucial for predicting the use of referring expressions across languages.

3.2 Is the GH universal?

The present study aims to test the Givenness Hierarchy theory on Kinyarwanda. The main interest is to find out how this theory applies to the Kinyarwanda referring expressions, which are inflected according to an elaborate noun class system. Gundel, Bassene, Gordon, Humnick and Khalfaoui (2010) explain the basic premise of the theoretical framework proposed by Gundel et al. (1993). They point out that 'some determiners and pronouns encode information about the assumed cognitive (memory and attention) status of the intended referent for the addressee' (2010:1770). Crucially, they test the predictions of the Givenness hierarchy framework on other languages than the five languages investigated in Gundel et al. (1993),

namely Eegimaa, Kumyk, Ojibwe and Tunisian Arabic. This cross-linguistic investigation however does not include any language with a noun class system. Kinyarwanda nominals are marked with noun class prefixes and concords, which categorize referents in different noun classes. This may in some cases make reference assignment of for example pronouns easier than in other languages, since the pronominal form will show to which noun class the entity referred to belongs. It is also likely that there are other features in addition to noun class that influence the interpretation of the Kinyarwanda referring expressions, for instance, the elaborate demonstrative system presented in section 2.4.1, person specification and the descriptive content of noun phrases. However, in this study my focus will be on cognitive status and whether or not this is a relevant feature in a language where noun classes play such a huge role in grammar. It may also be that noun class is a crucial linguistic cue that aids the hearer to be able to identify the correct referent.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Data collection

This investigation is based on recorded narratives and written texts in the Kinyarwanda language. The unit of analysis for the study is referring expressions (demonstratives, pronouns, augment and verbal affixes) that will be extracted from the data (narratives).

The data consists of two parts; oral speech and written texts. The recorded narratives were taken from the radio station Kigali Today, popularly known as KT. This radio station is situated in the heart of Kigali, the capital city of Rwanda in the Nyarutarama suburb. Kigali Today can also be accessed on-line.[9]

Some of the narratives were taken from archived recordings to which the researcher got access whereas others were recorded directly from the studio during the shows. Both were transcribed and exclude the commercial breaks and musical interludes.

The written texts, on the other hand, are short narratives from the Kinyarwanda bible literature and a newspaper, Kigali Today, a local newspaper published online in Kinyarwanda. The narratives are descriptive and explanatory in nature. That is, the narrator presents a topic which is discussed and explained to his audience and this makes the storyline coherent. Some of the narrative stories are interactive (different people involved) but the theme of the narration is always maintained.

Another set of narratives looked at in this study are three short folk stories recorded by the researcher through a conversation held with an informant.

[9] http://www.ktradio.rw/

Transcription was done by the researcher who is a native speaker of the language. After the transcription, a free translation of the texts into English was provided. Word by word glosses were also provided for non native speakers to make sense out of the data and for deeper linguistic analyses.

For purposes of discussion, the annotated data have also been supplemented by native speaker's intutions and judgements concerning either constructed examples or rephrasing of existing examples.

4.2 TypeCraft

The major data analysis tool employed by the researcher is TypeCraft. TypeCraft is a multi-lingual on-line database of linguistically-annotated natural language text, embedded in a collaboration and information tool (see http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Main_Page). This set-up allows users (projects as well as individuals) to create their own domains, to invite others, as well as share their data with the public. The kernel of TypeCraft is morphological word-level annotation in a relational database setting, wrapped into a communication system, not unlike popular online community sites.

The data I have annotated for this project is available to others on-line on my user page available on TypeCraft. All texts have been made public, and links have been provided in the footnote on each particular text.

4.3 Coding protocol for cognitive statuses on the Givenness Hierarchy

Another important theoretical 'tool' for my work is the coding protocol for cognitive statuses which was developed by Gundel et al (2007) for the purpose of investigations of referring expressions. This coding protocol provides more concrete criteria for annotating cognitive statuses than the rather broad, abstract definitions in Gundel et al. (1993).

In my study I have looked at the occurrences of the linguistic items already mentioned such as phrases containing the augment, the demonstrative determiners and other referring expressions in the Kinyarwanda narrative discourse and I have annotated these for cognitive status, following the annotation manual of Gundel et al. (2007).

For each occurrence of the items under investigation, I have identified the highest cognitive status the speaker could reasonably assume that the referent had in the mind of the addressee

before that item is encountered. The results have been collected for each nominal category in order to see which cognitive statuses the category is compatible with.

4.4 Coding guidelines

In this section, I will mention and define the cognitive statuses that will be found relevant for this study, as defined in the coding protocol of Gundel et al. (2007), and then, in the next section, provide a Kinyarwanda example to illustrate the criteria I have followed to code the data as stated below:

In focus: A referent is in focus if it meets at least one of the following criteria:

1. It is a referent of a DP in a syntactically prominent position (incl. non-overt subjects) in the main clause of the immediately preceding sentence.
2. It is a referent of a DP earlier in the same sentence.
3. It is a higher level topic that is part of the interpretation of the preceding clause (whether it is overtly mentioned there or not).
4. It is part of the interpretation of the two immediately preceding sentences.
5. It is the event denoted by the immediately preceding sentence.

Activated:

A referent is activated if;

1. It is mentioned in one of the immediately preceding two sentences.
2. It is something in the spatio temporal context that is activated by means of a simuneous gesture or eye gaze.
3. It is a proposition, fact or speech act associated with the eventuality (event or state) denoted by the immediately preceding sentence(s).

Familiar:

A referent is familiar if,

1. It was mentioned at any time previously in the discourse.
2. It can be assumed to be known to the hearer through cultural/ encyclopedic knowledge or shared personal experience with the speaker.

Uniquely identifiable:

A referent is uniquely identifiable if,

1. The referring form contains adequate descriptive / conceptual content to create a unique referent.

2. A unique referent can be created via a 'bridging inference' by association with an already activated referent.

Referential:

A referent is referential if,

1. It is mentioned subsequently in the discourse.

2. It is evident from the context that the speaker intends to refer to some specific entity.

Type identifiable:

An interpretation is type identifiable if the sense of the phrase (the descriptive/conceptual content it encodes) is understandable.

4.5 A Kinyarwanda example

The Kinyarwanda text excerpt below and the explanation thereafter illustrate how the coding of data was done for the narrative texts.

1. Kera urwanda rwayoborwaga n'**umwami** akaba n'umucamanza wi kirenga.
   'Once upon a time, Rwanda was led by **a king** who was also the high court judge. '

2. Haje kubaho umugabo witwaga Kamegeri akaba yari umutware wo mumayaga ahitwa muruhango.
   'And there was a man called Kamegeri who was a chief in a place called Ruhango'

3. Haza kubaho umugabo w'umujura wibaga amatungo ya bagenzi be baza ku**mu**gyana **umwami** ku**mu**cira urubanza.
   'There was a man who was a thief and he stole **his** colleague's property and they (colleagues) took **him** (thief) to **the king** to charge him.'

Umwami (a king) in sentence (1) has a referent that is type identifiable because the conceptual content it encodes is understandable. The phrase *umwami* is also referential according to the coding protocol because the referent is mentioned subsequently in the discourse. Since 'referential' is the highest cognitive status the speaker can expect the referent to have in the addressee, the phrase is annotated with the cognitive status 'referential'.

In this context it is possible that some listeners know who the king mentioned earlier is and others may not. For those who know this king, the referent is familiar and thus also uniquely identifiable. For those who don't, the cognitive status that the narrator assumes that the king has is referential. However, in sum, the speaker cannot expect the referent to be more than 'referential' in the addressee, thus it is annotated as such.

In sentence (3), on the other hand, the referent of *umwami* (king) is activated because it meets the conditions for annotating the referent as activated, i.e it is mentioned in one of the preceding two sentences, that is, it is mentioned in sentence (1).

The verbal affix *mu* (he), (referring to umujura - thief) in sentence (3) has a referent that is in focus.This is because it has been referred to earlier in the same sentence.

In similar ways, I have annotated more than 1000 noun phrases and affixes with cognitive status in my study. These results will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 DATA AND DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This section is a presentation of the data and my data analysis concurrently. I have followed the annotation manual of Gundel et al (2007), as described in the previous chapter. For each occurrence of the nominal form, I identified the highest cognitive status the narrator (speaker/writer) could possibly assume that the referent has in the mind of the addressee just before encountering the form. For each text, the number of correlations between forms and cognitive statuses are summarized and presented in tables, and these numbers will be used when concluding on whether a certain form encodes a certain cognitive status or not.

5.2 A sample text

In this section I present each sentence of the story entitled, *Ruhango: Imodoka yabuze feri ikomeretsa umuntu umwe,* translated as, *Ruhango: A car lost control and injured one person.* The story is about an accident that happened on 06/10/2013 in Ruhango. The story appeared in the newspaper Kigali Today[10]. This text has also been annotated in TypeCraft.[11] Below, I present each sentence glossed and translated. Each noun phrase is annotated with one of the cognitive status categories, depending on the status of the referent as it occurs in the text. The abbreviations for the cognitive statuses are presented below:

- TPID – type identifiable
- RFTL – referential
- UNID – uniquely identifiable
- FAM – familiar
- ATV – activated

[10] The original newspaper story can be accessed at http://www.kigalitoday.com/spip.php?article13315.
[11] The annotated text can be found at http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2491/

- INFOC – infocus

Below is one of the texts that were annotated for cognitive status in this study. Cognitive status is annotated next to the categories that are investigated. For instance, in line 1, the status 'referential' (RFTL) is marked on the noun *Imodoka* with the intital vowel *i-*, whereas the status 'infocus' (INFOC) is annotated on the verbal affix *y* on the verb *'yabuze'*.

1. **Imodoka yabuze feri ikomeretsa umuntu umwe** *"A car lost control and injured one person."*

Imodoka	yabuze	feri
i modoka	y a buz e	feri
IV *car*.RFTL	*it*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC PAST *lose* FV	*control*
CN	V	N

ikomeretsa	umuntu
i komerets a	u mu ntu
it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC *injure* FV	IV CL1.AGR *person*.RFTL
V	CN

umwe
u mwe
IV *one*.REL.CL1
QUANT

Generated in TypeCraft.

Imodoka y'omu bwoko bwa Toyota Dyna *"A car of the brand Toyota Dyna"*

Imodoka	y'omu	bwoko	bwa	Toyotadyna
i modoka	y' o mu	bwoko	bw a	toyotadyna
IV *car*.RFTL[12]	GEN IV *in*	*type*	CL14.AGR GEN	*type-of-car*.
CN	PRT	CN		Np

Generated in TypeCraft.

ifite purake RAC 788 K *"it has number plate RAC 788K"*

[12] In all the texts, I disregarded the headline when calculating cognitive status, therefore, the referent *Imodoka (car)* is not infocus but rather referential, since the previous line is the headline of the story

Ifite		purake	RAC	788	K
i	fite	purake	rac	788	k
it.IV.CL9.SBJ.INFOC	*has*	*number-plate*	*rac*	*788*	*k*
V		CN			

Generated in TypeCraft.

yari itwawe na Hategekimana Jacques *"it was driven by Hategekimana Jacques"*

yari			
y	a	ri	
it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC	PAST	*be*.AUX	
AUX			

itwawe				na	Hategekimana
i	twa	w	e	na	hategekimana
it.IV.CL9.SBJ.INFOC	*drive*	PASS	FV	*by*	*name-of-a-person*
V				prep	Np

Jacques
jacques
name-of-a-person
Np

Generated in TypeCraft.

yabuze feri igonga umukingo ikomeretsa Mutangana Aloys *"it (car) lost control and it knocked the road side hump and it injured Mutangana Aloys"*

yabuze				feri	igonga		
y	a	buz	e	feri	i	gong	a
it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC	PAST	*lose*	FV	*control*	CL9.SBJ.INFOC	*knock*	FV
V				N	V		

umukingo			ikomeretsa		
u	mu	kingo	i	komerets	a
IV	CL3.AGR	*road-side-bump*.RFTL	*it*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC	*injure*	FV
CN			V		

Mutangana	Aloys
mutangana	aloys
name-of-a-person.	*name-of-a-person*
Np	Np

Generated in TypeCraft.

ari nawe nyirayo ku mugoroba wa tariki ya 06/10/2013. *"he (Mutangana Aloys) is its (car's) owner on the evening of 06/10/2013"*

ari	nawe
a ri	na we
he.3SG.OBJ.INFOC COP	*and*.CONJ CL1.SBJ.INFOC
COP	PN

nyirayo	ku	mugoroba
nyira y o	ku	mu goroba
owner.INFOC *it*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC FV	*on*	CL3.AGR *evening*.UNID
N	PREP	N

wa	tariki	ya	06/10/2013
w a	tariki	y a	06/10/2013
CL3.AGR GEN	*date*	CL9 *of*.GEN	
PRT	N	PNposs	

Generated in TypeCraft.

2. **Aba bonye iyi mpanuka iba** *"Those (people) who saw this accident happen"*

Aba	bonye	Iyi	mpanuka
a ba	bon ye	i yi	mpanuka
IV CL2.SBJ.*Those*.UNID	*see* ASP	IV *This*.CL9.SBJ.ATV	*accident*.CL9
DET	V	DET	CN

iba
i ba
it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC *happen*
V

Generated in TypeCraft.

bavuga ko iyi modoka yageze *"they say that this car reached "*

bavuga	ko	Iyi
ba vug a	ko	i yi
they.CL2.SBJ.INFOC *say* FV	*that*.CONJ	IV *this*.CL9.SBJ.FAM
V		DET

modoka	yageze
modoka	y a gez e
car	*it*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC PAST *reach* FV
CN	V

Generated in TypeCraft.

ahitwa mu Gatebe mu kagari ka Rubona *"at a place called Gatebe in the cell of Rubona"*

ahitwa	mu	Gatebe	mu	akagari	
a hi t w a	mu	gatebe	mu	kagari	
IV LOC.CL16 *call* PASS FV	*at*.LOC	*name-of-a-place*	*in*	*cell*.UNID	
COPloc	PREP	CN	PREP	CN	

ka	rubona
ka	rubona
of	*name-of-a-cell*
PREP	CN

Generated in TypeCraft.

umurenge wa Bweramana mu karere ka Ruhango *"Bweramana sector in the district of Ruhango"*

umurenge	wa	Bweramana	mu
u mu renge	w a	bweramana	mu
IV CL3 *sector*.UNID	*of*.REL.CL3 GEN	*name-of-a-place*	*in*
CN		CN	PREP

akarere	ka	Ruhango
akarere	ka	ruhango
district.CL12.UNID	*of*	*name-of-a-district*
CN	PREP	CN

Generated in TypeCraft.

ikabura feri umushoferi arwana nayo kugeza ubwo *"it lost control and the driver (Hategekimana Jacques) fought with it until"*

ikabura	feri	umushoferi
i ka bur a	feri	u mu shoferi
it.CL9.SBJ.I*NFOC* PAST *lose* FV	*control*	IV CL3 *driver*.FAM
V	N	CN

arwana	nayo	kugeza
a rwan a	na y o	ku gez a
he.3SG.INFOC *fight* FV	*with it*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC FV	INF *reach* FV
V	PN	V

ubwo
ubwo
when
CONJ

Generated in TypeCraft.

yayegetse ku mukingo. *"he (Jacques)made it (the car) lean at the road side hump"*

yayegetse				ku
y	a	y	egets e	ku
he.3SG.SBJ.INFOC	PAST	*it*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC	*lean* FV	LOC
V				PREP

mukingo
(u)mukingo
road-side-bump.FAM
CN

Generated in TypeCraft.

3. **Bakomeza bavuga ko umushoferi akimara** *"They (people who saw the accident) continue to say that the driver after he finished"*

Bakomeza			bavuga			ko
ba	komez	a	ba	vug	a	ko
they.CL2.SBJ.ATV	*continue*	FV	*they*.CL2.SBJ.INFOC	*say*	FV	*that*
V			V			

umushoferi	akimara
u mu shoferi	a ki mar a
IV CL1 *driver*. INFOC	*he*.3SG.SBJ.INFOC INF *finish* FV
CN	V

Generated in TypeCraft.

kwegeka iyi modoka ku mukingo *"leaning this car on the road side bump"*

kwegeka		Iyi	modoka	ku
kw egek	a	i yi	modoka	ku
to.INF *lean*	FV	IV *this*.CL9.SBJ.ATV	*car*	*on*.LOC
V		DET	CN	PREP

mukingo
u.mu.kingo
road-side-bump.ATV
CN

Generated in TypeCraft.

yahise ikomeretsa ukuguru kwa Mutangana wari ayirimo *"it (car) immediately injured the leg of Mutangana who was in it"*

yahise			
y	a	his	e
it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC	PAST	*immediate*	FV
V			

ikomeretsa		ukuguru	kwa
i komerets	a	u kuguru	kw a
IV.CL9.SBJ.INFOC *injure*	FV	IV *leg*.UNID	*of*.CL12 GEN
V		CN	PREP

Mutangana	wari
mutangana	w a ri
name-of-a-person	CL1.SBJ.INFOC PAST *be*.AUX
Np	

ayirimo			
a	yi	ri	mo
3SG.INFOC	*it*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC	*be*.COP	LOC
COPloc			

Generated in TypeCraft.

kuko uruhande yari yicayemo arirwo *"because the side he was seated at is the one that"*

kuko	uruhande	yari
kuko	u ru hande	y a ri
because	IV CL11.AGR *side*.UNID	*he*.3SG.OBJ.INFOC PAST *be*.AUX
PRT	CN	AUX

yicayemo				arirwo		
y	ica-	ye	mo	a	ri	rwo
he.3SG.SBJ.INFOC V	*sit*	REL.CL11	LOC	PAST AUX V		*it*.CL11.INFOC

Generated in TypeCraft.

rwegetswe ku mukingo. *"it (side) was leaned on the road side hump."*

rwegetswe				ku	mukingo
rw	egets	we	a	ku	umukingo
it.CL11.INFOC V	*lean*	PASS	FV	*on* PREP	*road-side-bump*.FAM CN

Generated in TypeCraft.

4. **Gusa abaturage n'inzego z'umutekano** *"While villagers and those responsible for keeping peace and order"*

Gusa	abaturage			n'inzego			
gusa	a	ba	turage	n'	i	n	-zego
while.CONJ	IV CN	CL2.SBJ.RFTL	*citizen.*	N	IV	CL10.AGR	

z'umutekano			
z'	u	mu	tekano
CL10.UNID N	IV	CL3.AGR	*tranquility*

Generated in TypeCraft.

bahise bafatanya bakuramo *"they (the villagers) immediately worked hand in hand / combined effort to remove"*

bahise			
ba	his	e	
they.CL2.SBJ.INFOC V	*immediate*	FV	

bafatanya		
ba	fatanya	a

they.CL2.SBJ.INFOC *combine* FV
V

bakuramo
ba kur a mo
they.CL2.SBJ.INFOC *remove* FV *in*.LOC
V

Generated in TypeCraft.

Mutangana wari wakomeretse muri iyi mpanuka *"Mutangana, he who was injured in this accident"*

Mutangana	wari
mutangana	w a ri
name-of-a-person	CL1.INFOC PAST *be*.AUX
Np	COP

wakomeretse		muri	Iyi	mpanuka
wa	komerets e	muri	i yi	mpanuka
CL1.OBJ.INFOC	Injure FV	*in*	IV *this*.CL9.FAM	*accident*
V		PREP	DEM	

Generated in TypeCraft.

ajyanwa ku bitaro bya Gitwe. *"he (Mutangana) was taken to Gitwe hospital"*

ajyanwa		ku	bitaro
a	jyan w a	ku	bitaro
he.3SG.OBJ.INFOC	*take* PASS FV	LOC	*hospital*.UNID
V		PREP	CN

bya	Gitwe
by a	gitwe
CL8.AGR GEN	*name-of-a-hospital*
	CN

Generated in TypeCraft.

Based on annotaions such as these, I have summarized the correlation between forms and cognitive statuses in tables. These are presented in the next section.

5.3 The results

This section is a summary of the results from all the narrative texts I investigated. The data set 1 text has already been presented in section 5.2. Below is the summary of the results for this text:

Data set 1

TABLE 1: IMANUKA (ACCIDENT)

FORM	INFOC	ATV	FAM	UNID	RFTL	TPID	**SUM**
Augment a, i, u (‘a’, ‘the’)	1		2	9	4		**16**
Verbal affix : sbj+obj (all Noun classes) i,ya,yo,ru (it) a,ya,wa (he) ba (they)	33	1					**34**
Dem Iyi (this)		2	3				**5**
Pronoun we (him) yo (it) ba (they)	3						**3**
Total	**37**	**3**	**5**	**9**	**4**	**0**	**58**

Before I comment on the results in Table 1, I want to point out that the augment is sometimes not overtly realized in Kinyarwanda, although this is not shown in the table. According to Kimenyi (1980), the augment is semantically underspecified as it can either mark definiteness or indefiniteness. However, for certain words in Kinyarwanda, its absence can mark the phrase as semantically definite while its presence can mark the phrase as semantically indefinite. For example, *mu-ganga* (without an augment) would translate to ‘the doctor’ while *u-mu-ganga* (with an augment) would translate to ‘a doctor’, according to Kimenyi (1980). Based on my native speaker’s knowledge, although the above assessment could be correct, it is not necessarily sufficient to arrive at such a conclusion. This is because the usage of the word *mu-ganga* in a normal speech situation can not be used in isolation, i.e. there will always be enough descriptive

content given along with the noun, as in the phrase *mu-ganga* ***wa*** *abana* (paedetrician). I will argue that in such cases it is the description of the doctor that creates the unique referent and not necessarily the lack of a realised augment. In text 1, there is one example of a noun without an augment, i.e. *mukingo* (road hump) in sentence 3, line 2. If the augment is added, there will be no change in interpretation. Owing to these arguments, I conclude that the presence/absence of the augment does not correlate to the 'type identifiable'/'uniquely identifiable distinction' as Kimenyi (1980) seems to suggest.

To sum up Table 1, this table reveals that the verbal affixes (both subject and object) are used with referents that are in focus of attention as shown in 33 occurrences. There is one example where the referent is activated, involving the verbal affix *ba-* (they) in sentence 3 above. In this sentence there is no preceding full noun phrase in the same sentence referring to the same entity as the verbal affix. Based on the data in this text, it may be the case that the verbal affixes encode the cognitive status 'in focus'. However, we will see later that there are more verbal affixes with referents that are only activated.

According to Gundel et al. (1993) the definite article '*the'* and the indefinite article '*a'* encode the status 'uniquely identifiable' and 'type identifiable', respectively. However, my observation is that the distribution of the augment does not correlate with any particular cognitive status. In table 1 above, the augment is used for reference to entities that are referential, uniquely identifiable or familiar. In fact, as will be shown below, the augment can be used with any cognitive status. Beware that 8 out of 9 phrases with augments that have a uniquely identifiable referents are possessive phrases. An example is *Ukuguru kwa Mutangana* ('the leg of Mutangana'). In this case, it is not the augment that plays a crucial role in creating this unique referent in the mind of the hearer but rather the description of the leg.

In table 1 above, there are 5 occurrences of the demonstrative determiner '*iyi'(this)* and this demonstrative form is used with referents that are activated and familiar.

As for the the pronouns (both subject and object) in this text, they are used with referents that are in focus of attention just like most of the verbal affixes.

In the next data sets, comments will be made after each table only if the specific table presents a different pattern from the preceding ones and a general discussion will be presented at the end of all the tables with an analysis of the results in each table. For some data sets, the corresponding

annotated text can be found in the appendix. However, for the purposes of brevity, some of the texts will not be attached. Instead a link to the annotated texts in TypeCraft will be provided in a footnote.

Data set 2[13]
TABLE 2: KWIMURA INGO (RELOCATING HOMES)

FORM	INFOC	ATV	FAM	UNID	RFTL	TPID	**SUM**
Augment a, i, u (a, the)	1	8	7	21	12	14	**63**
Verbal affix : sbj+obj (all NCL) zi, (they) ba (they) bi (they) ya (he, it) i (it) bu (it) a (he) ka (it) ha (it) tu (we) n (i)	79						**79**
Dem iyi (this) uyu (this) aba (these) ibi (these) icyo (that) iki (this) izi (these) aka (this) iriya (that)	3	6	2				**11**
Pronoun cyo (it) we (him) yo (it) bo (them) zo (them) ba (they)	9						**9**
Total	**92**	**14**	**9**	**21**	**12**	**14**	**162**

[13] This text can be accessed at http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2493/ and also found in the appendix 2, as Data set 2.

In addition to what data set 1 shows, this data set shows 14 cases where the augment is used with type identifiable referents. It also shows that demonstratives are not only used with activated and familiar referents but also referents that are in focus.

Data set 3[14]
TABLE 3: URUHU RWIZA (A GOOD SKIN)

FORM	INFOC	ATV	FAM	UNID	RFTL	TPID	**SUM**
Augment a, i, u (a, the)	6	11	4	34	7	24	**86**
Verbal affix : sbj+obj (all NCL) ba (they) ru (it) a (s/he) ya (s/he) bi (they) a (it) gi (it) tu (we) u (you) m/n (i) u (it) ya (it) wa (you) i (it) yi (it) zi (they)	111	19					**130**
Dem ibyo (those) icyo (that) iki (this) ya (thsoe) aka (this) ayo (that) abo (those) uwo (that) bya (those)		2	8	1			**11**
Pronoun bo (their) rwe (his/hers)	20						**20**

[14] Data set 3 can be accessed at http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2483/

we (him/her) byi (them) rwo (it)							
Total	**137**	**32**	**12**	**35**	**7**	**24**	**247**

Contrary to what the other texts have revealed about demonstratives, that is, demonstratives are used with referents that have the cognitive statuses in focus, activated and familiar only, this text reveals one example where the demonstrative determiner *abo* (those) has a referent that is only uniquely identifiable. Intuitively, demonstratives in Kinyarwanda can occasionally be used with referents that are only uniquely identifiable but they are more often familiar.[15]

It is important to mention that in table 3, for instance, the augment 'u' can also be used when the referent is in focus or has any other cognitive status. One example is *uruhu rwiza* (a good skin) in text 3. This entity has been introduced by the presenter and it is in the current focus of attention by the addressees (the listeners) when the phrase is processed. This is consistent with the following quote by Gundel et al (1993: 279): "The entities in focus at a given point in the discourse will be that partially–ordered subset of activated entities which are likely to be continued as topics of subsequent utterances. Thus, entities in focus generally include at least the topic of the preceding utterance." In this discourse, this phenomenon (*uruhu rwiza*) is assumed to be the topic of the talk show (A good skin). This is also true for not only the augment but also other forms such as verbal affixes and pronouns which have referents that are in focus. It is presumed that these forms are already activated in the listener's mind because the narrator has already introduced the topic in (the tittle of the narrative/storyline).

According to the texts above, demonstratives can be used with referents that are in focus, activated, familiar or even uniquely identifiable. Table 4 below, however, also reveals one occurence where this form can be used with referents that are uniquely identifiable. Consider the following example:

[15] Be aware that Kinyarwanda demonstratives are sometimes accompanied by a pointing gesture.

(10)

‘Umunsi navutseho urimburanwe n’ **iryo joro havuzwe ngo mama yasamye inda yangye-**

The day I was born should be cursed with **that night mother conceived me-**

The noun phrase *‘Iryo joro mama yasamye inda yangye’* (that night my mother conceived me) has a unique referent since one can imagine that there is one such night when Job was conceived, and it can be distinguished from other nights. Below is the table which contains this data, followed by the tables for the remaining texts.

Data set 4[16]

TABLE 4: YOBU (JOB)

FORM	INFOC	ATV	FAM	UNID	RFTL	TPID	**SUM**
Augment a, i, u (a, the)	2	11	1	5	3	50	**72**
Verbal affix : sbj+obj (all NCL) a (he) ya (he) u (it) u (you) i (he) i (it) n (I) ba (they) wi (it) wa (you) ri (it) ki/gi (it) bi (they) zi (they) mu (s/he) ru (it)	94	3					**97**
Dem uwo (that) iryo (that)	2	2		1			**5**
Pronoun we (it)	14						**14**

[16] This text can be accessed at http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2577/

rye (it) ryo (it) zo (them) bo (them)							
Total	**112**	**16**	**1**	**6**	**3**	**50**	**188**

Data set 5[17]

TABLE 5: UMWAMI NA KAMEGERI W'UMUGOME (THE KING AND EVIL-MINDED KAMEGERI)

FORM	INFOC	ATV	FAM	UNID	RFTL	TPID	**SUM**
Augment a, i, u (a, the)	5	9	1	4	2	11	**32**
Verbal affix : sbj+obj (all NCL) a (he) ba (they) tu/du (we) ru (it) bi (they) mu (him) ya (he) wa (he) rw (it) ki/gi (it)	43						**43**
Dem urwo (that)			1				**1**
Pronoun bi (it)	1						**1**
Total	**49**	**9**	**2**	**4**	**2**	**11**	**77**

[17] Data set 5 can be found in the attached appendix 2 and is also available at http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2620/

Data set 6[18]
TABLE 6: IMVUBU (THE HIPPO)

FORM	INFOC	ATV	FAM	UNID	RFTL	TPID	**SUM**
Augment (a,i,u)	8	12		1	2	18	**41**
Verbal affix : sbj+obj (all NCL) ya (it) zi (they) i (it) ru (it) n (i) u (you) wa (you) tu (we)	55	1					**56**
Dem							**0**
Pronoun yo (it)	3						**3**
Total	**66**	**13**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**18**	**100**

Data set 7[19]
TABLE 7: NDABA W'IGISAMBO (GREEDY NDABA)

FORM	INFOC	ATV	FAM	UNID	RFTL	TPID	**SUM**
Augment a, i, u (a, the)	1	4		2	2	8	**17**
Verbal affix : sbj+obj (all NCL) a (he) ya (he) za/zi (they) i (he) ba (they) mu (he) wa (he) ri (it)	27	1					**28**
Dem							**0**
Pronoun we (him) be (them)	4						**4**
Total	**32**	**5**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**8**	**49**

[18] This text can be accessed at http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2623/ and also attached as Data set 6 in appendix 2

[19] This text can be accessed at http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2622/

Data set 8[20]

TABLE 8: INJANGWE YA SIMON (SIMON'S CAT)

FORM	INFOC	ATV	FAM	UNID	RFTL	TPID	**SUM**
Augment a, i, u (a, the)		10	2		3	6	**21**
Verbal affix : sbj+obj (all NCL) i (it) yi (it) a (he) mu (he)	51	19					**70**
Dem							**0**
Pronoun							**0**
Total	**51**	**29**	**2**	**0**	**3**	**6**	**91**

Data set 9[21]

TABLE 9: IGURISHA RY'IMITUNGO YA LETA (THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTY)

FORM	INFOC	ATV	FAM	UNID	RFTL	TPID	**SUM**
Augment a, i, u (a, the)		3		1	1	11	**16**
Verbal affix : sbj+obj (all NCL) i (it) gi (it) ki (it) tu (we) ri (it)	9	1					**10**
Dem iyi (these) iki (this) iryo (that) iri (this)		4	3				**7**
Pronoun bo (them)	1						**1**
Total	**10**	**8**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**11**	**34**

[20] This data set can be accessed at http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2142/

[21] This text can be accessed at http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2618/

Table 10 below summarises all the data:

All data sets
TABLE 10: SUMMARY OF ALL THE DATA SET TABLES

FORM	INFOC	ATV	FAM	UNID	RFTL	TPID	**SUM**
Augment a, i, u (‘a’, ‘the’)	24	68	17	77	39	142	**367**
Verbal affix: sbj+obj (all noun classes)	502	45	0	0	0	0	**547**
Dem (all categories)	5	16	17	2	0	0	**40**
Pronoun (all noun classes)	54	0	0	0	0	0	**54**
Total	**585**	**129**	**34**	**79**	**39**	**142**	**1008**

Before I present the analysis of these results, I want to make a comment about the pronouns in Table 10. This table shows that pronouns are used with referents that are in focus of attention as shown in 54 occurrences. The reason why all the referents are in focus of attention stems from the fact that this study looks at these expressions in the narrative context, this means that these forms (pronouns) refer to referents of nouns previously mentioned in the discourse. However, based on my native speakers knowledge, it is possible to use pronouns with referents that are just activated. Imagine a context where I am being given a farm tour, there are cows and their caretaker. In such a situation it is possible for me to make an utterance as in the example below even if the cows have not been previously mentioned and are just activated:

(11) Ameze nka zo

“He is like them”

ameze			nka	zo
a	mez	e	nka	zo
s/he.3SG.SBJ.ATV	*be*	ASP	*like*.CONJ	*them*.CL10.ATV
V				PN

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The above example shows that the pronoun *zo* ‘them’ referring to cows can be used with referents that are just activated. Given the imaginary context above, the addressee can see the cows and it is appropriate to refer to them using the pronoun ‘zo’. Below is a summary of the

pattern that emerges from all the texts presented above, as well as the invented examples above. The analysis proposed is the analysis one will have to land on within the GH framework. According to Gundel et al. (1993) a nominal form encodes the lowest cognitive status that systematically occurs for this nominal form.

- **Augment**: Is used with all the cognitive statuses. Analysis: does not put any restriction on cognitive status.
- **Verbal affix**: Is mostly used with in focus entities, but also quite often with entities that are only activated. Analysis: Requires the status activated.
- **Demonstrative**: Is used in cases where the referent is in focus, activated or familiar. Analysis: demonstratives encode the status familiar.[22]
- **Pronoun**: Is usually used with entities that have the status in focus, but can also be used when the referent is just activated. Analysis: encodes the status activated.

5.4 General discussion

Gundel, Hedberg, Zacharski (1993, 2010) claim that the 6 cognitive statuses are universal and that even though not all 6 are relevant in all languages, the hierarchy as such is universal. Although Gundel et al's assumption could be true, languages are different with regard to what aspects of meaning are pragmatically inferred and what aspects of meaning are dependent on a particular languages' grammar. I will argue that the data from Kinyarwanda shows that in some languages, cognitive status does not play a huge role in the system of referring expressions and reference assignment. Below I will comment on each expression investigated.

The augment: From the English translations provided in the texts, where the augment was an equivalent of the English articles, I hypothesized, in accordance with the GH, that the augment is restricted with respect to cognitive status, just as the indefinite and definite article in English. However, as shown in the data, the distribution of the augment is not guided by a particular

[22] In the two rare cases where demonstratives have a referent with the status uniquely identifiable, the descriptive content is very rich and therefore the speaker assumes that the hearer has understood the referent through the description given.

cognitive status. In English, the indefinite article can be used for referents that are type identifiable and the definite article can be used for referents that are uniquely identifiable. In Kinyarwanda, on the other hand, there is no such distinction. This means that there is no restriction on cognitive status for this particular linguistic element and the prediction is that the augment in Kinyarwanda can be used for any cognitive status like I mentioned earlier.

The verbal affixes: This linguistic element is a syntactic dependent,[23] and in this study these affixes function as either subject or object markers. The data shows that they are used mostly with in focus entities, but there are also some that are just activated. According to the above analysis, they require the status activated. A peculiar property of the affixes that are annotated as 'in focus', is the following: They are very often in focus due to condition 2 in the annotation manual of Gundel et al. (2007), i.e. the referent is in focus because it has been referred to earlier in the same sentence. If the use of verbal affixes were restricted by cognitive status alone, we would perhaps expect a greater variety of conditions that made the referent in focus, and more occurrences where the referent is just activated. In Kinyarwanda, there is a strong tendency to have a full noun phrase prior to a verbal affix in the same sentence. This may be the reason why condition 2 for the status 'in focus' is so frequently involved. In sum, it seems that the distribution of this element may be at least partly syntactically determined. In other words, that the verbal affixes encode the cognitive status activated. A challenging aspect of the present study was to determine sentence boundaries, which is crucial for distinguishing between the statuses in focus and activated. With different criteria for sentence boundaries, the number of activated referents for verbal affixes might have been reduced considerably. I, therefore, conclude that the verbal affixes encode the status activated. This is however, a less restrictive cognitive status than in focus, which is encoded by e.g English pronouns. Thus, cognitive status is a weaker guidance for reference assignment for Kinyarwanda verbal affixes than for English pronouns.

[23] According to Kimenyi (1980:30) 'a syntactic dependent is any NP whose grammatical function within the sentence is determined by the main verb. Eleven verbal syntactic dependents are found in Kinyarwanda: subject, direct object, dative, benefactive, instrumental, locative, manner, temporal, goal, associative and comparative. In some cases the possessor also becomes a verbal syntactic dependent'.

The pronouns: The data reveals that Kinyarwanda pronouns are used with referents that are only infocus. What I observed in the data is that this form is used to refer to referents of nouns previously mentioned in the discourse. From this observation, one might be tempted to conclude that acceptable use of these pronouns require the status in focus. However, according to my intuitions and invented example (see (11) above) that have been presented, these pronouns can also be used with referents that are only activated. Based on this, I conclude that the Kinyarwanda pronouns require activation.

The demonstratives: One may conclude that the use of the Kinyarwanda demonstratives requires familiarity and that the 2 cases where the referent is only uniquely identifiable may be seen as exceptions to the rule. However, remember that the Kinyarwanda demonstratives have other constraints as well, i.e they encode distance from speaker, hearer ,or both, and whether the entity was mentioned some time in the past. It may be that the tendency for Kinyarwanda demonstratives to refer to familiar, activated or in focus entities is something that follows from these constraints. For instance, if one refers to an entity close to the addresse, the addresse can see it and it is therefore activated. This will have to be postponed for further research.

From the above discussion, it is clear that Kinyarwanda is a language in which cognitive status plays much less role than in English, given that GHZ's claims are correct.

5.5 Further interpretation of results

Since cognitive status plays a less significant role in Kinyarwanda than in, e.g. English, one may ask, what else determines reference assignment. One possible solution is that the noun class system influences this. Noun classes are determined on the basis of prefixes within a sentence structure. Therefore, in Kinyarwanda, addressees may pick out the intended referent based on the noun class. Consider the example below. Be aware that the noun *inyama* belongs to noun class 9.

(12)[24]

Naguze inyama n'umunekye muri bisi ndayirya nawo ndawurya ariko narwaye munda. *"I bought meat and a banana on the bus, I ate it (meat) and also ate it (banana) but I got a stomach upset."*

Naguze						inyama		n'umunekye					muri
n	a	guz	e	i	nyama	n'	u	mu	nekye				muri
1SG.INFOC	PAST	*buy*	FV	IV	*meat*	*and*.CONJ	IV	CL3	*banana*				*in*.LOC
V				CN		CN							PREP

bisi	ndayirya							nawo					
bisi	n	da	yi		ry	a		na	wo				
bus	1SG.AGR	PAST	*it*.CL9.AGR		*eat*	FV		*also*.CONJ	*it*.CL3.AGR				
CN	V							CONJ					

ndawurya							ariko						
n	da	wu		ry	a		ariko						
1SG.AGR	PAST	*it*.CL3.AGR			FV		*but*						
V							CONJ						

narwaye						munda							
n	a	rwa	ye			mu	n	da					
1SG.AGR	PAST	*be-sick*	ASP			*in*.LOC	CL9.AGR	*stomach*					
V						CN							

Generated in TypeCraft.

Notice in the translation that the English pronouns 'it' and 'it' are ambiguous whereas the Kinyarwanda affixes are not: It is clear that the first affix refers to the meat whereas the second refers to the banana. In the above example we see that if an entity is marked with a certain noun class, only nominal phrases marked with the same noun class will be likely antecedents and its referents will also be restricted accordingly.

Secondly, one other possible reason why cognitive status does not play a huge role in Kinyarwanda, is the fact that Kinyarwanda has a very elaborate system of demonstrative forms (see chapter 2, section 2.5.1). Among other features, some demonstratives have a past tense marker. This helps the addressee to find the intended referent regardless of cognitive status.

[24] Example (10) can be found at this link http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2234/.

Finally, in all languages, including Kinyarwanda, pragmatic inferencing is crucial in the process of finding the speaker's intended referent. GHZ (1993) assume that the form of a referring expression restricts the possible interpretations it can have by conventionally signaling information about the addressees' memory and attention state with respect to the intended referent. However, according to relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995), communicators openly express their intention to communicate and audiences/ addressesees make inferences from the intentions of communicators. Wilson and Speber (2004 : 613) state that "The hearer should take the decoded linguistic meaning; following a path of least effort, he should enrich it at the explicit level and complement it at the implicit level until the resulting interpretation meets his expectation of relevance". Therefore they believe the hearer will interpret utterances based on their notion of optimal relevance[25]. Relevance theory suggests that the mind organizes the information in a certain pattern depending on the hearer's perception and the context in which communication takes place. It is upon this, that one may conclude that reference assignment is not only determined by cognitive status but rather the search for relevance. Given the assumption that the utterance is relevant, the hearer will choose the interpretation that is more relevant; that is, the interpretation that does not require too much processing effort to access and at the same time leads to more positive cognitive effects[26]. This means that other things being equal, the hearer will choose the interpretation that is more likely to be true. Consider the following example:

[25] Wilson and Speber 2004:612 "The notion of optimal relevance is meant to spell out what the audience of an act of ostensive communication is entitled to expect in terms of effort and effect".

[26] Wilson and Speber 2004:609, "Other things being equal, the greater the positive cognitive effects achieved by processing an input, the greater its relevance will be". This explains why despite the mass of competing stimuli, the hearer picks not just the relevant input but the most relevant of all.

(11)[27]

Irarebareba iyibona ku ilido irasimbuka.
"it looks around, sees it at the curtain, it jumps"

Irarebareba					reba						
i		ra	reb	a	reba						
CL9.SBJ.ATV		PRES	*looks*	FV	*looks*.REDP						
V											
iyibona								ku	ilido		
i		yi			bon	a		ku	i	lido	
CL9.SBJ.INFOC		CL9.OBJ.ATV			*see*	FV		*to*	IV	*curtain*.TPID	
V								PREP	CN		
irasimbuka											
i		ra	simbuk	a							
CL9.INFOC		PRES	*jump*	FV							
V											

Generated in TypeCraft.

The last entity referred to by *i* (it) has the cognitive status *in focus*, but it is in principle ambiguous. It could either refer to the cat or the fly. It is from this example and perhaps many others that one can argue that it is not only cognitive status and whatever else is encoded in the verbal affix *i* that determines the referent. What is more likely to be true, and therefore a positive cognitive effect, is that the referent is the cat. It is more prototypical that a cat jumps than a fly does. Thus by searching not only for accessible referents, but also for an interpretation that yields positive cognitive effects and thus relevance, the reader can determine the referent for 'i' in the above example sentence.

[27] http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2142/

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 SUMMARY

This study has investigated and provided insights into the Kinyarwanda referring expressions, including the augment, the verbal affixes, the demonstratives and the pronouns in narrative contexts, using the Givenness Hierarchy framework (Gundel et al., 1993) as the guideline. In particular, the study was concerned with finding out whether or not cognitive status is an important and relevant linguistic cue in reference assignment in Kinyarwanda, thereby testing the applicability of the Givenness Hierarchy framework on a language not previously investigated in this sense.

From the discussion and data analysis, I have concluded that verbal affixes encode the cognitive status activated. In the data sample texts looked at in this study, there is a strong tendency to have a full noun phrase prior to a verbal affix, which yields the cognitive status in focus. However, according to the data summarized in table 10, it follows that this form can not be used any lower than activated.

The data reveals that the Kinyarwanda pronouns investigated are always used with referents that are in focus. However, as shown in the previous chapter, there is a possibility that these can be used with activated referents and I therefore conclude that acceptable use of these require activation.

It is important to note that both the Kinyarwanda verbal affixes and the pronouns encode a less restrictive cognitive status than what English pronouns encode, i.e activated rather than in focus.

The augment does not seem to put any restrictions on cognitive status at all; on the contrary, it can be used with any cognitive status. According to the observation made from the data, this linguistic item does not encode any cognitive status but it is rather an inherent property on nominals in Kinyarwanda just like in many other Bantu languages. Even when it is tested on the expressions in different contexts (narrative and natural discourse) it seems to yield the same

result as long as the affix is used in augment position. This is because its distribution is not guided by a particular cognitive status.

As for demonstratives, this category of referring expression was found to be a candidate for encoding restrictions on cognitive status. Their use requires familiarity in addition to other constraints as earlier mentioned. However, it could also be that the tendency regarding cognitive status is a result of the other features of the demonstratives.

As to how the hearer is able to determine reference resolution where cognitive status does not fully do so, the following possible solutions have been discussed. First, Kinyarwanda has an elaborate noun class system which is an important feature in encoding aspects of meaning and aiding interpretation of nominals for successful reference resolution. The second possible reason is that Kinyarwanda has an elaborate system of demonstrative forms presented in chapter 2. This helps the addressee to find the intended referent regardless of cognitive status. Recall, for instance that some Kinyarwanda demonstratives encode tense (past tense), as illustrated by category 5 in table 2 in section 2.5.1. Most important, the search for relevance influences reference resolution and the interpretation of utterances, as explained in section 5.5. Ariel (2008:5) concurs, ‘‘one of the most important features of human discourse is that we assume that speakers’ utterances are somehow relevant to us’’. In my view, this may be what usually facilitates interpretation of utterances and not necessarily where in the memory that information is stored. In sum, this all means that the context in which referring expressions are used should not be ignored, and most importantly, that Kinyarwanda is a language in which nominal forms contain more informantion than what is the case with English. This, in turn may explain why cognitive status plays a less important role in this language than in English.

This study did not exhaust some issues which I recommend for further research. These include:

Sentence boundary: In Gundel et al.’s coding manual, sentence boundary is an important guideline for distinguishing between the statuses in focus and activated. However, in Kinyarwanda it was not always easy to determine sentence boundary. This study therefore recommends that further research looks into ways on how to address this challenge by coming up with a ‘standard’ criteria to follow in determining sentence boundaries in Kinyarwanda.

Demonstratives and pronouns: This study looked at these referring expressions as only one category for each. However, I recommend that further research looks into the possibility of dividing these forms into smaller categories and see if this would lead to differences in the results.

APPENDIX 1: Gloss Tags[28]

Glossing tag	Tag description	Gloss class	GOLD Reference
AGR	Agreement	Agreeement	no match
ASP	aspect – underspecified	Aspect	AspectProperty
PFV	Perfective	Aspect	PerfectiveAspect
PROG	Progressive	Aspect	ProgressiveAspect
FV	verb-final vowel (Bantu)	Bantu	no match
IV	initial vowel (Bantu)	Bantu	no match
BEN	Benefactive	Case	BenefactiveCase
GEN	Genitive	Case	GenitiveCase
INSTR	Instrumental	Case	InstrumentalCase
NOM	Nominative	Case	NominativeCase
OBL	oblique	Case	ObliqueCase
POSS	Possessive	Case	PossessedCase
ATV	Activated	Cognitive Status	no match
FAM	Familiar	Cognitive Status	no match
INFOC	in focus	Cognitive Status	no match
RFTL	Referential	Cognitive Status	no match
TPID	type identifiable	Cognitive Status	no match
UNID	uniquely identified	Cognitive Status	no match
DIST	distal 'remote'	Deixis	no match
DIST2	far distal	Deixis	no match
PROX	Proximal	Deixis	no match
AD	adverbial-derivational	Derivation	no match
AUG	augmentative	Derivation	no match
DIM	Diminutive	Derivation	no match

[28] Available at http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Special:TypeCraft/GlossTags/

N>ADJ	denominal adjective	Derivation	no match
N>ADV	denominal adverb	Derivation	no match
NMLZ	Nominalizer	Derivation	Nominalizer
NUM>N	noun derived from a numeral	Derivation	Nominalizer
APPL	Applicative	Diathesis	ApplicativeVoice
CAUS	Causative	Diathesis	CausativeVoice
PASS	Passive	Diathesis	PassiveVoice
INTR	Interrogative	Force	InterrogativeForce
NEUT	Neuter	Gender	NeuterGender
COMPL	Complement	Grammatical Function	Complement
DO	direct object	Grammatical Function	directObject
OBJ	Object	Grammatical Function	Object
OBJ2	second object	Grammatical Function	no match
OBJind	indirect object	Grammatical Function	indirectObject
OM	object marker	Grammatical Function	no match
SBJ	Subject	Grammatical Function	subject
SM	subject marker	Grammatical Function	no match
CONJ	conjunctive=subjunctive	Mood	SubjunctiveMood
CL	noun class marker	Noun Class	no match
CL1	noun class 1	Noun Class	no match
CL10	noun class 10	Noun Class	no match
CL11	noun class 11	Noun Class	no match
CL12	noun class 12	Noun Class	no match
CL13	noun class 13	Noun Class	no match
CL14	noun class 14	Noun Class	no match
CL15	noun class 15	Noun Class	no match
CL16	noun class 16	Noun Class	no match
CL2	noun class 2	Noun Class	no match

CL3	noun class 3	Noun Class	no match
CL4	noun class 4	Noun Class	no match
CL5	noun class 5	Noun Class	no match
CL6	noun class 6	Noun Class	no match
CL7	noun class 7	Noun Class	no match
CL8	noun class 8	Noun Class	no match
CL9	noun class 9	Noun Class	no match
Npref	noun prefix	Noun Class	no match
PL	Plural	Number	PluralNumber
SG	Singular	Number	SingularNumber
1PL	1st person plural	Person Number	no match
1SG	1st person singular	Person Number	no match
2PL	2nd person plural	Person Number	no match
2SG	2nd person singular	Person Number	no match
3PL	3rd person plural	Person Number	no match
3SG	3rd person singular	Person Number	no match
DIR	Directional	Space	no match
LOC	Locative	Space	LocativeCase
AUX	auxiliary(morpheme)	Tense	no match
FUT	Future	Tense	FutureTense
FUTclose	close future	Tense	CloseFutureTense
FUTim	immediate future	Tense	ImmediateFutureTense
FUTnear	near future	Tense	NearFutureTense
PAST	past perceived as a whole	Tense	PastTense
PASThst	hesternal past: yesterday or earlier but not remote	Tense	no match
PASTim	very recent, in the last minute or so	Tense	no match
PASTpast	past in the past	Tense	no match
PASTrel	relative past	Tense	no match

PASTrm	remote past	Tense	no match
PRES	Present	Tense	PresentTense
INF	infinitive	Verb Form	no match
Itr	Intransitive	Verb Form	IntransitiveVerb
PRED	Predicative	Verb Form	Predicator
Vstem	verbal stem	Verb Form	no match
ACTV	active voice	Voice	ActiveVoice
ADJstem	adjective stem		no match
COP	Copular		Copula
DEG	Degree		no match
DEM	Demonstrative		no match
INT	Interrogative		no match
LOCREL	attached to a place		no match
NEG	Negation		no match
Nstem	noun stem		no match
RECP	Reciprocal		ReciprocalMiddleVoice
REDP	Reduplication		no match
REFL	Reflexive		no match
REL	relative		no match

APPENDIX 2: ANNOTATED TEXT EXCERPTS

DATA SET 2

Ingo 44 ziri mu gishanga cyo mu Rwabuye zigomba kwimuka bidatinze. *"44 homes (they) that are in the swamp of Rwabuye must be relocated without delay."*

Ingo	44	ziri	mu
i n go	44	zi ri	mu
IV CL10 *home*.RFTL	NUM>N	*they*.CL10.SBJ.INFOC COP	*in*
CN	QUANT	COP	PREP

gishanga	cyo	mu	Rwabuye
gi shanga	cyo	mu	rwabuye
CL7 *swamp*.RFTL	*it-swamp*.CL7.OBJ.INFOC	*in*	*name-of-a-place*
CN		PREP	Np

zigomba			kwimuka		
zi	gomb	a	kwi	muk	a
CL10.SBJ.INFOC	*must-do*	FV	INF	*relocate*	FV
V			V		

bidatinze			
bi	da	tinz	e
CL8.AGR	NEG	*delay*	FV
V			

Generated in TypeCraft.

Mu bihe by'imvura nyinshi hari ubwo bamwe mu batuye mu gishanga cyo mu Rwabuye baterwa n'amazi mu nzu. *"During the rainy times,this is when some people(they) living in the swamp of Rwabuye have their houses flooded "*

mu	bihe	by'imvura				nyinshi	
mu	bi	he	by'	i	m vura	nyi	nshi
in	CL8.AGR	*time*	CL8.AGR	IV	CL9 *rain*.RFTL	REL.CL9	*much*
PREP			CN			QUANT	

hari	ubwo	bamwe	mu
ha ri	ubwo	ba mwe	mu

LOC COP *when*.CONJ CL2.SBJ.RFTL *some of*
COPloc QUANT PREP

batuye mu gishanga
ba tuy e mu gi shanga
CL2.SBJ.INFOC *stay/live* FV *in* CL7 *swamp*.ATV
V PREP CN

cyo mu Rwabuye
cyo mu rwabuye
it-swamp.CL7.INFOC *name-of-a-place*
PREP Np

baterwa n'amazi
ba ter w a n' a ma zi
CL2.SBJ.INFOC *beat/invade* PASS FV CONJ IV CL6 *water*.TPID
V CN

mu nzu
mu n (i)nzu
in CL9 *house*.TPID
PREP CN
Generated in TypeCraft.

Ibi byatumye inama njyanama y'Akarere ka Huye yateranye kuwa 4/10/2013 ifata icyemezo cy'uko abatuye muri icyo gishanga bimuka bagatuzwa ahandi mbere y'itumba ry'umwaka utaha. *"these(events previously mentioned) led to a meeting of the district of Huye that was held on 4/10/2013 to take a decision that the people in that swamp be relocated to another place before the beginning of the rainy season of next year."*

Ibi byatumye
i bi bya tum ye
these.IV CL8.ATV CL8.INFOC *lead-to/send* ASP
DEM V

inama njyanama y'Akarere
i nama njyanama y' a karere
IV *meeting*.CL9.RFTL *meeting*.REDP CL9.AGR IV *district*.UNID
CN CN CN

ka Huye yateranye kuwa

ka	huye	ya	teran	ye	ku	wa
of	*name-of-a-district*	CL9.INFOC	*meet*	PFV	*on*	CL1.AGR
PREP		V			PREP	

4/10/2013	ifata				icyemezo			
4/10/2013	i	fat	a		i	cye	mez	o
date	*it*.CL9.INFOC V	*catch/reach*	FV		IV CN	CL7	*decide*.TPID	NMLZ

cy'uko	abatuye				muri			
cy'	uko	a	ba	tuy e	mu	ri		
CL7.AGR COMP	*how*	IV V	CL2.SBJ.ATV	*stay* FV	*in*.LOC PREP	COP		

icyo		gishanga		bimuka				
i	cyo	gi	shanga	b		imuk	a	
IV	*that*.CL7.ATV	CL7	*swamp*	CL2.SBJ.INFOC V		*relocate*	FV	
DEM		CN						

bagatuzwa						ahandi			mbere
ba		ga	tuz	w	a	a	ha	ndi	mbere
CL2.SBJ.INFOC V		INF	*stay/live*	PASS	FV	IV ADVplc	LOC.RFTL	*other*	*before* ADV

y'itumba				
y	-a	i	tumba	
CL9.AGR	GEN	IV	*rainy-season*.CL5.UNID	
CN				

ry'umwaka					utaha		
ry'	-a	u	mw	aka	u	taha	
CL5.AGR	GEN	IV	CL1	*year*.UNID	CL1.AGR	*next*	
CN					ADV		

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Mbere y'uko hafatwa iki cyemezo hari hashyizweho komisiyo y'abajyanama b'Akarere ka Huye ijya kureba abagomba kwimuka ndetse n'uko ubuzima bwabo bwifashe muri rusange. *"before this decision was taken there was a commission of Huye district leaders, put in place to see those who must relocate and how their life is in general."*

mbere	y'uko	hafatwa	Iki

mbere y’ uko ha fat w a i ki
before CL6.AGR *how* LOC *catch/reach* PASS FV IV *this*.CL7.ATV
ADV V DEM

cyemezo hari hashyizweho
cy emez o ha ri ha shyiz w e ho
CL7 *decide* NMLZ LOC *be*.COP LOC *put* PASS FV LOC
CN COPloc V

komisiyo y’abajyanama
komisiyo y’ a ba jya nama
commission.CL9.RFTL CL9.AGR IV CL2.SBJ.RFTL DIR *meeting*
CN CN

b’Akarere ka Huye
b’ a ka rere ka huye
CL2.INFOC IV CL12 *district*.ATV *of*.CL12.AGR *name-of-a-district*
CN PREP

ijya kureba abagomba
i jy a ku reb a a ba gomb a
it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC *go* FV INF *see* FV IV CL2.UNID *must-do* FV
V V CN

kwimuka ndetse n’uko ubuzima
kwi muk a ndetse n’ uko u bu zima
INF *relocate* FV CONJ CONJ *how* IV CL14 *life*.TPID
V PRT N

bwabo bwifashe muri
bw a b o bwi fashe muri
CL14.AGR IV CL2 *those*.INFOC CL14.INFOC *state-of-being* *in*.LOC
PNposs PREP

rusange
rusange
general

Generated in TypeCraft.

Iyi komisiyo rero yasanze ingo 44 ari zo zigomba kwimurwa izi zikaba zituye ahantu hajya huzura mu gihe cy'imvura. *"this commission then found 44 homes were the ones that must relocate , these homes are located in areas that flood during rainy times."*

Iyi			komisiyo	rero	yasanze		
i	y	i	komisiyo	rero	ya	san	ze
IV	CL9.FAM	*this*	*commission*.CL9	*therefore*	CL9.INFOC	*find*	
DEM			CN	PRT	V		

Ingo			44	arizo		
i	n	go	44	a	ri	zo
IV	CL10	*home*.ATV	NUM>N	IV	COP	*them(homes)*.CL10.INFOC
CN				PN		

zigomba			kwimurwa			
zi	gomb	a	kw	imur	w	a
CL10.INFOC	*must-do*	FV	INF	*relocate*	PASS	FV
V			V			

izi		zikaba			
i	zi	zi	ka	b	a
IV	*these*.CL10.INFOC	CL10.INFOC	INF		FV
DEM		V			

zituye			ahantu			hajya		
zi	tuy	e	a	ha	ntu	ha	jy	a
CL10.INFOC	*stay/live*	FV	IV	LOC	*place*.ATV	LOC.INFOC	*go*	FV
V						V		

huzura			mu	gihe		cy'imvura			
hu	zur	a	mu	gi	he	cy'	i	m	vura
LOC.INFOC	*fill*	FV	*in*	CL7	*time*	CL7.AGR	IV	CL9	*rain*.FAM
V			PREP	N		CN			

Generated in TypeCraft.

Uretse umwuzure ngo n'imisarane icukurwa muri aka gace ntishobora kurenza metero eshatu z'ubujyakuzimu kuko ngo hasi cyane hari amazi. *"apart from the flood,even the latrine in this area cannot go beyond three metres underground because there is water very deep."*

Uretse umwuzure ngo

uretse	u	mwu	zure	ngo	
other-than.CONJ	IV	CL3	*flood*.UNID	*that*	
	CN				

n’imisarane			
n’	i	mi	sarane
even.CONJ	UNID	CL4	*latrine*
			CN

icukurwa						muri	
i		cukur	w	a		mu	ri
it(latrine).CL4.INFOC		*make-a-hole*	PASS	FV		COP	
V						PREP	

aka		gace		ntishobora				
a	ka	ga	ce	nt	i	shobor	a	
IV	*this*.CL12.FAM	CL7	*certain-area*	NEG	*it*.CL4.INFOC	*afford*	FV	
DEM		CN		CN				

kurenza	metero	eshatu		
ku	renz a	metero	e	shatu
INF	*exceed* FV	*metre*.CL10	IV	*three*.UNID
V		CN		NUM

z’ubujyakuzimu						kuko		ngo
z’		u	bu	jya	kuzimu	kuko		ngo
they.CL10.INFOC		IV	CL14	DIR	*underneath*	*because*.CONJ		*that*
								CN

hasi	cyane	hari	amazi				
hasi	cyane	ha	ri	a	ma	zi	
ground	*very*.DEG	LOC	PRES	IV	CL6	*water*.TPID	
CN	MOD	V		CN			

Generated in TypeCraft.

Abagomba kwimurwa ni ingo 44 zituye mu gishanga aba bose bazabonerwa ibibanza byo guturamo ahitwa i Tonga ho mu Matyazo. *“those who must relocate are 44 homes in the swamp and all these (they) will be given plots to resettle at a place called tonga in matyazo.”*

abagomba			kwimurwa				ni
a	ba	gomb	a	kw	imur	w	a	ni

IV CL2.SBJ.FAM *must-do* FV INF *relocate* PASS FV *is*.COP
CN V

Ingo 44 zituye mu
i n go 44 zi tuy e mu
IV CL10 *home*.ATV NUM>N CL10.INFOC *stay/live* FV *in*
CN V PREP

gishanga Aba bose
gi shanga a ba bo se
CL7 *swamp*.FAM IV *these*.CL2.FAM CL2.AGR *all*
CN DEM

bazabonerwa ibibanza byo
ba za boner w a i bi banza byo
CL2.SBJ.INFOC FUT *get* PASS FV IV CL8 *plot*.TPID CL8.AGR
V CN

guturamo ahitwa I
gu tur a mo a hi t w a i
INF *stay/live* FV LOC IV LOC.CL16 *call*.RFTL PASS FV *at*
CN N PREP

Tonga ho mu Matyazo
tonga ho mu matyazo
name-of-a-place LOC *in* *name-of-a-place*
CN PREP CN
Generated in TypeCraft.

Imiryango ibiri y'abakennye cyane irimo izubakirwa, abadafite ubushobozi buhagije bazasabwa kwiyubakira Akarere ko kabashakire isakaro naho abishoboye bahabwe ibibanza gusa *"Two families of the very poor will have houses built for them , those without enough capacity will build for themselves and the district will give them roofing and the capable ones will get plots only."*

Imiryango ibiri
i mi ryango i biri
IV CL4 *family*.UNID IV *two*
CN NUM

y'abakennye cyane

y’	a	ba	kenn	ye	cyane
CL4.INFOC IV CN		CL2.SBJ.RFTL	*poor*	PFV	*very*.DEG MOD

irimo			izubakirwa						
i	ri	mo	i	zu	bak	ir	w	a	
CL4.INFOC V	COP	LOC	CL4.INFOC V	FUT	*build*	APPL	PASS	FV	

abadafite				ubushobozi			
a	ba	da	fite	u	bu	shobozi	
IV CN	CL2.UNID	NEG	*have*	IV CN	CL14	*capacity*.TPID	

buhagije		bazasabwa					
bu	hagije	ba	za	sab	w	a	
CL14.INFOC ADVm	*enough*	CL2.INFOC V	FUT	*request*	PASS	FV	

kwiyubakira			akarere		ko		
kwi	yu	bak ir a	a	ka	rere	ko	
INF V	IV	*build* APPL FV	IV CN	CL12	FAM	CL12.AGR	

kabashakire						isakaro		
ka	ba	shak	ir	e		i	sakar	o
CL12.INFOC V	CL2.INFOC	*find*	APPL	FV		IV CN	*roof*.TPID	NMLZ

naho	abishoboye				bahabwe				
naho	a	bi	shobo	ye	ba	hab	w	e	
but.CONJ	IV V	CL2.UNID	*afford*	PFV	CL2.INFOC V	*give*	PASS	FV	

ibibanza			gusa
i	bi	banza	gusa
IV CN	CL8	*plot*.ATV	*only*

Generated in TypeCraft.

Kubera kandi ko aba baturage bazimurwa hagamijwe kubakura ahantu habi bari batuye bikaba atari ku bw'impamvu z'uko hari ibikorwa Leta ihageneye ngo aba baturage nta ngurane bazahabwa. *"and because these residents (the very poor and the capable) will be relocated to a better place when government has no reason and plan to do something there(on their land), there will be no compensation to the residents."*

Kubera	kandi	ko	Aba	baturage
kubera	kandi	ko	a ba	ba turage
because	*but*	*that*	*these*.CL2.ATV	CL2 *resident*
CONJ	CONJ		DET	CN

bazimurwa						hagamijwe		
ba	z	imur	w	a		ha	gamij	w e
CL2.INFOC	FUT	*relocate*	PASS	FV		LOC		PASS FV
V						V		

kubakura					ahantu			habi	
ku	ba		kur	a	a	ha	ntu	ha	bi
INF	CL2.INFOC		*remove*	FV	IV	LOC	*place*	LOC	*bad*
V					CN			ADJ	

bari			batuye				bikaba				
ba		ri	ba		tuy	e	bi		ka	b	a
CL2.INFOC		AUX	CL2.INFOC		*stay/live*	FV	CL8.INFOC		INF	*be*	FV
V			V				V				

atari			kubw'		impamvu			
a	ta	ri	kubwa		i	m	pamvu	
IV	NEG	AUX	*because-of*.CONJ		IV	CL10	*reason*.TPID	
V			PREP		CN			

z'uko			hari		ibikorwa				
z'		uko	ha	ri	i	bi	kor	w	a
CL10.AGR			LOC	AUX	IV	CL8	*actions*.TPID	PASS	NMLZ
			AUX		CN				

leta			ihageneye					ngo	
leta			i		ha	gene	ye	ngo	
government.CL9.TPID			CL9.INFOC		LOC	*plan*	ASP	*that*	
CN			V						

Aba		baturage		nta
a	ba	ba	turage	nta
IV	*these*.CL2.INFOC	CL2.AGR	*villagers*	NEG
DEM		CN		

ngurane				bazahabwa				
n	guran	e		ba	za	hab	w	a
CL9	*benefit-exchange*.RFTL	NMLZ		CL2.INFOC	FUT	*give*	PASS	FV
CN				V				

Generated in TypeCraft.

Icyakora bamwe mu baturage twaganiriye kuri uyu wa 6/10/2013 batubwiye ko batishimiye kuba bagomba kwimurwa nta ngurane babonye kuko ari yo yakababashishije kwishakira ahandi ho gutura habanogeye ndetse bakabasha no kwiyubakira andi mazu. *"some of the residents we spoke to on this 6/10/2013 told us that they were not happy to be relocated without compensation because it would help them find another place of their choice and also help them to build other houses."*

Icyakora	bamwe		mu	baturage		
icyakora	ba	mwe	mu	ba	turage	
because-of-this.CONJ	CL2.SBJ.RFTL	*some*	*in*	CL2.AGR	*resident*	
	QUANT		PREP	CN		

twaganiriye			kuri		uyu		wa	
twa	ganiri	ye	ku	ri	u	yu	w	a
1PL.INFOC	*converse*	ASP	INF	AUX	IV	*this*.INFOC	CL3	GEN
V			AUX		DET			

6/10/2013	batubwiye				ko
6/10/2013	ba	tu	bwi	ye	ko
date	CL2.INFOC	1PL.INFOC	*tell*	PFV	*that*
	V				

batishimiye				kuba			bagomba		
ba	ti	shim	ye	ku	b	a	ba	gomb	a
CL2.INFOC	NEG	*happy*	PFV	INF	*be*	FV	CL2.INFOC	*try*	FV
V				COP			V		

kwimurwa			nta	ngurane					
kw	imur	w	a	nta	n	guran			e
INF	*relocate*	PASS	FV	NEG	NEG	*benefit-exchange*.CL9.ATV			NMLZ

V CN

babonye kuko ari
ba bon ye kuko a ri
CL2.INFOC *see/receive* ASP *because* *it*.CL9.INFOC AUX
V CONJ AUX

yo yakababashishije
yo ya ka ba bash ish ije
it.CL9.INFOC CL9.INFOC INF CL2.INFOC *afford* CAUS PFV
PN V

kwishakira ahandi ho gutura
kwi shak ir a a ha ndi ho gu tur a
INF *find* APPL FV IV LOC *other*.UNID LOC INF *stay/live* FV
V ADVplc V

habanogeye ndetse bakabasha
ha ba noge ye ndetse ba ka bash a
LOC CL2.INFOC *suffient* ASP CONJ CL2.INFOC INF *afford* FV
V V

no kwiyubakira andi mazu
na kwi yu bak ir a a ndi ma zu
also INF IV *build* APPL FV IV *other* CL6 *house*.UNID
CONJ V CN
Generated in TypeCraft.

Ikindi bamwe muri aba bagomba kwimurwa batishimiye ni ukuba baratuye aho baguze na Leta hanyuma bakaba bagiye kuhakurwa na Leta na none ariko yo ntigire icyo ibagenera cyo kubafasha kubaka ahandi. *"another thing some of these residents that are about to be relocated are not happy about is that they bought this land fom government and now it wants to relocate them without compensation so they can afford other places."*

ikindi bamwe muri Aba bagomba
i ki ndi ba mwe muri a ba ba gomb a
IV CL7 *other* CL2 *some* *in*.LOC IV *these*.CL2.ATV CL2 *try* FV
DET QUANT PREP DEM V

kwimurwa batishimiye ni
kw imur w a ba ti shim ye ni

INF *relocate* PASS FV CL2.INFOC NEG *happy* ASP *is*
V V COP

ukuba baratuye aho
u ku b a ba ra tu ye a ho
IV INF *be* FV CL2.INFOC PRES *stay/live* PFV IV *at-a-place*.LOC
V V

baguze na leta hanyuma
ba guz e na leta hanyuma
CL2.INFOC *buy* FV *and* *government*.ATV *after*
V CONJ CN ADV

bakaba bagiye
ba ka b a ba gi ye
CL2.INFOC INF *be* CL2.INFOC *go* ASP
V CN

kuhakurwa na leta
ku ha kur w a na leta
INF LOC.INFOC *remove* PASS FV *by* *government*.CL9.INFOC
V CONJ CN

na none ariko yo ntigire
na none ariko yo nt i gir e
and *now* *but*.CONJ CL9.INFOC NEG *it*.CL9.INFOC *have* FV
CONJ CONJ V

icyo ibagenera cyo
i cyo i ba gener a cyo
IV CL7.AGR *it*.CL9.INFOC CL2.INFOC *plan* FV CL7.AGR
V

kubafasha kubaka ahandi
ku ba fash a ku bak a a ha ndi
INF CL2.INFOC *help* FV INF *build* FV IV LOC *other*
V V ADVplc

Generated in TypeCraft.

Iyi nzu n'ikibanza irimo nyirabyo yari yabiguze amafaranga ibihumbi 350 na Komini Mbazi. *"This house and the plot where it is, the owner bought them at 350 thousand francs from commune Mbazi."*

Iyi		nzu		n'ikibanza			
i	yi	n	zu	n'	i	ki	banza
IV	*This*.CL9.INFOC	CL9.AGR	*house*	CONJ	IV	CL7	*plot*.UNID
DEM		CN		CN			

irimo			nyirabyo		
i	ri	mo	nyi	ra	byo
it.CL9.INFOC	COP	LOC	*owner*.POSS.RFTL	PRES	CL8
COPloc			PNposs		

yari			yabiguze			
y	a	ri	ya	bi	guz	e
3SG.SBJ.INFOC	PAST	*be*.AUX	3SG.INFOC	CL8	*buy*	FV
AUX			V			

amafaranga			ibihumbi			350	na
a	ma	faranga	i	bi	humbi	350	na
IV	CL6.AGR	*money*.UNID	IV	CL8	*thousand*		*with*
CN						NUM	CONJ

Komini	Mbazi
komini	mbazi
commune.UNID	*name-of-a-place*
CN	CN

Generated in TypeCraft.

Uwitwa Mutambuka atuye aho yaguze na Komini Mbazi muri cyamunara yabaye ku itariki ya 3/4/2000 ku mafaranga miliyoni n'igice. *"The one called Mutambuka bought where he stays from Commune Mbazi during the sale on 3/4/2000 at one and a half million francs."*

Uwitwa			Mutambuka	atuye			aho	
u	wi	twa	mutambuka	a	tuy	e	a	ho
IV	CL1.UNID	*call*	*name-of-a-person*	3SG.INFOC	*stay*	FV	IV	LOC
			CN	V				

yaguze			na	Komini	Mbazi	muri
ya	guz	e	na	komini	mbazi	muri

3SG.INFOC *buy* FV *with* *commune*.ATV *name-of-a-place* *in*.LOC
V CONJ CN CN PREP

cyamunara yabaye ku itariki
cyamunara ya ba ye ku i tariki
sale.CL9.RFTL CL9.INFOC *be* PFV *to* IV *date*.UNID
CN V PREP CN

ya 3/4/2000 ku mafaranga miliyoni
y a 3/4/2000 ku ma faranga miliyoni
CL9 *of*.GEN *at* CL6 *franc(money)*.UNID *million*
PREP PREP CN CN

n'igice
n' i gi ce
CONJ IV CL7 *half*
QUANT
Generated in TypeCraft.

yagize ati aho kunyohereza gutura i Tonga nibampe amafaranga nigurire ahandi hanogeye. *"he said that instead of sending me to stay at Tonga , they should give me money and I buy another (place) of my taste."*

Yagize ati aho
y a giz e a ti aho
he.3SG.INFOC PAST *say* FV *he*.3SG.INFOC *that* *instead*.CONJ
V

kunyohereza gutura I
ku n yoherez a gu tur a i
INF 1SG.INFOC *send* FV INF *stay/live* FV *at*
V V PREP

Tonga nibampe
tonga ni ba m/n p e
name-of-a-place.FAM COP CL2.INFOC 1SG.INFOC *give* FV
CN V

amafaranga nigurire ahandi
a ma faranga ni gur ir e a ha ndi
IV CL6.AGR *money*.TPID 1SG.INFOC *buy* APPL FV IV LOC *other*

CN V ADVplc

hanogeye
ha nog ye
LOC *satisfy* ASP
V
Generated in TypeCraft.

Uwitwa Ntihigirwa we atuye aho yaguze ibihumbi 350 na komini Mbazi na we muri iriya cyamunara. *" one Ntihigirwa stays where he bought at 350 with commune Mbazi also from that sale."*

Uwitwa Ntihigirwa we
u wi twa ntihigirwa w e
IV CL1.UNID *call* *name-of-a-person* *he*.CL1.INFOC FV
Np PN

atuye aho yaguze
a tuy e a ho y a guz e
he.3SG.INFOC *stay* FV IV LOC *he*.3SG.INFOC PAST *buy* FV
V V

ibihumbi 350 na Komini Mbazi
i bi humbi 350 na komini mbazi
IV CL8 *thousand*.UNID *and* *commune*.ATV *name-of-a-place*
NUM CONJ CN CN

na we muri Iriya cyamunara
na w e mu ri i riya cyamunara
and *he*.CL1.INFOC FV AUX IV *That*.CL9.FAM *sale*.CL9
CONJ PN PREP DEM CN
Generated in TypeCraft.

n'ijwi rigaragaza akababaro n'akumiro yagize ati nari mfite amazu abiri y'ubucuruzi kuri kaburimbo barayasenya ngo ari mu muhanda. *"with a voice that shows sadness and shock he(Ntihigirwa) said that i had two houses for bussiness on the main road and they(government officials) demolished them (houses) that they (houses) are in the road reserve."*

n'ijwi rigaragaza
n' i jwi ri garagaz a
with.CONJ IV *voice*.CL5.TPID CL5.INFOC *show* FV

CN V

akababaro n’akumiro
a ka babar o n’ a kumiro
IV CL12 *sadness*.TPID NMLZ CONJ IV *shock*.TPID
CN CN

yagize ati
y a giz e a ti
he.3SG.INFOC PAST *say* FV 3SG.INFOC *that*
V

nari mfite amazu
n a ri m/n fite a ma zu
1SG.INFOC PAST COP 1SG.INFOC *have* IV CL6 *house*.UNID
COPident CN

abiri y’ubucuruzi kuri kaburimbo
a biri y’ u bu curuz i ku ri kaburimbo
IV *two* CL6 IV CL14 *trade* NMLZ *at* COP *main-road*
NUM CN COPloc CN

barayasenya ngo
ba ra ya seny a ngo
CL2.INFOC PRES CL6.INFOC *demolish* FV *that*
V

ari mu muhanda
a ri mu mu handa
they(houses).CL6.INFOC *are*.AUX *in* CL3 *road/way*.TPID
AUX PREP CN
Generated in TypeCraft.

None n’aho naguze na Leta naho ngo nimpave gutyo gusa?”. *“now, even where i bought from the government, i should just leave empty handed?.”*

none n’aho naguze na
none n’ a ho n a guz e na
now *also*.CONJ IV LOC 1SG.INFOC PAST *buy* FV *with*
COPloc V CONJ

leta	naho	ngo	
leta	na ho	ngo	
government.FAM CN	CONJ LOC	*that*	

nimpave				gutyo	gusa?”
ni	m	pav	e	gutyo	gusa?”
COP V	1SG.INFOC	*go-away-from*	FV	*like-this*	*only*

Generated in TypeCraft.

DATA SET 5

Kera urwanda rwayoborwaga n’umwami akaba nu mucamanza wi kirenga. *“once upon a time, Rwanda was led by a king who was also the high court judge.”*

Kera	urwanda		
kera	u rwanda		a
once-upon-a-time PRT	IV CN	*name-of-a-country*	FV

rwayoborwaga							n’umwami		
rwa	yobor	w	ag		a	n’	u	mw	ami
CL11.INFOC V	*lead*	PASS	COMIT		FV	CONJ	IV	CL1	*king*.RFTL CN

akaba				n'umucamanza				
a		ka	b a	n'	u	mu	camanza	
he.3SG.SBJ.INFOC V			*be* FV	CONJ	IV	CL1	*judge*.UNID CN	

wi		kirenga
w	a	kirenga
of.CL1.AGR	GEN	*high-court* CN

Generated in TypeCraft.

Haje kubaho umugabo witwaga Kamegeri akaba yari umutware wo mumayaga ahitwa mu ruhango. *"and there was a man called Kamegeri who was a chief in a place called ruhamgo"*

Haje	kubaho			umugabo		
haje	ku	ba	ho	u	mu	gabo
there	INF	*came-to-be*	LOC	IV	CL1.AGR	*man*.TPID
ADV				CN		

witwaga			Kamegeri
wi	twa	ga	kamegeri
CL1.SBJ.INFOC	*call*	ASP	*name-of-a-person*
V			CN

akaba				yari	
a	ka	b	a	ya	ri
he.3SG.SBJ.INFOC		*be*	FV	*he*.CL1.SBJ.INFOC	COP
V				COP	

umutware				wo	mumayaga	
u	mu	tware	a	wo	mu	mayaga
IV	CL1	*chief*.TPID	FV	CL1.AGR	*in*	*valley*
CN					CN	

ahitwa					mu	ruhango
a	hi	t	w	a	mu	ruhango
IV	LOC.CL16	*call*	PASS	FV	*in*	*name-of-a-place*
COPloc					PREP	

Generated in TypeCraft.

haza kubaho umugabo w'umujura wibaga amatungo ya bagenzi be baza kumugyana Umwami kumucira urubanza. *" there was a man who was a thief and he stole his colleague's property and they (people) took him (thief) to the king to charge him"*

haza		kubaho			umugabo			w'
ha	za	ku	ba	ho	u	mu	gabo	w'
LOC	FUT	INF	*came-to-be*	LOC	IV	CL1	*man*	CL1.AGR
					CN			

umujura			wibaga		
u	mu	jura	w	iba	ga
IV	CL1	*thief*.UNID	CL1.AGR	*steal*	ASP

CN V

amatungo ya
a ma tungo y a
IV CL6 *wealth/property*.TPID CL9 *of*.GEN
CN PREP

bagenzi be baza
ba genzi be ba za
CL2.OBJ.UNID *colleague* *his*.POSS CL2.OBJ.INFOC FUTclose
PN V

kumugyana Umwami
ku mu gyan a u mw ami
INF CL1.OBJ.INFOC *take* FV IV CL1 *king*.ATV
V CN

kumucira urubanza
ku mu cira u ru banza
INF *he(thief)*.CL1.OBJ.INFOC *charge* IV CL11 *case*.TPID
V CN
Generated in TypeCraft.

abari bahari batanga ibihano bitandukanye hanyuma Kamegeri asaba umwami ngo bamutware ku rutare ruri hafi aho. *"those (people) who were there gave the different kinds of punishment but Kamegeri asked the king that they(people) take him (thief) to the rock which is nearby."*

abari bahari
a ba ri ba ha ri
IV CL2.OBJ AUX *they(people)*.CL2.OBJ.UNID LOC AUX
AUX

batanga ibihano
ba tang a i bi hano
CL2.OBJ.INFOC *give* FV IV CL8 *punishment*.TPID
V CN

bitandukanye hanyuma Kamegeri
bi tandukan ye hanyuma kamegeri
CL8.AGR *different* PFV *after* *name-of-a-person*

V ADV CN

asaba Umwami ngo
a sab a u mw ami ngo
3SG.OBJ.INFOC *ask* FV IV CL1 *king*.ATV *that*
V CN COMP

bamutware ku rutare
ba mu twar e ku ru tare
CL2.OBJ.INFOC CL1.OBJ.INFOC *take* FV *to* CL11 *rock*.TPID
V PREP CN

ruri hafi aho
ru ri hafi a ho
it.CL11.AGR *is* *near* IV LOC
ADV COPloc
Generated in TypeCraft.

Umwami ariyumvira abaza Kamegeri ati, birashoboka? Kamegeri ati yego turatashya inkwi nyinshi nyagasani mwami hanyuma ducanire urutare nirumara gutukura tumutwareho. *"the king listened and asked kamegeri that, is it possible ? kamegeri said yes , we shall gather alot of firewood my lord after we light fire on the rock and when it reddens we take him (thief) there."*

Umwami
u mw ami
IV CL1 *king*.ATV
CN

ariyumvira
a ra y umv ir a
he.3SG.SBJ.INFOC PRES *he*.3SG.SBJ.INFOC *hear/listen* APPL FV
V

abaza Kamegerie ati
a baz a kamegeri a ti
he.3SG.SBJ.INFOC *ask* FV *name-of-a-person* *he*.3SG.INFOC *that*
V CN

birashoboka Kamegeri ati
bi ra shobok a kamegeri a ti

CL8.INFOC PRES *possible* FV *name-of-a-person he*.3SG.INFOC *that*
V CN

yego turatashya inkwi
yego tu ra tashy a i n kwi
yes we.1PL.INFOC PRES *gather/enter* FV IV CL9 *firewood*.TPID
V CN

nyinshi nyagasani mwami hanyuma
nyi nshi nyagasani mw ami hanyuma
CL9.AGR *much my-lord* CL1 *king*.INFOC *after*
QUANT CN ADV

ducanire urutare
du can ir e u ru tare
1PL.INFOC *light-fire* APPL FV IV CL11 *rock*.ATV
V CN

nirumara gutukura
ni ru mar a gu tukur a
when it.CL11.INFOC *finish* FV INF *redden* FV
V V

tumutwareho
tu mu twar e ho
we.1PL.INFOC *he*.CL1.OBJ.INFOC *take* FV LOC
V
Generated in TypeCraft.

Nuko Umwami atanga uburenganzira Kamegeri afata abaturage bacana urutare rumaze gutukura ahamagara umwami ahageze areba uko urutare rwatukuye rugiye gutwarwaho umujura wibye itungo abona arigihano gihanitse ndetse harimo nu bugome bwindenga kamere kuburyo Kamegeri yashoboraga kuzakora ikindi kirenze. *"the king gave kamegeri permission who got the villagers , they lit the rock and when it was red he called the king , when the king arrived , he saw how the rock was red and the that a thief who stole property was being taken to it and he realised it was too heavy a punishment not worth the crime but rather he realised kamegeri is a very evil minded person who is capable of doing more harm."*

nuko Umwami atanga
nuko u mw ami a tang a
IV CL1 *king*.ATV *he*.3SG.SBJ.INFOC *gave* FV

COMP CN V

uburenganzira Kamegeri
u bu renganzira kamegeri
IV CL14 *permission*.TPID *name-of-a-person*
N CN

afata abaturage
a fat a a ba turage
he.3SG.OBJ.INFOC *take* FV IV CL2.AGR *villagers*.RFTL
V CN

bacana urutare
ba can a u ru tare
CL2.OBJ.INFOC *light* FV IV CL11 *rock*.ATV
V CN

rumaze gutukura
ru maz e gu tukur a
it.CL11.INFOC *finish* FV INF *redden* FV
V V

ahamagara Umwami
a hamagar a u mw ami
he.3SG.OBJ.INFOC *call* FV IV CL1 *king*.INFOC
CN

ahageze areba uko
a ha gez e a reb a uko
he.3SG.SBJ.INFOC LOC *reach* FV 3SG.SBJ.INFOC *see* FV *how*
V V PRT

urutare rwatukuye
u ru tare rwa tuku ye
IV CL11 *rock*.INFOC CL11.INFOC *redden* ASP
CN V

rugiye gutwarwaho umujura
ru gi ye gu twar w a ho u mu jura
it.CL11.INFOC *go* ASP INF *take* PASS FV LOC IV CL1 *thief*.ATV

V V CN

wibye Itungo
wa ib ye i tungo
CL1.INFOC *steal* ASP IV *wealth/property*.TPID
V CN

abona ari igihano
a bon a a ri i gi hano
he.3SG.SBJ.INFOC *see* FV *it* AUX IV CL7 *punishment*.TPID
V AUX CN

gihanitse ndetse harimo n' ubugome
gi hanits e ndetse harimo n' u bu gome
CL7.INFOC *hang-up* FV CONJ *there-is* CONJ IV CL14 *evil*.TPID
V N

bwindenga kamere kuburyo Kamegeri
bw i n denga kamere kuburyo kamegeri
CL14.AGR IV CL9 *excess* *nature* *in-that* *name-of-a-person*.UNID
ADJ N CN

yashoboraga kuzakora
y a shobor a a ku za kor a
he.CL1.OBJ.INFOC PAST *manage* FV FV INF FUT *do/work* FV
V V

ikindi kirenze
i ki ndi ki renz e
IV CL7 *other* CL7.INFOC *more* FV
DET
Generated in TypeCraft.

nuko umwami ategeka ko urwo rutare barutwaraho Kamegeri umujura ararokoka kubera kureba kure ku mwami nokurengera ejo heza hazaza habaturage ni Gihugu.
"and then the king ordered that kamegeri should instead be taken to the the rock and the thief survived because he (king) foresaw that tomorrow may not be safe for the country with the such people like Kamegeri alive."

nuko Umwami ategeka ko
nuko u mw ami a tegek a ko

COMPL IV CL1 *king*.ATV 3SG.SBJ.INFOC *order* FV *that*.COMPL
COMP CN V

urwo rutare
u rw o ru tare
IV CL11.AGR *that*.FAM CL11 *rock*
DEM CN

barutwaraho Kamegeri
ba ru twar a ho kamegeri a
CL2.OBJ.ATV *it*.CL11.INFOC *take* FV LOC *name-of-a-person* FV
V CN

umujura ararokoka
u mu jura a ra rokok a
IV CL1 *thief*.ATV *he(thief)*.3SG.OBJ.INFOC PRES *save* FV
CN V

Kubera kureba kure ku mwami
kubera ku reb a kure ku mw ami
because INF *see* FV *far* *of*.LOC.CL16 CL1 *king*.INFOC
CONJ V PREP CN

nokurengera ejo heza
no ku renger a ejo heza
and.CONJ INF *protect* FV *tomorrow* *good/nice*
V ADJ

hazaza habaturage n'
ha za z a ha ba turage n'
LOC FUT *to-come* FV LOC CL2 *citizen/villager*.INFOC *and*.CONJ
V CN CONJ

igihugu
i gi hugu
IV CL7 *country*.FAM
CN
Generated in TypeCraft.

DATA SET 6

Cyera imvubu yabaga imusozi nizindi nyamanswa ariko zikayirega kurya ibiryo byinshi kandi ari inebwe idashaka gukora ibyo izindi nyamanswa zikoreye ikabyirira hafi yonyine bucyeye zirarakara ziyirukana kubutaka iranga izindi nyamanswa zija imigambi ziyitwikira inzu ihungira mumazi yitabara kuko yariyahiye Nuruhu rwari rwashizeho ubwoya.

"once upon a time, the Hippopotamus stayed in water with other animals but they(other animals) would complain that it(hippo) eats alot and that it(hippo) is lazy.they(other animals) got angry and sent it away from the land and it refused, they planned to burn it in its house and it escaped into the water with all the skin burnt."

Cyera	imvubu	yabaga
cyera	i m vubu	ya ba ga
once-upon-a-time	IV CL9 *hippo*.RFTL CN	*it*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC V *stay* ASP

imusozi	nizindi	nyamanswa
i mu sozi	n i zi ndi	inyamanswa
IV CL3 *earth*.TPID CN	*and*.CONJ IV CL10.AGR *other*	*animals*.RFTL CN

ariko	zikayirega	kurya
ariko	zi ka yi reg a	ku rya
but CONJ	CL10.INFOC INF *it*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC *report* FV V	INF *eat* V

ibiryo	byinshi	kandi	ari
i bi ry o	by inshi	kandi	a ri
IV CL8 *food*.TPID NMLZ CN	CL8.AGR *many* QUANT	*and* CONJ	IV COP COP

inebwe	idashaka
i nebwe	i da shak a
it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC *lazy* CN	*it*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC NEG *want* FV V

gukora	ibyo	izindi
gu kor a	i byo	i zi ndi
INF *work/do* FV V	IV *the-things*.CL8.AGR	IV CL10 *other* DET

nyamanswa zikoreye
inyamanswa zi kor e ye
animals.INFOC CL10.INFOC FV PFV
CN V

ikabyirira hafi
i ka byi r ir a hafi
CL9.SBJ.INFOC INF CL8.AGR *eat* APPL FV *almost*
V ADV

yonyine bucyeye
yo nyine bucyeye
it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC *alone* *one-day*

zirarakara
zi ra rakar a
CL10.INFOC PRES *to-be-angry* FV
V

ziyirukana kubutaka
zi y irukan a ku bu taka
CL10.INFOC CL9.SBJ.INFOC *chase* FV INF CL14 *land*.TPID
V CN

iranga izindi nyamanswa
i ra nga i zi ndi nyamanswa
it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC PRES *refuse* IV CL10 *other* *animals*.INFOC
V DET

zija imigambi
zi ja i mi gambi
CL10.INFOC *go* IV CL4.AGR *plan*.TPID
V CN

ziyitwikira inzu
zi yi twik ir a i n zu
CL10.INFOC *it*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC *burn* APPL FV IV CL9.AGR TPID
V CN

ihungira					mumazi			
i	hung	ir	a		mu	ma	zi	
it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC V	*run-away*	APPL	FV		*in* CN	CL6.AGR	*water*.TPID	
yitabara			kuko	yari				
yi	tabar	a	kuko	ya			ri	
it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC V	*help*	FV	*because* CONJ	*it*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC COPident			COP	
yahiye					nuruhu			
ya	hi	ye	a	n	u	ru	hu	
it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC V	*burn*	PFV	FV	*and* CN	IV	CL11	*skin*.TPID	
rwari		rwashizeho				ubwoya		
rwa	ri	rwa	shiz	e	ho	u	bwoya	
CL11.AGR COP		*it*.CL11.INFOC V		FV	LOC	IV CN	*hair*.TPID	

Generated in TypeCraft.

Igeze mumazi ifi nayo irayirukana iti namenye amakuru kurya cyane sinakwitererezа mubutware bwanjye.

"when it (hippo) reached in water the fish also chased it away that, 'i heard news that you eat alot, i will not allow you here in my kingdom'."

Igeze			mumazi				ifi		
i	gez	e	mu	ma		zi	i	fi	
it.CL9.SBJ.ATV V	*reach*	FV	*in* CN	CL6.AGR		*water*.ATV	IV CN	*fish*.CL9.TPID	
nayo									
na	yo								
also.CONJ PN	*it(fish)*.CL9.OBJ.INFOC								
irayirukana									
i	ra	yi					rukan	a	
CL9.OBJ.INFOC	PRES	*it(hippo)*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC					*chase*	FV	
V									

iti			namenye				
i		ti	n		a	meny	e
CL9.OBJ.INFOC		*that*	1SG.INFOC V		PAST		FV

amakuru			kurya		cyane	
a	ma	kuru	ku	rya	cyane	
IV	CL6	*news*.TPID	INF	*eat*	*very*.DEG	
CN			V		MOD	

sinakwitererezа							mubutware		
si	na		kwi	tererez	a		mu	bu	tware
NEG	1SG.INFOC		INF	*invite-trouble*	FV		*in*	CL14	*kingdom*.TPID
V							CN		

bwanjye			
bw		a	njye
CL14.AGR		GEN	*mine*
PNposs			

Generated in TypeCraft.

Imvubu iti reka nibere hano ariko sinzaja ndya ibiryo byo mumazi nibwira nzaja nsubira ahonakomotse ndyeyo ngaruke mumazi.
"the hippo said that let me stay here but i will not eat sea food, during night time i will go back to land where i came from i eat and come back here in water."

imvubu			iti			reka	nibere				
i	m	vubu	i		ti	reka	ni		ber	e	
IV	CL9	*hippo*.ATV	CL9.INFOC		*that*	*let*	1SG.INFOC V		*be*	FV	
CN											

hano		ariko	sinzaja					ndya			
ha	no	ariko	si	n		za	j	a	n	dy	a
LOC	*here*	*but*	NEG	1SG.INFOC		FUT		FV	1SG.INFOC V	*eat*	FV
		CONJ	V								

ibiryo				byomumazi			
i	bi	ry	o	byo	mu	ma	zi
IV	CL8	*eat*.ATV	NMLZ	CL8.AGR V	*in*	CL6	*water*.ATV
CN							

nibwira			nzaja			
ni	bw	ira	n	za	j	a
when	*time*.CL14	*dark*	1SG.INFOC	FUT	*go*	FV
V			V			

nsubira			ahonakomotse					
n	subir	a	a	ho	na	komots	e	
1SG.INFOC	*return*	FV	IV	LOC	1SG.INFOC	*originate*	FV	
			V					

ndyeyo				ngaruke			
n	dy	e	yo	n	garuk	e	
1SG.INFOC	*eat*	FV	*there*	1SG.INFOC	*come-back*	FV	

mumazi		
mu	ma	zi
to	CL6.AGR	*water*.INFOC
CN		

Generated in TypeCraft.

Imvubu iti reka nibere hano ariko sinzaja ndya ibiryo byo mumazi nibwira nzaja nsubira ahonakomotse ndyeyo ngaruke mumazi.
"the hippo said that let me stay here but i will not eat sea food, during night time i will go back to land where i came from i eat and come back here in water."

imvubu				iti			reka	nibere		
i	m	vubu		i		ti	reka	ni	ber	e
IV	CL9	*hippo*.ATV		CL9.INFOC		*that*	*let*	1SG.INFOC	*be*	FV
CN								V		

hano		ariko	sinzaja					ndya		
ha	no	ariko	si	n		za	j a	n	dy	a
LOC	*here*	*but*	NEG	1SG.INFOC		FUT	FV	1SG.INFOC	*eat*	FV
		CONJ	V					V		

ibiryo				byomumazi			
i	bi	ry	o	byo	mu	ma	zi
IV	CL8	*eat*.ATV	NMLZ	CL8.AGR	*in*	CL6	*water*.ATV
CN				V			

nibwira			nzaja					
ni	bw	ira	n		za	j	a	
when	*time*.CL14	*dark*	1SG.INFOC		FUT	*go*	FV	
V			V					

nsubira			ahonakomotse					
n	subir	a	a	ho	na	komots	e	
1SG.INFOC	*return*	FV	IV	LOC	1SG.INFOC	*originate*	FV	
			V					

ndyeyo				ngaruke				
n	dy	e	yo	n		garuk	e	
1SG.INFOC	*eat*	FV	*there*	1SG.INFOC		*come-back*	FV	

mumazi		
mu	ma	zi
to	CL6.AGR	*water*.INFOC
CN		

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Ifi iti reka ufite inda nini nsinshoboye ukonazamenya ko ntacyo wariye mumazi kandi niwituma nomumazi sinzamenya nicyo wariye.
“The fish said no, you have a bid stomach i will not know if you have not eaten anything in water and if you defecate in water i will not know what you ate.”

ifi			iti			reka	ufite	
i	fi		i		ti	reka	u	fite
IV	*fish*.CL9.ATV		CL9.INFOC		*that*	*no*	*you*.2SG	*have*
CN							V	

inda			nini	sinshoboye				
i	nda		nini	si	n		shobor	ye
IV	*stomach*.TPID		*big*	NEG	1SG.INFOC		*manage*	ASP
CN			ADJ	V				

ukonazamenya					ko		ntacyo	
uko	na		za	meny	a	ko	nta	cyo
how	1SG.INFOC		FUT	*know*	FV	*that*.COMPL	NEG	CL7.AGR
V								

wariye			mumazi				kandi		
wa	ri	ye	mu	ma		zi	kandi		
2SG.INFOC	*eat*	ASP	*in*	CL6.AGR		*water*.ATV	*and*		
V			CN				CONJ		

niwituma					mumazi				
ni	wi		tum	a	mu	ma	zi		
if	*you*.2SG.INFOC		*defecate*	FV	*in*	CL6	*water*.INFOC		
V					CN				

sinzamenya					nicyo		wariye			
si	n	za	meny	a	ni	cyo	wa	ri	ye	
NEG	1SG.INFOC	FUT	*know*	FV	COP	CL7.AGR	2SG.INFOC	*eat*	ASP	
V					CN		CN			

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Ifi iti reka ufite inda nini nsinshoboye ukonazamenya ko ntacyo wariye mumazi kandi niwituma nomumazi sinzamenya nicyo wariye.
"The fish said no, you have a bid stomach i will not know if you have not eaten anything in water and if you defecate in water i will not know what you ate."

ifi		iti			reka	ufite			
i	fi	i		ti	reka	u	fite		
IV	*fish*.CL9.ATV	CL9.INFOC		*that*	*no*	*you*.2SG	*have*		
CN						V			

inda		nini	sinshoboye						
i	nda	nini	si	n		shobor	ye		
IV	*stomach*.TPID	*big*	NEG	1SG.INFOC		*manage*	ASP		
CN		ADJ	V						

ukonazamenya					ko		ntacyo		
uko	na	za	meny	a	ko		nta	cyo	
how	1SG.INFOC	FUT	*know*	FV	*that*.COMPL		NEG	CL7.AGR	
V									

wariye			mumazi				kandi		
wa	ri	ye	mu	ma		zi	kandi		
2SG.INFOC	*eat*	ASP	*in*	CL6.AGR		*water*.ATV	*and*		
V			CN				CONJ		

niwituma					mumazi			
ni	wi		tum	a	mu	ma	zi	
if	*you*.2SG.INFOC		*defecate*	FV	*in*	CL6	*water*.INFOC	
V					CN			

sinzamenya					nicyo			wariye	
si	n		za	meny a	ni	cyo		wa	ri ye
NEG	1SG.INFOC		FUT	*know* FV	COP	CL7.AGR		2SG.INFOC	*eat* ASP
V					CN			CN	

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Nuko Imvubu iti nzaja ndisha imusozi nitume imusozi no mumase yange nyanyanyagiza numurizo wange urebe neza ko ntacyo nariye kiva mumazi, nuko Ifi iremera ibana ni imvubu mumazi ariko ikaja irya ubwatsi imusozi.

"the hippo said, i will graze from the land , i defecate on the land and i will scatter my dung with my tail so you can see well that i didnt not eat anything from the water, then the fish accepted to stay with the hippo in water but it would eat grass on land. "

nuko	imvubu				iti			nzaja				
nuko	i	m	vubu		i		ti	n	za	j	a	
COMPL	IV	CL9	*hippo*.ATV		CL9.INFOC		*that*	1SG.INFOC	FUT	*go*	FV	
	CN							V				

ndisha			imusozi				
n	dish	a	i	mu	sozi		
1SG.INFOC	*graze*	FV	IV	CL3	*earth/land*.ATV		
V			CN				

nitume			imusozi				no	
n	itum	e	i	mu	sozi		na	
1SG.INFOC	*defecate*	FV	IV	CL3	*earth*.INFOC		*also*	
V			CN				CONJ	

mumase			yange				
mu	ma	se	y		a	nge	
in	CL6	*dung*.TPID	CL6.INFOC		GEN	*mine*	
CN			PNposs				

nyanyanyagiza				numurizo				
n	yanyanyagiz	a	n	u	mu	rizo		

1SG.INFOC *scatter* FV *with* IV CL3 *tail*.TPID
V CN

wange urebe neza ko
w a nge u reb e neza ko
CL1.AGR GEN *mine* 2SG.INFOC *see* FV *well that*.COMPL
PNposs V ADJ

ntacyo nariye kiva
nta cyo n a ri ye ki va
NEG CL7.AGR 1SG.INFOC PAST ASP CL7.AGR *from*
V PREP

mumazi nuko ifi
mu ma zi nu ko i fi
in CL6.AGR *water*.INFOC *is*.COP *that* IV *fish*.INFOC
CN CN

iremera
i re mer a
it(fish).CL9.OBJ.INFOC PRES *accept* FV
V

ibana ni imvubu
i ban a ni i m vubu
it(fish).CL9.OBJ.INFOC *stay* FV *with*.CONJ IV CL9 *hippo*.INFOC
V CN

mumazi ariko ikaja
mu ma zi ariko i ka j a
in CL6.AGR *water*.ATV *but* *it(hippo)*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC INF *go* FV
CN CONJ V

irya ubwatsi imusozi
i ry a u bwatsi i mu sozi
CL9.SBJ.INFOC *eat* FV IV *grass*.TPID IV CL3 *earth*.INFOC
V CN CN
Generated in TypeCraft.

Nuko Imvubu iti nzaja ndisha imusozi nitume imusozi no mumase yange nyanyanyagiza numurizo wange urebe neza ko ntacyo nariye kiva mumazi, nuko Ifi iremera ibana ni imvubu mumazi ariko ikaja irya ubwatsi imusozi.

"the hippo said, i will graze from the land , i defecate on the land and i will scatter my dung with my tail so you can see well that i didnt not eat anything from the water, then the fish accepted to stay with the hippo in water but it would eat grass on land. "

nuko	imvubu			iti			nzaja					
nuko	i	m	vubu	i		ti	n		za	j	a	
COMPL	IV	CL9	*hippo*.ATV	CL9.INFOC		*that*	1SG.INFOC		FUT	*go*	FV	
	CN						V					

ndisha			imusozi				
n	dish	a	i	mu	sozi		
1SG.INFOC	*graze*	FV	IV	CL3	*earth/land*.ATV		
V			CN				

nitume			imusozi				no
n	itum	e	i	mu	sozi		na
1SG.INFOC	*defecate*	FV	IV	CL3	*earth*.INFOC		*also*
V			CN				CONJ

mumase			yange			
mu	ma	se	y	a	nge	
in	CL6	*dung*.TPID	CL6.INFOC	GEN	*mine*	
CN			PNposs			

nyanyanyagiza				numurizo				
n	yanyanyagiz	a		n	u	mu	rizo	
1SG.INFOC	*scatter*	FV		*with*	IV	CL3	*tail*.TPID	
V				CN				

wange			urebe			neza	ko		
w	a	nge	u	reb	e	neza	ko		
CL1.AGR	GEN	*mine*	2SG.INFOC	*see*	FV	*well*	*that*.COMPL		
PNposs			V			ADJ			

ntacyo		nariye				kiva		
nta	cyo	n	a	ri	ye	ki	va	
NEG	CL7.AGR	1SG.INFOC	PAST		ASP	CL7.AGR	*from*	
		V				PREP		

mumazi			nuko		ifi	
mu	ma	zi	nu	ko	i	fi
in	CL6.AGR	*water*.INFOC	*is*.COP	*that*	IV	*fish*.INFOC
CN					CN	

iremera			
i	re	mer	a
it(fish).CL9.OBJ.INFOC	PRES	*accept*	FV
V			

ibana			ni	imvubu		
i	ban	a	ni	i	m	vubu
it(fish).CL9.OBJ.INFOC	*stay*	FV	*with*.CONJ	IV	CL9	*hippo*.INFOC
V				CN		

mumazi			ariko	ikaja			
mu	ma	zi	ariko	i	ka	j	a
in	CL6.AGR	*water*.ATV	*but*	*it(hippo)*.CL9.SBJ.INFOC	INF	*go*	FV
CN			CONJ	V			

irya			ubwatsi		imusozi		
i	ry	a	u	bwatsi	i	mu	sozi
CL9.SBJ.INFOC	*eat*	FV	IV	*grass*.TPID	IV	CL3	*earth*.INFOC
V			CN		CN		

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Nguko uko Imvubu yaje kuba mumazi kubera ubunebwe bwayo nokutabana nabagenzi bayo mumahoro.
"and that is how the hippo ended up staying in water because of its laziness and not leaving with its colleagues in peace."

Nguko	uko	imvubu			yaje		
nguko	uko	i	m	vubu	y	a	je
and-that-is	*how*	IV	CL9	*hippo*.ATV	CL9.SBJ.INFOC	PAST	PFV
	PRT	CN			V		

kuba			mumazi			Kubera	ubunebwe		
ku	b	a	mu	ma	zi	kubera	u	bu	nebwe
INF	*be*	FV	*in*	CL6.AGR	*water*.ATV	*because*	IV	CL14	*laziness*.TPID
COP			CN			CONJ	CN		

bwayo			nokutabana				
bw	a	yo	no	ku	ta	ban	a
CL14.AGR PNposs	GEN	*it*.INFOC	*and*.CONJ V	INF	NEG	*stay*	FV

nabagenzi			bayo		
na	ba	genzi	b	a	yo
and.CONJ	CL2.SBJ.UNID	*colleague*	CL2.INFOC PNposs	GEN	*it(hippo)*

mumahoro	
mu	mahoro
in N	*peace*.TPID

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None abantu twahakura irihe somo.
"now, which lesson can we (people) learn (from the story)?"

none	abantu			twahakura				
none	a	ba	ntu	twa	ha	kur	a	
now	IV	CL2.SBJ CN	*person*.TPID	*we*.1PL.INFOC V	LOC	*remove/get*	FV	

irihe			somo
i	ri	he	isomo
IV INTRJCT	CL5.AGR	*what*	*lesson*.TPID CN

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