DEDICATION

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

My highest gratitude is addressed to God for the gift of good health and perseverance.

A big thank you goes to the Norwegian government for offering me a scholarship to pursue the Master’s degree at NTNU. I will always be grateful for this golden opportunity.

My appreciation goes to my supervisor, Professor Kaja Borthen for the professional guidance you rendered to me. Thank you for patiently guiding me through the writing process. The knowledge you shared with me through your critique will forever remain valuable to me. My gratitude also goes to all my lecturers at the Department of Language and Communication studies for the linguistic training I got from all of you throughout my studies at NTNU.

Many thanks go to my friend Lilliane Gahima and your colleague Anne Marie of Kigali Today for the help you rendered to me during my field work trip.

To the friends I met in this foreign land, especially my colleagues at the department, I will always cherish the moments we shared for the last two years. And to my friends at home, especially Judith and Rachael, you are trusted and reliable friends, thank you for being great Aunties to Marylyn. To the Ntaganda family, thank you for opening your door for me and providing me with a home far away from home.

To Joe, thanks for your love, support and encouragement. You were always there during the stressful moments to urge me on and I appreciate your efforts.

Lastly, I wish to express my gratitude to my family, especially my siblings, Ruth, Moses, Steven and Rhoda for always encouraging me to aim higher. To my precious daughter Marylyn for the patience, at last Mummy will come back from ‘Mamita’. And my mother, Mrs Mary Kibogo I can never say thank you enough.

Any errors, omissions and misinterpretations made in this thesis remain my responsibility.
# Table of Contents

DEDICATION ........................................................................................................................................... i

Acknowledgements ................................................................................................................................. ii

LIST OF TABLES ........................................................................................................................................ v

LIST OF FIGURES ....................................................................................................................................... v

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ......................................................................................................................... vi

CHAPTER ONE ............................................................................................................................................. 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION ................................................................................................................................. 1

1.1 Topic and main goal ............................................................................................................................... 1

1.2 The Kinyarwanda language ................................................................................................................. 1

1.3 The concept ‘cognitive status’ ............................................................................................................ 2

1.4 Motivation for the study ....................................................................................................................... 2

1.5 Research questions ............................................................................................................................. 3

1.6 Methods of data collection .................................................................................................................. 3

1.7 Thesis outline ....................................................................................................................................... 3

CHAPTER TWO ............................................................................................................................................ 5

2.0 THE KINYARWANDA LANGUAGE .................................................................................................... 5

2.1 General properties ............................................................................................................................... 5

2.2 Kinyarwanda Noun ............................................................................................................................. 5

2.1.0 Noun class ....................................................................................................................................... 5

2.2.1 Noun class chart ............................................................................................................................. 6

2.3 Morphology ......................................................................................................................................... 7

2.4 The Kinyarwanda writing system ....................................................................................................... 8

2.5 Linguistic items to be studied ............................................................................................................. 9

2.5.1 Demonstrative determiners .......................................................................................................... 9

2.5.2 Augment ....................................................................................................................................... 11
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:  Kinyarwanda noun classes and some of the affixes under study….6
Table 2:  Kinyarwanda demonstrative forms……………………………………...9
Table 3:  The kinds of augment…………………………………………………..12
Table 4:  Kinyarwanda emphatic pronouns ……………………………………13
Table 5:  Personal subject pronouns in Kinyarwanda………………………….17

Tables in data set:

Table 1:  Imanuka (accident)………………………………………………………36
Table 2:  Kwimura ingo (relocating homes)……………………………………38
Table 3:  Uruhu rwiza (a good skin)……………………………………………….39
Table 4:  Yobu (job)……………………………………………………………….41
Table 5:  Umwami na kamegeri w’umugome (the king and evil-minded ……42
Kamegeri)
Table 6:  Imvubu (the hippo)………………………………………………………43
Table 7:  Ndaba w’igisambo (greedy ndaba)…………………………………43
Table 8:  Injangwe ya simon (simon’s cat)……………………………………44
Table 9:  Igurisha ry’imitungo ya leta (the sale of government property)……44
Table 10:Summary of all the data set tables……………………………………45

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The Givenness Hierarchy (GH) ………………………………………..18
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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 Gihã, 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

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. 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

---

2The 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**

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

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-). For example, "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).

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:

---

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Sets</th>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>-ga/ka-</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>ka-/-ga/-ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>-tu/du-</td>
<td>tu/-du-</td>
<td>du/tu/-du-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>-bu-</td>
<td>bu-</td>
<td>bu-/-bu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>-ku/gu-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>ku-/-ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>-ha/-ku/-mu-</td>
<td>ha/-ku/-mu-</td>
<td>ha/kuk/-mu/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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.
Injangwe ya Simon ibonye isaa zi irayi kurikira irayi fata iray i ca. “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
---|---|---|---
IV | CL9.AGR | cat | CL9.AGR | of.GEN | CL9.SBJ | see | ASP | CN | PNpos | Np | V

I saazi | irayi kurikira
---|---
IV | fly | CL9.SBJ | PRES | CL9.OBJ | follow | FV | CN | V

I rayi fata | irayica
---|---

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 overview 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 ongoing 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.

Table 2: Kinyarwanda Demonstrative forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>Demonstrative determiner (This/These)</th>
<th>Demonstrative determiner (That/Those)</th>
<th>Demonstrative determiner (That-for referents in the past)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Category 1</td>
<td>Category 2</td>
<td>Category 3</td>
<td>Category 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg/pl</td>
<td>Sg/pl</td>
<td>Sg/pl</td>
<td>Sg/pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL 1/2</td>
<td>uyu/aba</td>
<td>uno/bano</td>
<td>u-riya/ba-riya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL 3/4</td>
<td>uyu/iyi</td>
<td>uno/ino</td>
<td>u-riya/i-riya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL 5/6</td>
<td>iri/aya</td>
<td>rino/ano</td>
<td>ri-riya/a-riya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL 7/8</td>
<td>iki/ibi</td>
<td>kino/bino</td>
<td>ki-riya/bi-riya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL 9/10</td>
<td>iyi/izi</td>
<td>ino/zino</td>
<td>i-riya/zi-riya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL 11/12</td>
<td>uru/aka</td>
<td>runo/kano</td>
<td>ru-riya/ka-riya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL 13/14</td>
<td>utu/ubu</td>
<td>tuno/buno</td>
<td>tu-riya/bu-riya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL 15/16</td>
<td>uku/aha</td>
<td>kuno/hano</td>
<td>ku-riya/hariya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
      ‘this child’
   b) Category 2 which is marked by –no
      u-no mwana
      ‘this child’
   c) Category 3 which is marked by –riya
      u-riya mwana
      ‘that child’
   d) Category 4 which is marked by-o
      u-w-o mwana,
      ‘that child’

(3) Temporal demonstratives:

   a) Category 5 which is marked by -aa\(^6\) and-rya
      waa mwana
      ‘that child’
      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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Augment</th>
<th>Noun CL</th>
<th>Example and gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>a-bana – children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>a-mata - milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>a-kaguru - small leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>a-hantu – location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>i-misozi - hills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>i-ryinyo - tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>i-gikombe - cup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>i-bikombe - cups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>i-nka - cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>i-nka – cows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>u-musozi – hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>u-musuzi - fart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>u-rutugu - shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>u-tuguru - small legs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>u-bugome - evil-mindedness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>u-kuboko – arm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jyewe</td>
<td>- I</td>
<td>njye - me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wowe</td>
<td>- you</td>
<td>-we - your</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twebwe</td>
<td>- we</td>
<td>-acu - our</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twebwe</td>
<td>- you</td>
<td>-anyu - your</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n/m</th>
<th>I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>he/she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu/d</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  the  N  Indefinite  this  N  a  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 intuitions 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 kumugyana umwami kumucira 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\textsuperscript{10}. This text has also been annotated in TypeCraft.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{10} The original newspaper story can be accessed at \url{http://www.kigalitoday.com/spip.php?article13315}.
\textsuperscript{11} The annotated text can be found at \url{http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2491/}
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 initial 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.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Imodoka</em></th>
<th><em>yabuze</em></th>
<th><em>feri</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>modoka</em></td>
<td><em>y</em></td>
<td><em>abuze</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>IV car.RFTL</em></td>
<td><em>it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC PAST lose FV control</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CN V</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>ikomeretsa</em></th>
<th><em>umuntu</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>komerets a u mu ntu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC injure FV IV CL1.AGR person.RFTL</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>CN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>umwe</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>u mwe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>IV one.REL.CL1 QUANT</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Generated in TypeCraft.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Imodoka</em></th>
<th><em>y'omu</em></th>
<th><em>bwoko</em></th>
<th><em>bwa</em></th>
<th><em>Toyotadyna</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>modoka</em></td>
<td><em>y</em></td>
<td><em>o mu</em></td>
<td><em>bwoko bw a toyotadyna</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>IV car.RFTL</em></td>
<td><em>GEN IV in type CL14.AGR GEN type-of-car.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CN PRT</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>Np</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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
twa w e na hategekimana
it.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
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
a 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
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”

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

bavuga ko iyi modoka yageze “they say that this car reached ”
ahitwa mu Gatebe mu kagari ka Rubona “at a place called Gatebe in the cell of Rubona”

umurenge wa Bweramana mu karere ka Ruhango “Bweramana sector in the district of Ruhango”

ikabura feri umushoferi arwana nayo kugeza ubwo “it lost control and the driver (Hategekimana Jacques) fought with it until”
arwana nayo kugeza
he.3SG.INFOC fight V with it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC INF reach 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 y a y egets e
he.3SG.SBJ.INFOC PAST it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC lean V LOC
V

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
they.CL2.SBJ.ATV continue FV they.CL2.SBJ.INFOC say FV that
V

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

Generated in TypeCraft.

kwegeka iyi modoka ku mukingo “leaning this car on the road side bump”
kwegeka | Iyi | modoka ku
kw egeka | 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
komeretsa 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
rwegetswe ku mukingo. “it (side) was leaned on the road side hump.”

4. Gusa abaturage n’inzego z’umutekano  “While villagers and those responsible for keeping peace and order”

bahise bafatanya bakuramo “they (the villagers) immediately worked hand in hand / combined effort to remove”
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 bya Gitwe
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 annotations 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)**

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

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 referent 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

**TABLE 2: KWIMURA INGO (RELOCATING HOMES)**

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

---

13 This text can be accessed at [http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2493/](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**

**TABLE 3: URUHU RWIWA (A GOOD SKIN)**

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

---

14 Data set 3 can be accessed at [http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2483/](http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2483/)
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.\(^\text{15}\)

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 occurrence 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**

**TABLE 4: YOBU (JOB)**

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

---

16 This text can be accessed at [http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2577/](http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2577/)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>INFOC</th>
<th>ATV</th>
<th>FAM</th>
<th>UNID</th>
<th>RFTL</th>
<th>TPID</th>
<th>SUM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Augment a, i, u (a, the)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal affix: sbj+obj (all NCL)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a (he)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba (they)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu/du (we)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru (it)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi (they)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu (him)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya (he)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa (he)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rw (it)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki/gi (it)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem urwo (that)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun bi (it)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data set 5 can be found in the attached appendix 2 and is also available at [http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2620/](http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2620/)
## Data set 6\(^\text{18}\)
### TABLE 6: IMVUBU (THE HIPPO)

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

## Data set 7\(^\text{19}\)
### TABLE 7: NDABA W’IGISAMBO (GREEDY NDABA)

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

\(^{18}\) This text can be accessed at [http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2623/](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/](http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2622/)
### Data set 8\(^{20}\)

**TABLE 8: INJANGWE YA SIMON (SIMON’S CAT)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>INFOC</th>
<th>ATV</th>
<th>FAM</th>
<th>UNID</th>
<th>RFTL</th>
<th>TPID</th>
<th>SUM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Augment a, i, u (a, the)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal affix: sbj+obj (all NCL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i (it)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi (it)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a (he)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu (he)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

### Data set 9\(^{21}\)

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

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

---

\(^{20}\) This data set can be accessed at [http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2142/](http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2142/)

\(^{21}\) This text can be accessed at [http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2618/](http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2618/)
Table 10 below summarises all the data:

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

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

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

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, 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 addressee, the addressee 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)\textsuperscript{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.”

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.

\textsuperscript{24} Example (10) can be found at this link \url{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/ addresseees 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\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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:

\textsuperscript{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”.

\textsuperscript{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

Iardwareba iyibona ku ilido irasimbuka.
“it looks around, sees it at the curtain, it jumps”

Iardwareba 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/](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 information 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

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

28 Available at [http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Special:TypeCraft/GlossTags/](http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Special:TypeCraft/GlossTags/)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Derivation</th>
<th>Grammatical Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N&gt;ADJ</td>
<td>denominal adjective</td>
<td>no match</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N&gt;ADV</td>
<td>denominal adverb</td>
<td>no match</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM&gt;N</td>
<td>noun derived from a numeral</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPL</td>
<td>Applicative</td>
<td>ApplicativeVoice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>CausativeVoice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>PassiveVoice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>InterrogativeForce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEUT</td>
<td>Neuter</td>
<td>NeuterGender</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPL</td>
<td>Complement</td>
<td>Complement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td>direct object</td>
<td>directObject</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ2</td>
<td>second object</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJind</td>
<td>indirect object</td>
<td>indirectObject</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OM</td>
<td>object marker</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>subject</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>subject marker</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunctive=subjunctive</td>
<td>SubjunctiveMood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>noun class marker</td>
<td>Noun Class</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL1</td>
<td>noun class 1</td>
<td>Noun Class</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL10</td>
<td>noun class 10</td>
<td>Noun Class</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL11</td>
<td>noun class 11</td>
<td>Noun Class</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL12</td>
<td>noun class 12</td>
<td>Noun Class</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL13</td>
<td>noun class 13</td>
<td>Noun Class</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL14</td>
<td>noun class 14</td>
<td>Noun Class</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL15</td>
<td>noun class 15</td>
<td>Noun Class</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL16</td>
<td>noun class 16</td>
<td>Noun Class</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL2</td>
<td>noun class 2</td>
<td>Noun Class</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefix/Class</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Class</td>
<td>Match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL3</td>
<td>noun class 3</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL4</td>
<td>noun class 4</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL5</td>
<td>noun class 5</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL6</td>
<td>noun class 6</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL7</td>
<td>noun class 7</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL8</td>
<td>noun class 8</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL9</td>
<td>noun class 9</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Npref</td>
<td>noun prefix</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>PluralNumber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>SingularNumber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>1st person plural</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>2nd person plural</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>2nd person singular</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>3rd person plural</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>3rd person singular</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>Directional</td>
<td>Space</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>Space</td>
<td>LocativeCase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>auxilliary(morpheme)</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>FutureTense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTclose</td>
<td>close future</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>CloseFutureTense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTim</td>
<td>immediate future</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>ImmediateFutureTense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTnear</td>
<td>near future</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>NearFutureTense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>past perceived as a whole</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>PastTense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASThst</td>
<td>hesternal past: yesterday or earlier</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASTim</td>
<td>very recent, in the last minute or so</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASTpast</td>
<td>past in the past</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASTrel</td>
<td>relative past</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Component</td>
<td>Match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASTrm</td>
<td>remote past</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>PresentTense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
<td>Verb Form</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itr</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>Verb Form</td>
<td>IntransitiveVerb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRED</td>
<td>Predicative</td>
<td>Verb Form</td>
<td>Predicator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vstem</td>
<td>verbal stem</td>
<td>Verb Form</td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTV</td>
<td>active voice</td>
<td>Voice</td>
<td>ActiveVoice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJstem</td>
<td>adjective stem</td>
<td></td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Copular</td>
<td></td>
<td>Copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEG</td>
<td>Degree</td>
<td></td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td></td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td></td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCREL</td>
<td>attached to a place</td>
<td></td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negation</td>
<td></td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nstem</td>
<td>noun stem</td>
<td></td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECP</td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
<td></td>
<td>ReciprocalMiddleVoice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDP</td>
<td>Reduplication</td>
<td></td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td></td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relative</td>
<td></td>
<td>no match</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.”

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.”
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.”
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 bwifashe muri
CL14.AGR IV CL2 those.INFOC CL14.INFOC state-of-being in.LOC
PNposs
rusange
rusange
general
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 hai 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
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.”
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.”
y’ a ba kenny ye cyane
CL4.INFOC IV CL2.SBJ.RFTL poor PFV very.DEG MOD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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.”
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

because-of-this.CONJ CL2.SBJ.RFLT some in CL2.AGR resident

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

yo yakabashishije
yo ya 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 from 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.”

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

yabaye ku itariki
cyumunara ya ba ye ku i tariki

sale.CL9.RFTL CL9.INFOC be PFV to IV date.UNID
CN     V     PREP CN

mafaranga miliyoni
y a 3/4/2000

CL9 of.GEN at CL6 franc(money).UNID million
PREP  PREP CN     CN

n’igice
n’a 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
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 pe
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
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.”

N’ijwi rigaragaza akababaro n’akumiro yagize ati nari mfiti amazu abiри y’ubucuruzi kuri kaburimbo barayasenya ngo ari mu khuhandi. “With a voice that shows sadness and shock he(Ntihigirwa) said that i had two houses for business on the main road and they(government officials) demolished them (houses) that they (houses) are in the road reserve.”
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?.”
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.”

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”

Haze 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
amatungo ya amatungo ya
IV CL6 wealth/property.TPID CL9 of.GEN
CN PREP

bagenzi be baza bagenzi be baza
CL2.OBJ.UNI colleague his.POSS CL2.OBJ.INFOC FUT.close
PN V

kumugyana Umwami
ku mu gya na u mw ami
INF CL1.OBJ.INFOC take FV IV CL1 king.ATV
V CN

kumucira urubanza 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
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
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
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 uburenganzira Kamegeri afata abaturage bacana urutare rumaze gutukura ahamagara umwami ahageze areba uko urutare rwatukuye rugiye gutvarwaho 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.”
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

rugie 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
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.”
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 reng 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.
Cyera imvubu yabaga imusozi nizindi nyamanswa ariko zikayirega kurya ibiryo byinshi kandi ari inebwe idashaka gukora ibyo izindi nyamanswa zikoreye ikabyiirira hafi yonyine bucyeve zirarakara ziyirukana kubutaka iranga izindi nyamanswa zija imig 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.”
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 bucye ye
yo nyine bucye ye
it.CL9.SBJ.INFOC alone one-day

zirarakara
zi ra rakara
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
Igeze mumazi ifi nayo irayirukana iti namenye amakuru kurya cyane sinakwiterereza 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 nayo irayirukana iti namenye amakuru kurya cyane sinakwiterereza mubutware bwanjye.
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 hano ariko sinzaja ndya ibiryo byo mumazi nibwira nzaja nsubira ahonakomotse ndyeyo ngaruke mumazi.
Imvubu iti reka nibere hano ariko sinzaja ndya ibiryo byo mumazi nibwira nzaja nsibira 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

Imvubu iti reka nibere

Imvubu iti reka nibere
The fish said no, you have a big 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.

"The fish said no, you have a big 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."

The fish said no, you have a big 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 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.”

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

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

Generated in TypeCraft.

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.”

if  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
Nuk fo 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. ”
1SG.INFOC scatter FV with IV CL3 tail.TPID
V CN

wange urebe neza ko
w a nge u rebe 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 imusoz
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.
“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 did not eat anything from the water, then the fish accepted to stay with the hippo in water but it would eat grass on land.”
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
None abantu twahakura irihe somo.
“now, which lesson can we (people) learn (from the story)?”

None abantu twahakura
none abantu twahakura
now IV CL2.SBJ person.TPID we.1PL.INFOC LOC remove/get FV CN V

irihe somo
i ri he isomo
IV CL5.AGR what lesson.TPID INTRJCT CN
Generated in TypeCraft.
REFERENCES


