Selected topics of Kirundi Grammar

A micro-typological perspective

Daisuke Shinagawa, Seunghun J. Lee, Yuko Abe, Chérubin Mugisha

ILCAA

Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa
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To our mentor, Shigeki Kaji (Kaji sensei), who has been the role model of our long and fascinating journey into describing the diversity of African languages.

Contents

Preface

COVID-19 has affected everyone in the world, and academia is no exception. The three authors of this book have a combined 50 years or more of fieldwork experience, and going to Africa was a significant part of our lives before the entire world was hit by the pandemic. The four authors have had opportunities to work together on the Kirundi language during this time.

This book is a collection of chapters that stem from numerous hours of sessions with the fourth author, Chérubin Mugisha. He shared his knowledge of Kirundi with us even when some of the questions were challenging. Hours of discussion sessions between us resulte in the descriptions of various areas of Kirundi grammar, as the chapters in this book demonstrate. We benefitted from his expertise in technology as well, because all of the sessions were recorded in a professional manner. This has enabled the processing and archiving of most recordings, which are shared with the greater research community (https://bantudarc.aa-ken.jp).

This publication and the online sessions with the fourth author were supported by the joint research project entitled *Establishment of a Research Network for Exploring the Linguistic Diversity and Linguistic Dynamism in Africa (ReNeLDA)*, funded by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) within a framework of a collaborative joint research schema between research institutes based in Japan and in Africa (‘Core-to-Core Program: B. Asia-Africa Science Platforms’; Coordinator: Daisuke Shinagawa). The book was also partially supported by the JSPS's Fund for the Promotion of Joint International Research (Fostering Joint International Research (B) *Microvariation in Bantu languages of South Africa: building theories from typology data (JSAntu)* (#21KK0005; PI: Seunghun J. Lee). Discussions from various grant meetings and joint research projects enriched materials in this book: Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) *A micro-typological study of inter-parametric covariation in Bantu languages* (#19K00568; PI: Daisuke

Shinagawa), as well as three joint research projects of ILCAA (i) *Typological Study of Microvariation in Bantu (2)* (Coordinator: Yuko Abe), (ii) *A new perspective on descriptive linguistics in Africa based on the translingual ecology* (Coordinator: Daisuke Shinagawa), and (iii) *Phonetic typology from cross-linguistic perspectives* (Coordinator: Seunghun J. Lee).

We also share much appreciation for Tingting Yu, who tirelessly supported the editing and formatting of all the chapters in this volume. We also thank B. Paris Fleming, Rachel Liu, Natsumi Taniguchi, and Celine Tuaño for addressing last minutes needs in the creation of this book. Last, but not least, the weekly meetings for this project kept us sane and directed us to the completion of this project.

The authors
Daisuke Shinagawa, Seunghun J. Lee, Yuko Abe, Chérubin Mugisha

French version
translated by Chérubin Mugisha

Préface

La COVID-19 a touché tout le monde et le milieu académique n'a pas fait exception. Les trois auteurs de ce livre cumulent plus de 50 ans de travail sur terrain, et aller en Afrique faisait partie intégrante de nos vies avant que le monde entier ne soit frappé par la pandémie. Les quatre auteurs ont eu l'occasion de travailler ensemble sur la langue kirundi durant cette période.

Ce livre est un recueil de chapitres issus de nombreuses heures de sessions d'enregistrements avec le quatrième auteur, Chérubin Mugisha. Il a partagé sa connaissance du kirundi avec nous même lorsque certaines des questions étaient difficiles. Des heures de séances de discussion entre nous ont abouti à la description de divers domaines de la grammaire kirundi, comme le démontrent les chapitres de ce livre. Nous avons également bénéficié de son expertise en technologie, car toutes les sessions ont été enregistrées de manière professionnelle. Cela a permis le traitement et l'archivage de la plupart des enregistrements, qui sont partagés avec l'ensemble de la communauté de chercheurs (https://bantudarc.aa-ken .jp).

Cette publication et les sessions en ligne avec le quatrième auteur ont été soutenues par le projet de recherche conjoint intitulé *Création d'un réseau de recherches pour l'exploration de la diversité linguistique et du dynamisme linguistique en Afrique (ReNeLDA)*, financé par l'Organisation Japonaise pour la Promotion de la Science (JSPS) au sein d'un cadre de collaboration de recherche conjointe entre les instituts de recherche basés au Japon et en Afrique (« *Core-to-Core Program : B. Asia-Africa Science Platforms »* ; Coordinateur : Daisuke Shinagawa). Le livre a également été conjointement soutenu par le Fonds JSPS pour la Promotion de la Recherche Internationale Conjointe (*Fostering Joint International Research (B) Microvariation in Bantu*

languages of South Africa: building theories from typology data (JSAntu) (#21KK0005; PI: Seunghun J. Lee). Des discussions et diverses réunions de financement et de projets de recherche conjoints ont enrichi le contenu de ce livre: *Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) A micro-typological study of inter-parametric covariation in Bantu languages* (#19K00568; PI: Daisuke Shinagawa), ainsi que trois projets de recherche conjoints de l'ILCAA (i) *Typological Study of Microvariation in Bantu (2)* (Coordinateur: Yuko Abe), (ii) *A new perspective on descriptive linguistics in Africa based on the translingual ecology* (Coordinateur: Daisuke Shinagawa), and (iii) *Phonetic typology from cross-linguistic perspectives* (Coordinateur: Seunghun J. Lee).

Nous ne manquerons pas de mentionner notre appréciation pour Tingting Yu qui a soutenu sans relâche l'édition et la mise en forme de tous les chapitres de ce volume. Nous remercions également B. Paris Fleming, Rachel Liu, Natsumi Taniguchi, et Celine Tuaño pour avoir répondu aux besoins de dernière minute lors de la création de ce livre. Dernier point, mais non des moindres, les réunions hebdomadaires pour ce projet nous ont gardés sains d'esprit et nous ont dirigés vers la réalisation de ce projet.

Les auteurs

Daisuke Shinagawa, Seunghun J. Lee, Yuko Abe, Chérubin Mugisha

Kirundi version
translated by Chérubin Mugisha

Intangamarara

Ikiza Kovide-19 cateye isi yose, kidasize inyuma amashure. Abanditsi batatu b'iki gitabu begeranirije hamwe ibikorwa vy'imyaka irenga 50 vy'ubushakashatsi, ivyo bikaba biri mu mirimo yacu ya misi yose kwishikira muri Afrika imbere y'uko isi iterwa n'ico kiza. Abo banditsi bane baragiriwe ibakwe muri ako kanya ryo gukorera hamwe ku rurimi rw'Ikirundi.

Iki gitabu ni urukurikikirane rw'ibigabane vyavuye mu kiganiro c'amasaha menshi n'umwanditsi agira kane ariwe Cherubin MUGISHA. Yaradusabikanirije ivyo azi kuri urwo rurimi, naho bimwe mubibazo bitari vyoroshe. Ibiganiro vyamara amasaha atari make vyadushikanye kugutanga insiguro yimice itandukanye y'indimburo y'Ikirundi nk'uko ibigabane vy'iki gitabu bivyerekana.

Twarashoboye kandi kwungukira mu bumenyi bwa Cherubin MUGISHA mu vyerekeye ubuhinga bugezweho, kuko ivyigwa vyakurikiranywe vyose vyabitswe ku buhinga buhanitse. Ivyo bikaba vyatumye inyigisho zegeranijwe hafashwe amajwi, zigosorwa, zigashingurwa zikongera zigahanahanwa hagati y'abagize umugwi w'abegize ubushakashatsi (https://bantudarc.aa-ken .jp).

Iki gitabu gisohotse, hamwe n'inyigisho n'uwo mwanditsi agirakane biciye ku buhinga ngurukanabumenyi vyafashijwe n'umugambi w'ubushakashatsi witwa *Establishment of a Research Network for Exploring the Linguistic Diversity and Linguistic Dynamism in Africa (ReNeLDA)*, Ku mfashanyo y'ishirahamwe ry'Ubuyapani ryishinze guteza imbere ubuhinga (JSPS) biciye mu gufashanya hagati y'ibisata vy'ubushakashatsi biri mu Buyapani no muri Afrika («*Core-to-Core Program: B. Asia-Africa Science Platforms»*; Umuhuzabikorwa: Daisuke Shinagawa). Iki gitabu carafashijwe kandi n'ikigega JSPS giteza imbere ubushakashatsi ku rwego mpuzamakungu

(*Fostering Joint International Research (B) Microvariation in Bantu languages of South Africa: building theories from typology data (JSAntu)* (#21KK0005; PI: Seunghun J. Lee). Ibiganiro n'amanama vyabaye mu ntumbero yo kworosha ibikorwa no gutunganya urunani rw'ubushakashatsi vyatanze intererano ikomeye mw'itunganywa ry'iki gitabu: *Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) A micro-typological study of inter-parametric covariation in Bantu languages* (#19K00568; PI: Daisuke Shinagawa), hamwe n'urunani rw'imigambi itatu ya ILCAA (i). *Typological Study of Microvariation in Bantu (2)* (Umuhuzabikorwa: Yuko Abe), (ii) *A new perspective on descriptive linguistics in Africa based on the translingual ecology* (Umuhuzabikorwa: Daisuke Shinagawa), and (iii) *Phonetic typology from cross-linguistic perspectives* (Umuhuzabikorwa: Seunghun J. Lee).

Ntitworeka gushimira Tingting Yu yitanze atiziganya mu gutosora neza ibigabane vy'iki gitabu. Turashimiye kandi Paris B. Fleming, Rachel Liu, Natsumi na Celine Tuaño bo bitabiriye akamo kacu mu bihe vya nyuma vyo gushira ahabona iki gitabu. Ubwa nyuma, ariko vy'umwihariko, turashima cane inama zaba uko indwi itashe, zaratuma turaza umutima kuri iki gitabu, zidushikana kw'isemo ya nyuma y'iki kivi.

Abanditsi
Daisuke Shinagawa, Seunghun J. Lee, Yuko Abe, Chérubin Mugisha

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 About this book

This book is a collection of chapters that describe topics of Kirundi grammar based on sessions with a speaker of Kirundi from summer 2021 to early 2022. The first Kirundi sessions were held to better understand the patient inversion structure in (1).

(1) Patient inversion in Kirundi (Ndayiragije 1999: 400)

a. Abâna ba-á ra-nyôye amatá.
children 3P-PST-F-drink:PERF milk
'Children drank milk?'

b. Amatá y-á-nyôye abâna.
milk 3S-PST-F-drink:PERF children
'Children (not parents) drank milk.'

Baselines for the sessions were formed by eliciting lexical items. Kirundi segments focusing on the vowel length distinction and tonal patterns were recorded. The distribution of palatal segments varying in voicing and environment was also part of the investigation. These results are reported in chapter 2. Elicitation sessions concerning various morphosyntactic structures soon followed, which resulted in a database being archived.

This book has two goals in introducing the Kirundi grammar. First, the

Kirundi data is accompanied by recordings that are accessible upon request. Most data in chapter 2, and some data in chapters 3 and 4 are accessible via the archive. All data points will eventually be archived for readers who are interested in accessing the recordings. The morphosyntactic descriptions can be augmented by future prosodic studies with these recordings.

The second goal of this book is to provide an extensive paradigm pertaining to inversion constructions as well as persistive constructions that may have been presented in fragments in previous work. Comprehensive descriptions of a morphosyntactic construction require multiple sessions with a speaker who is sensitive to the constructions that linguists are interested in investigating. The fourth author played that role. Over numerous Zoom sessions, we were able to probe into fine-tuned differences between sentence structures, which are reported in this book.

Of course, this book does not aim to cover all aspects of Kirundi grammar. We hope that the chapters in this book will help us to untangle the complex aspects of Kirundi, and will offer guides for future studies on Kirundi.

1.2 Kirundi

Kirundi is a Bantu language spoken mainly in the Republic of Burundi, where it enjoys national language status with more than 10 million speakers, including 4 million monolinguals according to Ethnologue (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2021). The language is actively used at home, work, public environments, and in the media. It is taught in both primary and secondary schools.

In Maho (2009), which is based on Guthrie's (1967–71) classification system of Bantu languages, Kirundi is a JD62 language. Kinyarwanda (JD61) is a neighboring language spoken as the national language of Rwanda. Both languages share high mutual intelligibility and form the Ruanda-Rundi

language continuum (cf. Zorc & Nibagwire (2007: 1), Maho (2009: 58), Hammarström (2019: 40)).

1.3 Data in this book

The data used in this work were obtained in collaboration with Mr. Chérubin Mugisha. At the time of the recording, he was in his early 30's. Mr. Mugisha is from Bujumbura, and Kirundi is his mother tongue. Due to education in the country, he is also proficient in French and English. After his undergraduate education in Burundi, he moved to Japan to continue his post-graduate degree.

The main data collection and elicitation was conducted online through ZOOM in August and September 2021. The recent COVID-19 pandemic prevented us from holding direct interviews, but Mr. Mugisha's comfort in making digital recordings resulted in high quality audio recordings of all the sessions we held. The recordings were made with a sampling rate of 44.1 kHz in 16-bit using Audacity, a free audio recording software. A unidirectional microphone was connected to his computer, which allowed for the archival-quality recordings.

The recordings were then processed by the second author. All tokens were assigned with a unique ID that begins with RUN2021-. The numbers cited in this book refer to those token ID's. With permission, the recordings are accessible from the Bantu Language Digital Archive (https://bantudarc.aa-ken.jp/rundi.html).

1.4 Structure of this book

The rest of this book has 3 independent chapters. In chapter 2, phonetics and phonology of Kirundi based on our elicitation sessions are presented. Topics include palatal consonants, vowel length distinction and tonal contrast. Chapter 3 provides a fundamental description on an entire range of (mono-

clausal) strategies of focus and topic expressions from a cross-Bantu typological perspective. The description covers two inversion constructions, namely locative inversion and patient inversion, and various focus marking strategies including syntactic control, morphological marking, and the conjugational strategy generally known as conjoint-disjoint alternation.

Chapter 4 describes Kirundi persistive aspect and its related phenomena, and based on the description tries to compare those of other Bantu languages having the reflexes of persistive. The reflexes of persistive in Kirundi show two forms for affirmative and non-affirmative respectively, and the persistive extends its meaning depending on the lexical aspect of a verb. In comparison with other Bantu languages, Kirundi shares common features with the Great Lakes Bantu languages. The final part of this monograph displays plots of all the Kirundi words or sentences with following tiers: Kirundi, English translation and ID numbers.

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Chapter 2

A sketch of the Kirundi sound system

Seunghun J. Lee

2.1 Overview

This chapter is a short description of the Kirundi sound systems, with three main topics: consonants in section 2.2, vowels in section 2.3, and tone in section 2.4. The data in this chapter is produced by a male Kirundi speaker, and the data is available in the ICU Language Database series (ICULD0046). With permission, all recordings are downloadable from the Bantu Language Digital Archive (https://bantudarc.aa-ken.jp/rundi.html).

Table 1. Kirundi consonants[1]

	labial		alveolar		palatal		velar		glottal
stop	P	β	t	d	c	ɟ	k	g	
fricative	f	v	s	z	ʃ	ʒ			h
affricate	pf		ts		tʃ	dʒ			
nasal	m		n		ɲ		ŋ		
approximant			r		j		w		

[1] This chart is an adaptation of Zorc & Nibagwire (2007: 24), which is based on various resources (Meeussen 1959; Stevick 1965; Cristini 2000; Bennett 2001). The major difference with the chart in Zorc & Nibagwire concerns the palatal stops; while they explain that palatal stops are non-contrastive, the speech of our consultant has these sounds in a contrastive manner.

2.2 Consonants

The consonants of Kirundi are listed in Table 1, in the format following the IPA chart. In each cell, the left symbol represents a voiceless sound and the right symbol a voiced sound.

2.2.1 Phonotactics

The stops series have both voiceless and voiced sounds. The only exception is the voiced labial sound, which is realized as a fricative [β] as shown in Fig. 1. Compared to the preceding [u] and the following [i], the fricative shows lower amplitude across the higher formants. The absence of a closure and burst also indicates that the sound is not a voiced stop.

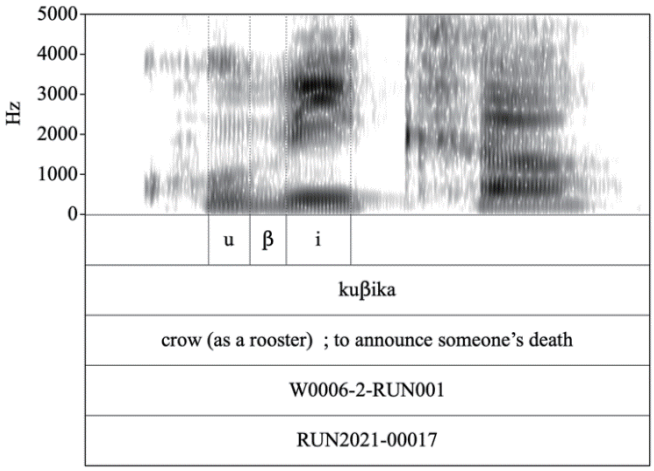
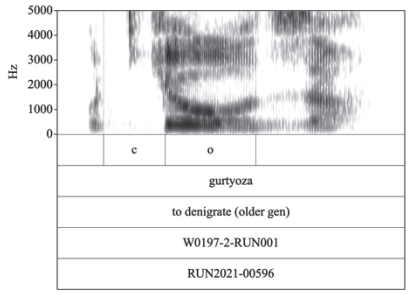
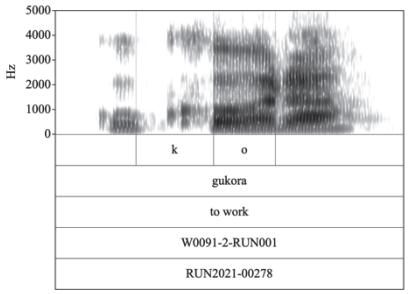


Figure 1. Voiced labial fricative [β].

The stop series of Kirundi includes palatal stops: voiceless [c] and voiced [ɟ]. Palatal sounds acoustically display raised second formant (F2) compared to velar sounds. The spectrograms in figure 2 confirms the raising of F1. The [o] vowel after a voiceless palatal stop [c] in Fig. 2a shows raised F2, while after [k] no such raising is observed in Fig. 2b. The voiced versions in Fig. 2 demonstrate the same pattern; F2 is raised after the voiced palatal stop [ɟ] in Fig. 3a, but raising of F2 is not observed after [g] in Fig. 3b.

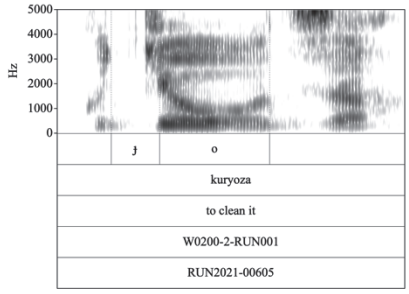


a. voiceless palatal stop [c]

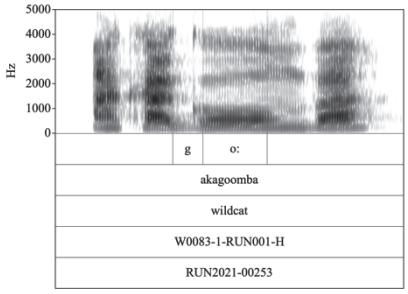


b. voiceless velar stop [k]

Figure 2. Voiceless palatal and velar stops in Kirundi



a. voiced palatal stop [ɟ]



b. voiced velar stop [g]

Figure 3. Voiced palatal and velar stops in Kirundi

The labial affricate /pf/ in Kirundi was perceived to have voicing during the data collection. The spectrogram in Fig. 4 shows residual voicing from the preceding vowel leading into one third of closure duration of the labial affricate. This voicing residual in the Kirundi /pf/ could have made the sound to be perceived as a voiced sound. Since neighboring languages have labial affricates that are mostly reported to be completely voiceless, labial affricates in Kirundi need further investigation from a comparative Bantu perspective.

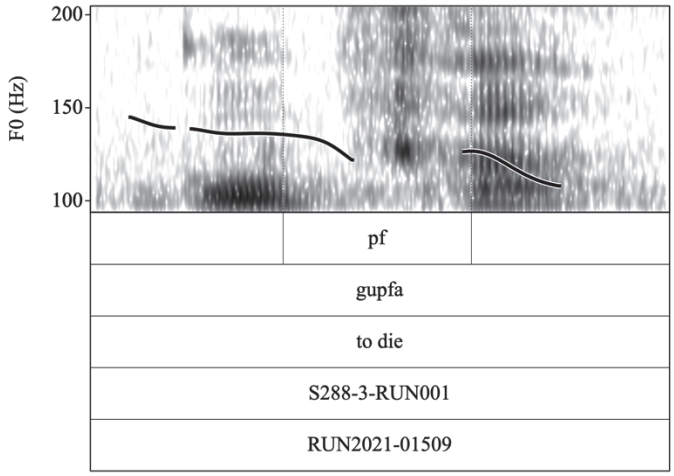


Figure 4. Examples of labial affricative /pf/

2.2.2 Voicing dissimilation in Kirundi

Voicing dissimilation[2] is reported in a variety of Eastern Bantu languages such as Sukuma, Kikuyu, Rwanda, and Kuria among others. Diachronically, Nyamwezi underwent the voicing dissimilation, so 'three' begins with a [d] before a [t] in the second syllable. Swahili does not show the voicing dissimilation, and the same word 'three' begins with [t], a voiceless sound.

(1) Diachronic voicing dissimilation
   a. *-datu* 'three' Nyamwezi
   b. *-tatu* 'three' Swahili

To better understand voicing dissimilation in Kirundi, we examined 38 verbal roots and categorized them based on whether the initial sound was a voiceless obstruent or not. The infinitive prefix /ku-/ undergoes voicing dissimilation, which is realized as [gu-] when the root-initial consonant is

[2] Voicing dissimilation is also called Dahl's Law, which is named after the missionary Edmund Dahl by Carl Meinhof.

voiceless, but otherwise it is realized as [ku]. The stimuli of 38 items were recorded three times each resulting in 114 tokens. In (2), stimuli of our study are listed.

(2) A list of stimuli

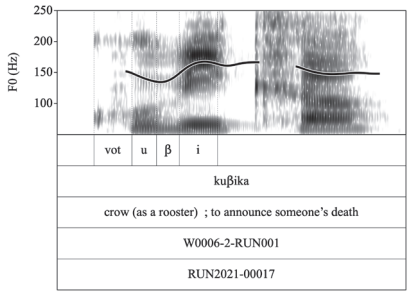
a. Root-initial is a voiceless obstruent (n = 19)

gu-heza	‘to terminate at’ [0007]
gu-héreza	‘to be the last person’ [0010]
gu-hé:reza	‘to hand a thing to someone’ [0013]
gu-faʃa	‘to help’ [0190]
gu-té:ka	‘to cook’ [0193]
gu-kíndʒika	‘to cook [more polite]’ [0196]
gu-hí:ga	‘to hunt’ [0199]
gu-ta:nga:ra	‘to marvel’ [0211]
gu-tweŋga	‘to laugh’ [0214]
ku-tembera	‘to visit a place’ [0058]
gu-séka	‘to bump’ [0217]
gu-ʃi:ma	‘to thank’ [0226]
gu-kora	‘to work’ [0277]
gu-te:méra	‘to agree’ [0352]
gu-kanjá	‘to be cold’ [0379]
gu-koropa	‘to sweep’ [0406]
gu-twaára	‘to run a district’ [0418]
gu-tinyu:ka	‘to be fearless’ [0529]
ku-thoora	‘to find, elect’ [0205]

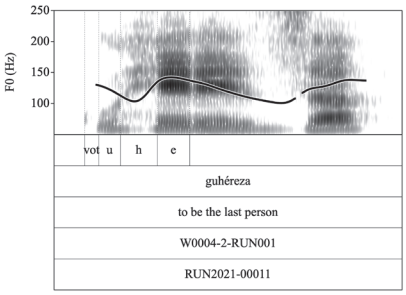
b. Root-initial is a voiced sound (n = 19)

ku-βika	‘to crow’ [0016]
ku-βi:ka	‘to put away’ [0019]
ku-zira	‘to be hostile to’ [0040]
ku-uzira	‘to visit, to come for’ [0046]
ku-za	‘to come’ [0049]
ku-uza	‘to regurgitate’ [0055]
ku-ramucha	‘to visit a person’ [0061]
ku-d͡ʒi:ʃa	‘to weave baskets’ [0121]
kw-igi:ʃa	‘to teach’ [0157]
kw-iga	‘to learn’ [0160]
ku-iβa	‘to steal’ [0181]
ku-βona	‘to see’ [0202]
ku-vúga	‘to speak’ [0208]
ku-vo:ma	‘to fetch water’ [0220]
kw-ijumbira	‘to think’ [0223]
ku-gura	‘to buy’ [0229]
ku-gira	‘to do something’ [0280]
ku-garagara	‘to be empty’ [0373]
ku-rivimba	‘to sing’ [0559]

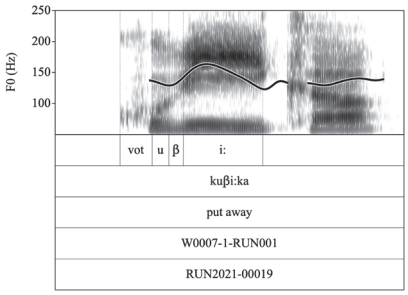
The recordings were processed using Praat, and annotations were made for the voice onset time (vot) of the initial velar stop ([k] or [g]), the vowel [u], and the first syllable of the verbal root. The initial [k] in Fig. 5a has a long vot, and as expected, the initial [g] has a short vot in Fig. 5b. This difference in vot is also observable when the root vowel is long, as in Figs. 5c and 5d, showing that root vowel length is not relevant to voicing dissmilation.



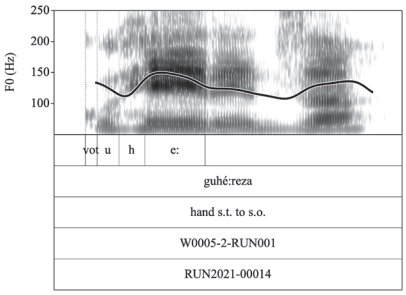
a. *kubika* 'to crow'



b. *guhereza* 'to be the last person'



c. *kubi:ka* 'to put away'



d. *guhe:reza* 'to hand something'

Figure 5. Voicing dissimilation in Kirundi

The vot results are plotted using R (R Core Team 2020) in Figure 6. The vot of [g] has a mean of 27.5 ms (s.d. = 7.9), and the vot of [k] has a mean of 75.6ms (s.d. = 16.5). The near-categorical distribution of the vot in these two categories shows that the voicing of the root-initial consonant conditions the voicing specification of the onset of the infinitive prefix /ku/.

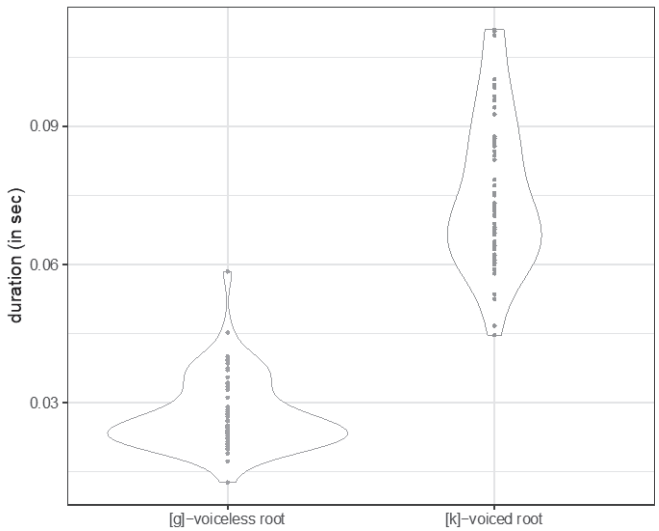


Figure 6. Comparing vot of [g] and [k] resulting from voicing dissimilation

The results in fig. 6 demonstrate that the voicing distinction of velar stops in Kirundi produced by our consultant is similar to English, in which the voiced category is produced with shorter vot (under 45 ms) and the voiceless category is produced with vot that is longer than 45 ms. In other words, short vot plosives appear before voiceless-initial roots, whereas plosives with a long vot appear before other types of roots that begin with a voiced obstruent, a sonorant [r], or a vowel.

Voicing dissimilation in Kirundi results from a ban on a sequence of voiceless onsets, which is unusual since (i) voiceless stops are phonologically unmarked, and (ii) Kirundi allows roots with more than two voiceless stops (e.g., *urutoke* 'finger', *gufasha* 'to help', *guséka* 'to help' etc.). As shown in this section, the voicing dissimilation occurs across morpheme boundaries. We propose that a phonetic motivation may trigger the voicing dissimilation. Could it be that the dissimilation is due to a phonetic markedness that does not allow a sequence of laryngealized segments with long vot/frication noise?[3] In

[3] The constraint *LONG-C in Lee & Aso (2020) was proposed as an acoustic-based constraint against long acoustic signal to explain the distribution of strong aspiration in Hateruma Yaeyaman.

Kirundi, this restriction means that two voiceless obstruents with vot longer than 45 ms do not appear in adjacent syllables across a morpheme boundary.

The ban on a sequence of laryngealized segments is not uncommon and it is found in various languages: voiced segments in Japanese rendaku (Kawahara 2012; 2018 and references there in), or ejectives in roots of Cochabamba Quechua (Gallagher & Whang 2014). For a general overview these types of co-occurrence restrictions, see MacEachern (2019). In this section, we have reported a fresh set of Kirundi data by reporting phonetic measurements concerning segments that undergo voicing dissimilation.

2.3 Vowels

Kirundi has a five-vowel system that contrasts in length. As shown in table 2, all short vowels have a corresponding long vowel.

Table 2 Kirundi vowels (Zorc & Nibagwire 2007: 26)

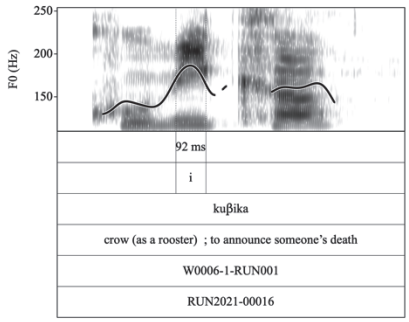
	Front		Back	
high	i	i:	u	u:
mid	e	e:	o	o:
low			a	a:

Examples of minimal pairs with these length contrast appears in (3). Words in (3a) has a short vowel, and words in (3b) have a long vowel in an identical position. The long vowels are 2 or 3 times longer than short vowels as shown in Fig. 7.

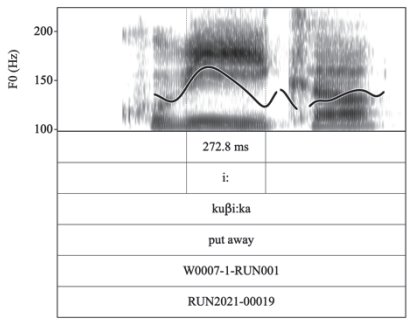
(3) Examples of vowel length contrast

a. short vowel		b. long vowel	
kuβika	‘to crow’	kuβi:ka	‘to put away’
	[0016]		[0019]
urutoke	‘finger’	uruto:ke	‘a big banana’
	[0028]		[0037]

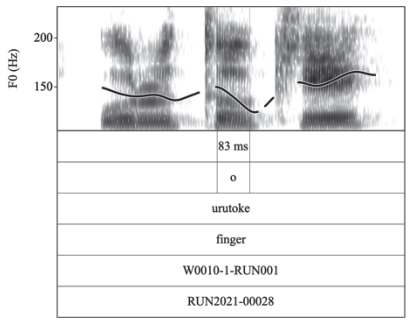
kuza	‘to come’ [0049]	ku:za	‘to regurgitate’ [0055]
ijumvire	‘Just listen!’ [00145]	ijumvi:re	‘to think hard’ [00148]



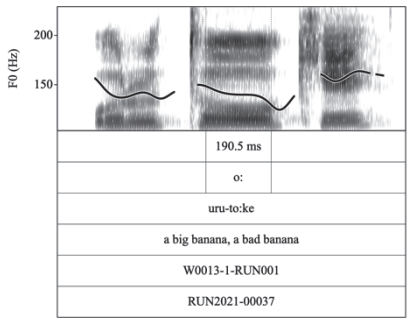
a. *kuβika* ‘to crow’ [0016]



b. *kuβi:ka* ‘to put away’ [0019]



c. *urutoke* ‘finger’ [0028]



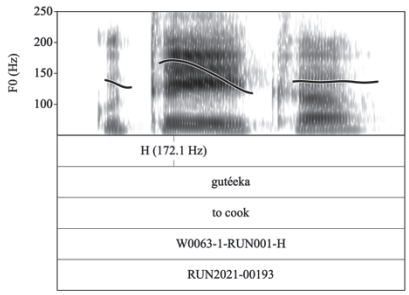
d. *uruto:ke* ‘a big banana’ [0037]

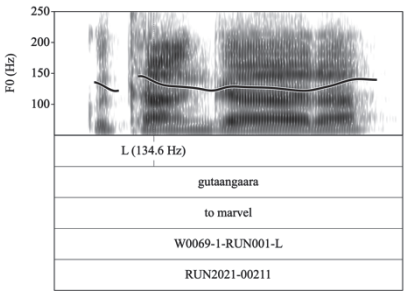
Figure 7. Short and long vowels and their duration.

2.4 Tone

Kirundi is a two-tone language with an H tone and an L tone. The contrast of lexical tone in verbal is shown in figures 8 and 9. In figure 8, the root begins with a voiceless obstruent, resulting in voicing dissimilation of the infinitive marker. The pitch difference between H and L in the examples in figure 8 is over 30 Hz. When roots begin with a voiced obstruent, as in figure 9, the pitch is slightly lower than the voiceless roots, but a tonal contrast is still observed.

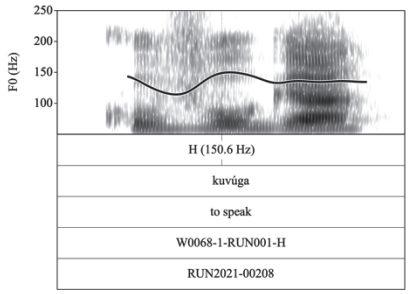
The H tone root (fig. 9a) is about 25 Hz higher in pitch than the L tone root (fig. 9b).

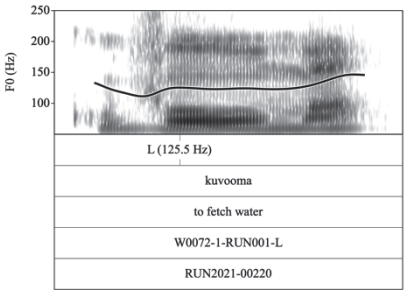




a. H tone root b. L tone root

Figure 8. High and low tone in voiceless-initial roots





a. H tone root b. L tone root

Figure 9. High and low tone in voiced-initial roots

2.5 Summary

The description in this chapter is a small part of Kirundi phonetics and phonology that requires more detailed investigation. As seen in Zorc & Nibagwire (2007), Kirundi is often described together with Kinyarwanda due to their similarities. Since Kirundi data has been shown to be interesting segmentally as well as suprasegmentally, it remains to be seen whether these phonetic propeties would extend to Kinyarwanda data in future studies.

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Chapter 3

A sketch of morphosyntactic variation conditioned by the information status of syntactic constituents

Daisuke Shinagawa

3.1 Introduction

It is widely accepted that various syntactic phenomena characteristic in Bantu languages are deeply associated with features relevant to the informational structure of syntactic constituents (Hyman and Watters 1984, Bearth 2003, Marten 2011, Downing and Hyman 2016, Downing and Marten 2019, among others). Especially in the current decade, the interplay between syntax and information structure has been attracting much scholarly attentions in Bantu linguistics from the typological as well as the formal/theoretical perspectives. This trend is clearly reflected in recent studies on the grammatical system of Kirundi, e.g., Lafkioui et al. (2016) investigating the cleft construction as a focus marking strategy based on a large-scale corpus, Nshemezimana and Bostoen (2017) providing a corpus-based analysis on Conjoint (CJ)/Disjoint (DJ) distinction with a special focus on its functional aspect, and Selvanathan (2020) discussing the theoretical treatment on inversion constructions.

While these studies intensively focus on specific topics, a wide range of basic description about morphosyntactic structures which reflect the informational saliency of each constituent, and the interrelationship between such construction types, have not been fully provided, particularly from a cross-Bantu typological perspective. This chapter thus aims to present a descriptive sketch of basic sentence structures[4] relevant to the expression of

[4] All examples in this chapter are presented in the following 6-line format; line-1: orthographic transcription (provided in **bold**), line-2: phonetic description in IPA

the informational saliency of each constituent and structural variability reflecting the factors relevant to information structure. In order to cover as wide a range of (mono-clausal) strategies as possible, this chapter is organised into two sections. Section 3.2 deals with inversion constructions, which are generally understood as associated with the expression of topic, while Section 3.3 provides an extensive range of mono-clausal morphosyntactic strategies relevant to focus marking, including syntactic word order control, morphological focus marking, and verbal inflectional operation, which is generally known as conjoint/disjoint distinction.

3.2 Inversion constructions

Inversion construction is one of the vigorously discussed topics in Bantu syntax, especially in the field of the syntax-information structure interface, from the descriptive, theoretical, and typological perspectives (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989; Marten 2006; Zeller 2013; among others). While traditional analyses tend to regard inversion constructions as part of topic expression (cf. Bearth 2003), recent studies reveal the wide functionalities of the construction from the cross-Bantu perspective (Marten and Van der Wal 2014; Van der Wal 2022).

On the other hand, it is also well recognised that the inversion construction can be further classified into subcategories. For example, Marten and Van der Wal (2014) identify five distinct types of the construction based on the thematic

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(provided in square bracket), line-3: phonemic description (provided in *italic*), line-4: morphological description with boundaries, line-5: inter-linear glossing, line-6: free translation. Ungrammatical examples do not include line 2 and 3. Phonemic description provided in this chapter basically follows the phonological interpretation by Zorc and Nibagwire (2007:24). The consonant inventory adopted in this chapter is as follows: /p, t, k, b, d, g; f, s, ʃ, h, v, z, ʒ; pf, ts, tʃ; m, n, ɲ, ŋ, r, j, w/. This language shows relatively rare instances of phonetic realization, such as labio-velar double articulation including [b͡g, ᵑ͡g, mŋ͡], and labio-lingual frication [v͡ðʲ ~ v͡ʒʲ], most of which are observed in a sequesnce of a plain stop followed by a glide. Plain stops also tends to be pronounced as affricates when preceded by a homorganic nasal, while nasals are regularly devoiced when followed by a voiceless stop. This language has a five vowel system with contrast of length. Tone is definitely contrastive but only surface realization is annotated in the examples.

roles of nominal arguments involved in the inversion process, namely, Locative Inversion (LI), Instrument Inversion, Patient Inversion (PI, also known as Subject-Object Reversal), Complement Inversion, and Quotative Inversion. On the other hand, Downing and Marten (2019: 282) states that LI and PI are the two major construction types that have been most thoroughly investigated in the literature. This section thus focuses on providing the basic descriptions of LI and PI in 3.2.1 and in 3.2.2, respectively.

3.2.1 Locative Inversion: typological overview

LI is the syntactic construction where a post-verbal locative noun phrase is raised to the clause initial position, whereas the verb exhibits grammatical agreement with the promoted locative in the subject marker (SM) slot (Buell 2007; Zeller 2013). The most typical case of LI is illustrated as follows; the locative noun phrase *mw'ishamba* '(in the) forest', which is a class 18 locative noun and sits in the post verbal position in the basic word order in (1), raises to the sentence initial position and gets subject-marked with the locative SM *ha-* in the LI construction in (2).

(1) Basic word order [CJ]: A+$_{A}$-V+L
Intambwe iryama mw'ishamba
[iɲ̊â:mb͡ge iɟama mwiʃ̂a:mba]
intambwe irjama mwiʃamba
i-N-tambwe i-Ø-rjam-a mu-i-ʃamba
AUG-9-lion SM9-PRS-sleep-FV 18-5-field
'A lion sleeps in the forest'

(2) FLI: L+$_{L}$-V+A
Mw'ishamba haryama intambwe
[mwiʃa:mba haɟama iɲ̊â:mb͡ge]
mwiʃamba harjama intambwe
mu-i-ʃamba ha-Ø-rjam-a i-N-tambwe
18-5-field SM$_{LOC}$-PRS-sleep-FV AUG-9-lion

‘In the forest sleeps a lion’

LI is further classified into two types according to the noun class property of inverted nouns (cf. Marten 2006; Buell 2007; Zeller 2013). If an inverted locative noun is morphologically marked as a locative class noun, the construction is known as Formal Locative Inversion (FLI). This type is illustrated in (2) where *mw’ishamba* is in the locative class 18 as shown by the class prefix *mu-*. On the other hand, if an inverted noun denotes a locative meaning but is not morphologically locative-marked, it is referred to as Semantic Locative Inversion (SLI). This type is illustrated in the following example from Zulu.

(3) SLI in Zulu [S42] (Zeller 2013: 2)

a. Canonical word order: T+$_{T-}$V+SL

U-tshani	**bu-mil-a**	**e-n-gadi-ni**
AUG-14.grass	SM$_{14}$-grow-FV	LOC-9-garden- LOC

‘Grass grows in the garden.’

b. SLI: SL+$_{SL-}$V+T

I-n-gadi	**i-mil-a**	**u-tshani.**
AUG-9-garden	SM$_{9}$-grow-FV	AUG-14.grass

‘In the garden grows grass.’

In contrast to (3a) where *e-n-gadi-ni* is morphologically marked by the locative circumfix *e-* (stem) *-ni*, (3b) shows that the inverted noun *i-n-gadi* is not in the locative class but still subject-marked in the predicate verb agreeing in its inherent noun class (in this case, class 9).

It is not necessarily to follow the inversion mechanism, i.e., to license a raised noun as a syntactic subject, in order for a post-verbal locative noun to be raised to the sentence initial position. There are two such cases where inversion mechanism is irrelevant to the raising of a post-verbal locative noun. The first is a case in which a locative noun is swapped with a subject noun

phrase due to its movement caused by Subject Inversion (SI), i.e., the movement of the syntactic subject, which is subject-marked in the SM slot of the verb, to the post-verbal position. The other is a simple Locative Dislocation (LD), where neither the syntactic licensing of a locative noun nor the process of subject inversion is involved. All of these types are illustrated in (4) from Swahili, where only SLI is grammatically unacceptable.

Table 1. Possible types of (formal/ semantic) locative raising

Types	Noun class property of raised N	Subject agreement on V
FLI	LOC marked	raised LOC
SLI	non-LOC marked	raised non-LOC
SI	LOC marked	S in the post-verbal position
LD	LOC marked	in situ S

(4) Illustration of each type in Swahili [G42]

a. FLI: L+$_{L-}$V+A

m-situ-ni **pa-me-lal-a** **wa-nyama**
3-forest-LOC SM$_{LOC}$-ANT-sleep-FV 2-animal
'In the forest sleep animals'

b. SLI: SL+$_{SL-}$V+A

* **m-situ** **u-me-lala** **wa-nyama**
3-forest SM$_3$-ANT-sleep-FV 2-animal

c. SI: L+$_{A-}$V+A

m-situ-ni **wa-me-lal-a** **wa-nyama**
3-forest-LOC SM$_2$-ANT-sleep-FV 2-animal
'In the forest animals sleep'

d. LD: L+A+$_{A-}$V

m-situ-ni **wa-nyama** **wa-me-lal-a**
3-forest-LOC 2-animal SM$_2$-ANT-sleep-FV
'In the forest animals sleep'

Another typology on LI is on the valency types of verbs involved in the construction. As shown in Table 2, there is a general typological tendency, i.e., the more transitive the verb is, the less its invovement in LI.

Table 2. Availability of LI with different verb classes

(Based on Table 1 in [Salzmann 2011: 5], which is adopted from Demuth and Mmusi [1997: 14] and Marten [2006: 106])

a. Active voice

Verb type <relevant θ-roles>	Chewa [N31]	Shona [S10]	Setswana [S31]	Herero [R30]	**Kirundi [JD62]**
Unaccusative <th, loc>	OK	OK	OK	OK	**OK**
Unergative <ag, loc>	*	*	OK	OK	**OK**(6)
Transitive <ag, th, loc>	*	*	*	OK	**OK**(8)
Ditransitive <ag, th, pat, loc>	*	*	*	*	***(10)**

b. Passive voice

Verb type <relevant θ-roles>	Chewa [N31]	Shona [S10]	Setswana [S31]	Herero [R30]	**Kirundi [JD62]**
Unaccusative <~~th~~, loc>	*	OK	OK	OK	**OK**
Unergative <~~ag~~, loc>	*	OK	OK	OK	**OK**(7)
Transitive <~~ag~~, th, loc>	OK	OK	OK	OK	**OK**(9)
Ditransitive <~~ag~~, th, pat, loc>	OK	OK	OK	OK	**OK**(11)

Based on Table 2, this general tendency can be rigidly formalised through the following implicational hierarchy.

(5) Typological implication on valency types and LI

a. Active

Unaccusative > Unergative > Transitive > *Ditransitive

b. Passive

Di/Transitive > Intransitive

In their theoretical treatment, Bresnan and Kanerva (1989: 27) argue that LI is restricted to verbs whose highest thematic role is <theme>.[5] However, as Marten (2006: 101–102) points out that it is not necessarily applicable to all Bantu languages, e.g., in Setwana, where an unergative active verb whose highest thematic role is <agent> can also be involved in the construction. In this typological scale, Kirundi can be classified as one of the most flexible type of languages, where the maximal range of verbs attested so far in cross-Bantu typology, i.e., all verb types except for ditransitive active verbs, can be involved in the construction. This is evidenced by the following examples.

(6) FLI: L+$_{L}$-V+A [Unergative, Active] = (2)

mw'ishamba haryama intambwe

[mwiʃâːmba haɻama iṅâːmb͡ge]

mwiʃamba harjama intambwe

mu-i-ʃamba ha-Ø-rjam-a i-N-tambwe

18-5-field SM$_{LOC}$-PRS-sleep-FV AUG-9-lion

'In the forest sleeps a lion'

(7) FLI: L+$_{L}$-V$_{-PASS}$+ADP [Unergative, Passive]

mw'ishamba haryamwa n'intambwe

[mwiʃâːmba haɻam͡ŋa niṅâːmb͡ge]

mwiʃamba harjamwa na intambwe

[5] In the theoretical framework of Lexical Functional Grammar, the following hierarchy of thematic roles are assumed (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989: 23): agent > beneficiary > recipient/experiencer > instrumental > patient/theme > locative

mu-i-ʃamba ha-Ø-rjam-w-a na i-N-tambwe
18-5-field SMLOC-PRS-sleep-PASS-FV by AUG-9-lion
'In the forest is slept (by a lion)'
Connotation: *mw'ishamba* is the place where a lion should sleep with a contrastive connotation (e.g, inside a house should be the place for humans to sleep)

(8) FLI: L+L-V+T+A [Transitive, Active]
Mw'ishure hasoma igitabo Mariko
[mwiʃúːɾe hasoma igitaβo maɾíko]
muiʃure hasoma igitabo mariko
mu-i-ʃure ha-Ø-som-a i-ki-tabo mariko
18-5-school SMLOC-PRS-read-FV AUG-7-book Mariko
'In the room Mariko reads'
Connotation: He is the only one in the class reading a book

(9) FLI: L+L-V-PASS +T+ADP [Transitive, Passive]
Mw'ishure hasomwa igitabo na Mariko
[mwiʃúːɾe hasom͡ŋa igitáβo na maɾíko]
muiʃure hasomwa igitabo na mariko
mu-i-ʃuɾe ha-Ø-som-w-a i-ki-tabo na mariko
18-5-school SMLOC-PRS-read-PASS-FV AUG-7-book by Mariko
'In the room is read a book (by Mariko)'

(10) FLI: L+L-V+A+B+T [Ditransitive, Active]
*** Mw'ishure hasomera umwarimu abanyeshure igitabo**
mu-i-ʃure ha-Ø-som-ir-a u-mu-arimu a-ba-ɲeʃure
18-5-school SMLOC-PRS-read-APPL-FV AUG-1-teacher AUG-2-student
i-ki-tabo
AUG-7-book
Intd. 'In the school a teacher reads a book for students'

(11) FLI: L+L-V-PASS +T+B+ADP [Ditransitive, Passive]

Mw'ishure hasomerwa igitabo abanyeshure n'umwarimu

[mwiʃŭːɾe hasomeɾ̥͡gwa igitabo aβaɲêːʃŭːɾe numŋ͡aɾímu]

mwiʃure hasomerwa igitabo abaɲeʃure na umwarimu

mu-i-ʃure	ha-Ø-som-ir-w-a	i-ki-tabo
18-5-school	SMLOC-PRS-read-APPL-PASS-FV	AUG-7-book

a-ba-ɲeʃure	na	u-mu-arimu
AUG-2-student	by	AUG-1-teacher

'In the school is given a book to students by a teacher'

The following sections provide fundamental descriptive information of elicited examples that illustrate the four structural types shown in Table 1, namely Formal Locative Inversion (FLI, 3.2.1.1), Semantic Locative Inversion (SLI, 3.2.1.2), Subject Inversion (SI, 3.2.1.3), and Locative Dislocation (LD, 3.2.1.4).

3.2.1.1 Formal Locative Inversion

As is generally accepted, LI is observed in a context where a specific location denoted by the locative noun, which sits in the post-verbal position in the basic word order as in (12), is topicalised in the discourse as in (13).

(12) Basic word order: FOC+Q+A-V+L

Ni igiki kiryama mugiti

[niːgíki kiɟama mugíti]

ni igiki kirjama mugiti

ni	i-ki-ki	ki-Ø-rjam-a	mu-ki-ti
FOC	AUG-7-what	SM7-PRS-sleeep-FV	18-7-tree

'What sleeps in the tree?'

(13) FLI: L+L-V+A

Mugiti haryama ingwe

[mugíti haɟama iŋgwe]

mugiti harjama iŋgwe

mu-ki-ti ha-Ø-rjam-a i-N-gwe
18-7-tree SM$_{LOC}$-PRS-sleep-FV AUG-9-leopard
'In the tree sleeps a leopard'
< As an answer to the question: 'What sleeps inside the tree'

As presented in detail in 3.3.3, Kirundi has a conjugational system that distinguishes CJ and DJ verb forms. Example (13) illustrates that CJ, which is an unmarked verb form in focus marking conjugation, is grammatically well-formed in FLI, while the corresponding DJ form, which is typically marked by TAM *ra-* and traditionally described as a focused verb form[6] can also be used in FLI, as illustrated in (14).

(14) FLI [DJ]: L+$_{L\text{-}D}$-V+A
Mugiti hararyama ingwe
[mugíti haɾaɟâːma iŋgwe]
mugiti hararjama iŋgwe
mu-ki-ti ha-Ø-ra-rjam-a i-N-gwe
18-7-tree SM$_{LOC}$-PRS-DJ-sleep-FV AUG-9-leopard
'In the tree **can be** slept by a leopard'

It is suggested by our native collaborator that the DJ form in (14) semantically denotes 'possibility/capacity' (as a place to sleep by a leopard) of the raised locative *mugiti* 'in/inside the tree'. The semantic connotation expressed by DJ will be further discussed in 3.3.3.5.

On the other hand, there seems to be a syntactic restriction on FLI. As shown in (15), a clause can be grammatically unacceptable if any syntactic constituent intervenes between the inverted locative subject and the predicate (in this case, the AUX *hariko*) as in (15a), while it is grammatically acceptable when they are adjacent as in (15b). Thus, the ungrammaticality of the sentence can be explained through the violation of the subject-verb adjacency, i.e., a subject-

[6] See Nshemezimana and Bostoen (2017) for further discussions of the functionality of DJ in Kirundi.

marked noun, *mwiʃamba* in this case, should either immediately precede or follow the verb.

(15) a. FLI [DJ]: L+A+L-AUX+L-D-V

* **Mw'ishamba imbwebwe hariko hariruka**

mu-i-ʃamba i-N-bwebwe ha-ri-ko ha-Ø-ra-iruk-a

18-5-field AUG-9-jackal SMLOC-be-EXT SMLOC-PRS-DJ-run-FV

Intd: 'In the forest a jackal is running'

b. FLI [DJ]: L+L-AUX+L-D-V+A

Mw'ishamba hariko hariruka imbwebwe

[mwiʃâːmba haɾikó haɾîːɾuka imb͡géːb͡ge]

mwiʃamba hariko hariiruka imbwebwe

mu-i-ʃamba ha-ri-ko ha-Ø-ra-iruk-a i-N-bwebwe

18-5-field SMLOC-be-EXT SMLOC-PRS-DJ-run-FV AUG-9-jackal

'In the forest there is a jackal running'

Finally, as shown in (16), it is suggested that dropping of the agent NP is basically unacceptable, i.e., post-verbal NP cannot be omitted as generally observed in other languages (see Marten [2006] for a comparative overview). As reflected in the translation, this structure can only be possible when the preverbal argument is syntactically construed as the agent=subject of the predicate, although it is semantically unexpected in a usual context.

(16) FLI [DJ]: L+L-AUX+L-D-V → Basic word order [DJ]: A+A-AUX+A-D-V

\# **Mw'ishamba hariko hariruka**

[mwiʃâːmba haɾikó haɾîːɾuka]

mwiʃamba hariko hariiruka

mu-i-ʃamba ha-ri-ko ha-Ø-ra-iruk-a

18-5-field SMLOC-be-EXT SMLOC-PRS-DJ-run-FV

'The forest is running'

Intd. 'In the forest there is something running'

This ungramaticality seems to be irrelevant to the CJ/DJ alternation, as evident in the following example where the verb form is altered to a CJ form followed by a post-verbal constituent.

(17) FLI: L+$_{L-}$AUX+$_{L-}$V+Adv → Basic word order: A+$_{A-}$AUX+$_{A-}$V+Adv

\# **Mw'ishamba hariko hiruka cane**

[mwiʃâːmba haɾikó hǐːɾuka tʃáːne]

mwiʃamba hariko hiiruka cane

mu-i-ʃamba ha-ri-ko ha-Ø-iruk-a

18-5-field SM$_{LOC}$-be-EXT SM$_{LOC}$-PRS-run-FV

'The savannah is running fast'

Intd. 'In the forest there is something running fast'

3.2.1.2 Semantic Locative Inversion

As illustrated in (18), SLI is apparently not grammatically acceptable in Kirundi.

(18) SLI [DJ]: SL+$_{SL-D-}$V+A

* **Ishamba ririko ririruka imbwebwe**

i-ʃamba ri-ri-ko ri-Ø-ra-iruk-a i-N-bwebwe

5-field SM$_5$-be-EXT SM$_5$-PRS-DJ-run-FV AUG-9-jackal

Intd. 'In the forest, a jackal is running (lit. The forest runs a jackal)'

However, the ungrammaticality relevant to (18) can be resolved if the locative clitic *=mwo* is attached to the verb, i.e., the clitic licenses the preverbal semantic locative noun to be syntactically parsed as a formal locative noun as illustrated in (19a). The predicate can also be passivised, in which case, the clause may instead be interpreted as a simple, non-inverted passive construction as in (19b).

(19) a. SLI [DJ]: SL+$_{SL-}$AUG+$_{SL-D-}$V$_{=L}$+A

Ishamba ririko ririrukamwo imbwebwe

[iʃaːmba ɾiɾikó ɾiɾîːɾukámŋ̀ó imb͡géːb͡ge]
iʃamba ririko ririirukamwo imbwebwe
i-ʃamba ri-ri-ko ri-Ø-ra-iruk-a=mu-o i-N-bwebwe
5-field SM5-be-EXT SM5-PRS-DJ-run-FV=PP17-DEM.M AUG-9-jackal
'In the forest a jackal is running/ In the forest, there is a jackal running'

b. SLI [DJ]: SL+SL-AUG+SL-D-V-PASS=L+ADP
Ishamba ririko ririrukwamwo n'imbwebwe
[iʃaːmba ɾiɾikó ɾiɾîːɾukwámŋ̀ó nimb͡géːb͡ge]
iʃamba ririko ririirukwamwo nimbwebwe
i-ʃamba ri-ri-ko ri-Ø-ra-iruk-w-a=mu-o na
5-field SM5-be-EXT SM5-PRS-DJ-run-PASS-FV=PP17-DEM.M by
i-N-bwebwe
AUG-9-jackal
'In the forest a jackal is running/ In the forest, there is a jackal running' (Lit. 'The forest is being run by a jackal')

3.2.1.3 Subject Inversion

As illustrated in (20), SI itself seems to be syntactically acceptable regardless of whether a logical subject occupies the immediately after the verb (IAV) or the clause-final position.

(20) SI (Verb raising): A-V+A+L
a. **Yinjiye umusuma mu nzu**
[ijindʒijé umusuma muːndzú]
iinʒije umusuma munzu
a-Ø-inʒi-je u-mu-suma mu-nzu
SM1-PRS-enter-PERF AUG-1-thief 18-house
'In the house entered the thief'

b. SI (Verb raising): A-V+L+A
Yinjiye mu nzu umusuma

[ijindʒijé muːndzu umusúma]
iinʒije umusuma munzu
a-Ø-inʒi-je u-mu-suma mu-nzu
SM1-PRS-enter-PERF AUG-1-thief 18-house
'The thief entered the house'

However, this is not the case when locative raising is concerned. As shown in (21), a locative noun cannot precede the verb when a syntactic subject is inverted to the post-verbal position.

(21) SI [CJ]: L+A-V+A
* **Mugiti iryama ingwe**
mu-ki-ti i-Ø-rjam-a i-N-gwe
18-7-tree SM9-PRS-sleep-FV AUG-9-leopard
Indt: 'Inside the tree sleeps a leopard'

Based on these facts, it is naturally assumed that SI is only acceptable when no noun phrase is raised to the preverbal position. However, as illustrated in (22), locative raising can be compatible with SI when i) a raised locative noun is grammatically agreed in the object marker (OM) slot of the verb and ii) the verb is in the DJ form inflected by the TAM prefix *ra-*.

(22) SI [DJ]: L+A-D-L-V+A
Mw'ishamba iraharyama intambwe
[mwiʃaːmba iɾaháɟaːma in̊aːmb͡ge]
mwiʃamba iɾaharjama intambwe
mu-i-ʃamba i-Ø-ɾa-ha-rjam-a i-N-tambwe
18-5-field SM9-PRS-DJ-OMLOC-sleep-FV AUG-9-lion
'In the forest sleeps a lion'

Examples (23a) and (23b) suggest that violation of either of the abovementioned conditions will result in ungrammaticality.

(23) a. SI [DJ]: L+A-D-V+A

* **Mw'ishamba iraryama intambwe**

mu-i-ʃamba i-Ø-ɾa-rjam-a i-N-tambwe

18-5-field SM9-PRS-DJ-sleep-FV AUG-9-lion

Intd. 'In the forest sleeps a lion'

b. SI [CJ]: L+A-L-V+A

* **Mw'ishamba iharyama intambwe**

mu-i-ʃamba i-Ø-ha-rjam-a i-N-tambwe

18-5-field SM9-PRS-OMLOC-sleep-FV AUG-9-lion

Intd. 'In the forest sleeps a lion'

However, there is also a case where the lack of OM is seemingly irrelevant to ungrammaticality. For example, (24b), which can be interpreted as a semantic equivalent of (24a), lacks an OM referring to the raised locative, but is still grammatically acceptable (Note that (24b) is NOT in an applicative form, in contrast to (24a)).

(24) a. SI [DJ]: L+A-D-L-V+A

Munzu irahakinira imbwa

[mu:ndzu iɾahakiniɾa imb͡ga] (tone omitted)

mu-n-zu i-ra-ha-kin-ir-a i-N-bwa

17-9-house SM9-DJ-OMLOC-play-APPL-FV AUG-9-dog

'In the house plays a dog'

b. SI [DJ]: L+A-D-V+A

Munzu irakina imbwa

[mu:ndzu iɾakina imb͡ga] (tone omitted)

mu-n-zu i-ra-kin-a i-N-bwa

17-9-house SM9-DJ-play-FV AUG-9-dog

'In the house plays a dog'

This may be partially explained by the fact that when an inverted locative noun can be interpreted as having been assigned a thematic role of patient, then SI is not blocked by the lack of DJ marking nor of OM that shows grammatical agreement with the raised locative noun, as illustrated in (25b) and (25c).

(25) a. SI [DJ]: P+$_{A\text{-}D\text{-}P\text{-}}$V+A+T

Munzu arahasiga mariko irangi ryera

[muːndzú aɾahasiːga maɾíko iɾáŋgi r̥̆gĕːɾa]

munzu arahasiga mariko iraŋgi rjeera

mu-n-zu	a-Ø-ra-ha-sig-a	mariko	i-raŋgi	ri-era
18-5-home	SM$_1$-PRS-DJ-OM$_{LOC}$-paint-FV	Mariko	5-colour	PP$_5$-white

'Mariko is painting inside the house **white**'

b. SI [DJ]: P+$_{A\text{-}D\text{-}}$V+A+T

Munzu arasiga mariko irangi ryera

[muːndzú aɾasiːga maɾíko iɾáŋgi r̥̆gĕːɾa]

munzu arasiga mariko iraŋgi rjeera

mu-n-zu	a-Ø-ra-sig-a	mariko	i-raŋgi	ri-era
18-5-home	SM$_1$-PRS-DJ-paint-FV	Mariko	5-colour	PP$_5$-white

'Mariko **is painting** the house white'

> Focus is on the verb *ku-siga* 'to paint'

c. SI [CJ]: P+$_{A\text{-}P\text{-}}$V+A+T

Munzu ahasiga mariko irangi ryera

[muːndzú ahasiːga maɾíko iɾáŋgi r̥̆gĕːɾa]

munzu ahasiga mariko iraŋgi rjeera

mu-n-zu	a-Ø-ha-sig-a	mariko	i-raŋgi	ri-era
18-5-home	SM$_1$-PRS-OM$_{LOC}$-paint-FV	Mariko	5-colour	PP$_5$-white

'Mariko is painting the house white (contrasting other rooms painted in different colours)'

3.2.1.4 Locative Dislocation

As expected, simple LD, i.e., locative raising without agreement on the verb,

is grammatically acceptable. Note however that whether a raised locative noun needs to be marked in the agreement slot on the verb remains unclear. The absence of OM which agrees with the raised locative seems to be ungrammatical in (27), whereas OM can be omitted in the DJ-marked stative verb inflected by the suffix *-je* as illustrated in (28).

(26) LD [DJ]: L+A+$_{\text{A-D-L-}}$V

Mugiti ingwe iraharyama

[mugití iŋgwe iraháɻama]

mugiti iŋgwe iraharjama

mu-ki-ti i-N-gwe i-Ø-ra-ha-rjam-a

18-7-tree AUG-9-leopard SM9-PRS-DJ-OM$_{\text{LOC}}$-sleep-FV

'In the tree sleeps a leopard'

< As an answer to the question: 'Does a leopard sleeps inside the tree?'

(27) LD [DJ]: L+A+$_{\text{A-D-}}$V

* **Mw'ishamba intambwe iraryama**

mu-i-ʃamba i-N-tambwe i-Ø-ra-rjam-a

18-5-field AUG-9-lion SM9-PRS-DJ-sleep-FV

Intd. 'In the forest a lion sleeps'

(28) LD [DJ]: L+A+$_{\text{A-D-}}$V$_{\text{-PERF}}$

Mucumba umwana araryamye

[mutʃûːmba um͡ŋâːna aɾaɻâːmje]

mutʃumba umwana ararjamje

mu-ki-umba u-mu-ana a-Ø-ra-rjam-je

18-7-room AUG-1-child SM1-PRS-DJ-sleep-PERF

'In the room a child sleeps' **[01057]**

On the other hand, there seems to be no restriction on the existence of a subject noun phrase, i.e., the preverbal agent=subject can be present or omitted.

(29) LD [DJ]: L+A+A-D-L-V

Mw'ishamba intambwe iraharyama

[mwiʃa:mba iɲambg͡e iɾahájama]

mwiʃamba intambwe iraharjama

mu-i-ʃamba i-N-tambwe i-Ø-ra-ha-rjam-a

18-5-field AUG-9-lion SM9-PRS-DJ-OMLOC-sleep-FV

'A lion sleeps in the forest' **[01033]**

(30) LD [DJ]: L+A-D-L-V

Mw'ishamba iraharyama

[mwiʃa:mba iɾahájama]

mwiʃamba iraharjama

mu-i-ʃamba i-Ø-ra-ha-rjam-a

18-5-field SM9-PRS-DJ-OMLOC-sleep-FV

'It (a lion) sleeps in the forest'

In terms of the CJ form, example (31a) is accepted as syntactically 'incomplete' due to the lack of a post-verbal element. This syntactic incompleteness, however, is resolved by adding a post-verbal constituent such as adverbials, as illustrated in (31b). A detailed sketch of the structural restrictions pertaining to the CJ/DJ distinction is provided in 3.3.3.

(31) a. LD [CJ]: L+A+A-V

* **Mugiti ingwe iryama**

mu-ki-ti i-N-gwe i-Ø-rjam-a

18-7-tree AUG-9-leopard SM9-PRS-sleep-FV

Intd: 'In the tree a leopard sleeps'

b. LD [CJ]: L+A+A-V+Adv

Mugiti ingwe iryama neza

[mugití iŋgwe iɟa:má nedz̊͡a]

mugiti iŋgwe irjama neza

mu-ki-ti	i-N-gwe	i-Ø-rjam-a	neza
18-7-tree	AUG-9-leopard	SM9-PRS-sleep-FV	well

'In the tree a leopard sleeps well'

3.2.2 Patient Inversion

For PI, Marten and Van der Wal (2014) state a cross-Bantu typological overview with a specific mention of Kirundi as follows;

(32) "Much has been written about the use of and restrictions on patient inversion. Semantically, it has been noted for Kirundi and Kinyarwanda that the two arguments of the verb need to differ in animacy, and that the logical subject needs to be higher in animacy (Kimenyi 1980; Morimoto 2000, 2006). Pragmatically, the construction shares aspects of locative inversion: **the initial DP often provides the background of the assertion**, and there is focus on the post-verbal subject: [...] For Kinyarwanda, Kimenyi (1980: 141–146) argues that the preverbal DP is not a subject, but functions as a topic and does not have typical subject properties. In fact the only subject property of preverbal DPs in patient inversion, according to Kimenyi (1980), is verbal agreement. Morimoto (2000, 2006) correspondingly proposes that **agreement in patient inversion is 'topic' agreement**, rather than subject agreement."

Marten and Van der Wal (2014: 331); emphasis added

As suggested in (32), it appears in the literature that the inverted noun phrase, be it in LI or PI, serves as a topic element that provides the contextual background of the utterance in question. On the other hand, Shinagawa and Marten (2021a) offers an argument based on the survey on a large-scale database compiling morphosyntactic features in Bantu languages (Marten et al. 2018). Specifically, a clear tendency is observed in which PI tends to be avoided in languages with major focus marking strategies, such as MFM and CJ/DJ distinction, in contrast to LI which does not show any significant correlation with major focus marking strategies. Thus, it can be regarded as a

positive strategy of assigning term focus to an inverted noun phrase. In this context, Kirundi is one of the few apparent exceptions to the generalisation and thus necessitates a detailed description of the basic structural properties of PI, which is provided in the following sections.

3.2.2.1 Fundamental structural features of PI in Kirundi

Kirundi, along with its neighbouring Kinyarwanda, is well recognised for the existence of the PI construction, which is frequently cited in the literature including Meeussen (1959) for Kirundi and Kimenyi (1976) for Kinyarwanda. Examples (33a) is one of the typical examples of PI, which is a slightly modified version of the example cited in Kimenyi (1976: 146).

(33) a. PI: P+$_{P}$-V+A

Igitabo gisoma Yohani

[igitáβo gisoma joháni]

igitabo kisoma johani

i-ki-tabo ki-Ø-som-a johani

AUG-7-book SM$_{7}$-PRS-read-FV Yohani

'Yohani reads a book'

b. Basic word order: A+$_{A}$-V+P

Yohani asoma igitabo

[johă:ni asoma igitábo]

johani asome igitabo

johani a-Ø-som-a i-ki-tabo

Yohani SM$_{1}$-PRS-read-FV AUG-7-book

'Yohani reads a book'

As in (34), PI with the DJ form is also acceptable.

(34) a. PI [DJ]: P+$_{P\text{-}D}$-V+A

Umuryango urugara Yohani

[umuɟâːŋgo urugara joháni]
umurjaŋgo urugara johani
u-mu-rjaŋgo u-Ø-ra-ugar-a johani
AUG-3-door SM3-PRS-DJ-close-FV Yohani
'Yohani will close the door'

b. Basic word order [DJ]: A+A-D-V+P
Yohani arugara umuryango
[johǎːni arugara umuɟâːŋgo]
johani arugara umurjaŋgo
johani a-Ø-ra-ugar-a u-mu-rjaŋgo
Yohani SM1-PRS-DJ-close-FV AUG-3-door
'Yohani will close the door'

It should be noted that in his comprehensive description on Kinyarwanda, Kimenyi (1976: 145) explicitly states that the semantic interpretation of PI (in his ternm, 'object-subject reversal') "is a syntactic process that gives a passive rending to a sentence by just reversing the object and the subject". In this sense, the 'passive reading' of PI is well reflected in (35a), whose semantic connotation is quite similar to its corresponding passive sentence in (35b). Although previous studies tend to focus on its relevance to information structure, it should not be overlooked that the passive connotation that Kimenyi describes is also clearly observed in the PI in Kirundi. In other words, PI may be not only solely associated with IS, but also motivated by the need for valency-related control.

(35) a. PI: P+P-V+A
Inyama iriye Fara
[iɲamá iɾije fára]
iɲama irije fara
i-N-ama i-Ø-ri-je fara
AUG-9-meat SM9-PRS-eat-PERF Fara

‘Fara ate the meat’ **[01243]**

b. Basic word order (passive): P+P-V-PASS+ADP

Inyama iriwe na Fara

[iɲamá iɾi:we ná faɾa]

iɲama iriiwe na fara

i-N-ama	i-Ø-ri-w-je	na	fara
AUG-9-meat	SM9-PRS-eat-PASS-PERF	by	Fara

‘The meat was eaten by Fara’

Interestingly, there are few cases where a causative verb stem apparently seems to be blocked in PI as in (36).

(36) a. PI: P+P-V-CAUS+A

* **Abana arijije Fara**?

[aβâ:na aɾidʒidʒe fáɾa]

abaana ariʒiʒe fara

a-ba-ana	a-Ø-rij-iʃ-je	fara
AUG-2-child	SM1-PRS-cry-CAUS-PERF	Fara

Intd. ‘Fara made children cry’

b. Basic word order (passive): P+P-V-CAUS-PASS+ADP

Abana barijijwe na Fara

[aβâ:na βaɾidʒid͡ʒgʷe ná faɾa]

abaana bariʒiʒwe na fara

a-ba-ana	ba-Ø-rij-iʃ-w-je	na	fara
AUG-2-child	SM2-PRS-cry-CAUS-PASS-PERF	by	Fara

‘A child is made to cry by Fara’

As it has been repeatedly argued in the literature, one of the significant pragmatic effects of the construction is the assignment of focus to the inverted (demoted) subject (Marten and Van der Wal 2014, Van der Wal 2022, Shinagawa and Marten 2021a). The following examples clearly illustrate that

PI is part of syntactic operation to move a term-focused constituent to the syntactically dedicated position. As discussed in Gibson et al. (2017) it is striking that Kirundi utilises the clause final position for syntactic marking of focus, in contrast to typical Bantu languages where 'immediately after the verb' (IAV) is the syntactic position for a term focused constituent.

(37) a. Basic word order: A+$_{A}$-AUX+INF+P

Yohani yamaze gusoma igitabo

[joháni ja:madze gusomá igitáβo]

johani jaamaze gusoma igitabo

johani	ju-a-mar-je	ku-soma	i-ki-tabo
Yohani	PP$_1$-PST.N-finish-PERF	15-read	AUG-7-book

'Yohani has read **a book**/ finished to read **a book**'

b. PI: P+$_{P}$-AUX+INF+A

Igitabo camaze gusoma Yohani

[igitáβo tʃa:madze gusoma joháni]

igitabo tʃa:maze gusoma johani

igitabo	ki-a-mar-je	ku-soma	johani
AUG-7-book	SM$_7$-PST.N-finish-PERF	15-read	Yohani

'**Yohani** has read a book/ finished to read a book'

This focus effect achieved by PI is more specifically confirmed in the next example where PI is used in a clear context in which the logical subject of the patient-inverted clause is in contrastive focus.

(38) Clause compound

Intambwe iriko iratambuka ariko iriko iriruka imbwebwe

[iɲamb͡ge irikíratâ:mbuka arikirikiɾ̌:rukimb͡gé:b͡ge]

intambwe iriko iratambuka ariko iriko iriiruka imbwebwe

Basic word order [DJ]: A+$_{A-}$AUX+$_{A-D-}$V
i-N-tambwe i-ri-ko i-Ø-ra-tambuk-a
AUG-9-lion SM9-be-EXT SM9-PRS-DJ-walk-FV

PI [DJ]: $_{A-}$AUX+$_{A-D-}$V+A
ariko i-ri-ko i-Ø-ra-iruk-a i-N-bwebwe
but SM9-be-EXT SM9-PRS-DJ-run-FV AUG-9-jackal
'A lion is walking but a jackal is running'

In terms of structural aspects, no clear restriction seemingly exists for PI to appear in an embedded complement clause as in the following examples.

(39) a. PI (embedded complement clause): $_{C}$[P+$_{P-}$V+A]
Nabonye umuryango wugaye Yohani
[nabôːɲe umuɻâːŋgo uːgaje johá:ni]
naboɲe umurjaŋgo uugaje johani
N-a-bon-je u-mu-rjaŋgo u-Ø-ugar-je johani
SM1SG-PST.N-see-PERF AUG-3-door SM3-PRS-close-PERF Yohani
'I saw **Yohani** had closed a door'
Connotation: 'I'm confirming that the door has been closed BY YOHANI'

b. Basic word order (embedded complement clause): $_{C}$[A+$_{A-}$V+P]
Nabonye Yohani yugaye umuryango
[nabôːɲe johá:ni jûːgaje umuɻâːŋgo]
naboɲe johani juugaje umurjaŋgo
N-a-bon-je johani ju-a-ugar-je
SM1SG-PST.N-see-PERF Yohani PP1-PST.N-close-PERF
u-mu-rjaŋgo
AUG-3-door
'I saw Yohani had closed **a door**'
Connotation: 'I'm confirming that the DOOR has been closed'

c. PI (embedded complement clause): C[P+P-AUX+INF+A]

Nabonye umuryango wamaze kugara Yohani

[nabôːɲe umuɟâːŋgo waːmadze kugara johá:ni]

naboɲe umurjaŋgo waamaze kugara johani

N-a-bon-je u-mu-rjaŋgo u-a-mar-ie

SM1SG-PST.N-see-PERF AUG-3-door SM3-PST.N-finish-PERF

ku-ugara johani

15-close Yohani

'I saw **Yohani** had closed a door'

Connotation: 'I'm confirming that the door has been closed BY YOHANI'

d. Basic word order (embedded complement clause):

C[A+A-AUX+INF+P]

Nabonye Yohani yamaze kugara umuryango

[nabôːɲé johá:ni jaːmadze kugara umuɟâːŋgo]

naboɲe johani jaamaze kugara umurjaŋgo

N-a-bon-je johani ju-a-mar-ie ku-ugara

SM1SG-PST.N-see-PERF Yohani PP1-PST.N-finish-PERF 15-close

u-mu-rjaŋgo

AUG-3-door

'I saw Yohani had closed **a door**'

Connotation: 'I'm confirming that the DOOR has been closed'

3.2.2.2 Patient left-dislocation due to SI

Another syntactic operation by which a term-focused subject moves to the clause final position as the focus position is the patient left-dislocation. In this case, a syntactic object with a thematic role of patient is raised to the clause initial position without being licensed as a syntactic subject as in (40).

(40) Patient left-dislocation with SI: P+A-D-V+A

Inyama yariye Fara

[iɲama jaɾiːje fáɾa]
iɲama jariije fara
i-N-ama ju-a-ri-je fara
AUG-9-meat PP1-PST.N-eat-PERF Fara
'**Fara** ate the meat' **[01228]**

As illustrated in (41), patient left-dislocation construction is attested in the context of main clause negation, which is marked by the verbal proclitic *nti*=.

(41) a. Patient left-dislocation (NEG): P+$_{NEG=P-}$V+A
Umuryango ntiwugara Yohani
[umuɟâːŋgo ńiugára johá:ni]
umurjaŋgo ntijugara johani
u-mu-rjaŋgo nti=u-Ø-ugar-a johani
AUG-3-door NEG-SM3-PRS-close-FV Yohani
'**Yohani** will not close the door'

b. Basic word order (NEG): A+$_{NEG=A-}$V+P
Yohani ntiyugara umuryango
[johá:ni ńijuːgára umuɟâːŋgo]
johani ntijuugara umurjaŋgo
johani nti=ju-Ø-ugar-a u-mu-rjaŋgo
Yohani NEG-PP1-PRS-close-FV AUG-3-door
'Yohani will not close **the door**'

3.3 Focus marking and information structure

This section provides a basic description of the major mono-clausal strategies[7] of focus marking observed in this language. Focus is generally defined as "the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the

[7] The cleft construction as another major syntactic means of expressing term focus is not included in a scope of this chapter, since the direct concern of this chapter is mono-clausal expressions. For the detailed descriptions and analysis of the cleft constructions in Kirundi, see Lafkioui et al. (2016).

assertion differs from the presupposition" (Lambrecht [1994: 213]). Thus, focus is pragmatically salient in that it is assumed by the speaker to be either new, unpredicted, or contrary to the addressee's expectations (cf. Dik 1997). Based on this definition, Güldemann (2003: 332) classifies the basic concepts on focus as follows. Focus can be classified in terms of quality and scope. Quality is further categorised into two types. The first denotes a piece of information that (a) fills a gap in the pragmatic information of the addressee (assertive focus), whereas the other (b) contrasts with expectation of the addressee (contrastive focus). In terms of scope, it is subclassified as (i) term focus, which is on the nominal argument, (ii) verb focus, which is on the lexical meaning of the verb, and (iii) predicate-centred focus, which is on the functional operators usually expressed on the predicate such as tense, aspect, modality and polarity. This chapter basically follows this conceptualisation, which is summarised in Table 3.

Table 3. Summary of the classification of the concepts on focus
(Based on Güldemann 2003: 332)

Quality (communicative point) of focus	
(a) Information gap	> ASSERTIVE FOCUS
(b) Contrastive information	> CONTRASTIVE FOCUS
Scope of focus	
(i) Term (nominal and other arguments)	> TERM FOCUS
(ii) Verb lexeme	> VERB FOCUS
(iii) Predication operator	> PREDICATE-CENTRED FOCUS

In terms of the formal means of expressing focus, it is widely recognised that focus in Bantu languages can be structurally expressed through various operations at the prosodic, morphological, and syntactic levels (see Nurse [2006] for an extensive list of focus marking strategies in Bantu languages). In Kirundi, all the three components take part in different focus marking strategies in one way or another. The remaining part of this chapter presents a basic description of each of the attested strategies for expressing focus, namely

syntactic operation (3.3.1), morphological marking (3.3.2), and conjugational patterns that are structurally marked by a combinatory means of prosody, morphology, and syntax (3.3.3).

3.3.1 Word order: especially in relation to object symmetry

3.3.1.1 General tendencies

As demonstrated in 3.2, the word order in Kirundi relatively faithfully reflects the general tendency that topic is fronted while focus moves to the post verbal position. Thus, in (42) the question word *hehe*, which is naturally focused, is placed at the post-verbal position, whereas the corresponding focus in the answer *mw'ishamba* is also at the post-verbal position. On the other hand, in a question sentence that interrogates the agent=subject as in (43), the question word *igiki* is marked by a focus marking morpheme *ni* instead of being dislocated to the post-verbal position, whereas the focused element in the answer, which is the agent *intambwe*, moves to the clause final position as expected.

(42) a. Basic word order (question): A+$_{A}$-V+Q

Intambwe iryama hehe

[iǹâːmb͡ge iɟama hehe]

intambwe irjama hehe

i-N-tambwe	i-Ø-rjam-a	hehe
AUG-9-lion	SM9-PRS-sleep-FV	where

'Where does a lion sleep?' **[cf. 01021]**

b. Basic word order: A+$_{A}$-V+L

Intambwe iryama mw'ishamba

[iǹâːmb͡ge iɟama mwiʃâːmba]

intambwe irjama mwiʃamba

i-N-tambwe	i-Ø-rjam-a	mu-i-ʃamba
AUG-9-lion	SM9-PRS-sleep-FV	18-5-field

'A lion sleeps in the forest'

(43) a. Basic word order (question): FOC+Q+$_{A}$-V+L

Ni igiki kiryama mw'ishamba

[niːgíki kiɟama mwiʃâːmba]

ni igiki kirjama mwiʃamba

ni i-ki-ki ki-Ø-rjam-a mu-i-ʃamba

FOC AUG-7-what SM$_{7}$-PRS-sleep-FV 18-5-field

'What sleeps in the forest?' **[01027]**

b. FLI: L+$_{L}$-V+A

Mw'ishamba haryama intambwe

[mwiʃaːmba haɟama iɲâːmb͡ge]

mwiʃamba harjama intambwe

mu-i-ʃamba ha-Ø-rjam-a i-N-tambwe

18-5-field SM$_{LOC}$-PRS-sleep-FV AUG-9-lion

'A lion sleeps in the forest' **[01030]**

As presented in 3.2.1, a subject can be dislocated in different ways. Example (44a) presents a case where the subject is dislocated through SI (3.2.1.3), i.e., with the subject kept agreed in the SM slot of the verb. On the other hand, dislocation in (44b) co-occurs with PI (3.2.2), i.e., the raised patient is subject-marked on the verb.

(44) a. SI: P+$_{A}$-V+A

Inyama yariye Fara

[iɲama jaɾije fáɾa]

iɲama jariije fara

i-N-ama ju-a-ri-je fara

AUG-9-meat PP$_{1}$-PST.N-eat-PERF Fara

'Fara ate the meat' **[01228]**

b. PI: P+$_{P}$-V+A

Inyama iriye Fara

[iɲama iɾije fáɾa]

iɲama irije fara
i-N-ama i-Ø-ri-je fara
AUG-9-meat SM9-PRS-eat-PERF Fara
'Fara ate the meat' **[01243]**

According to our native collaborator, the semantic difference between the two can be clarified as follows. While the post-verbal agent is focused in both sentences, (44b) can be typically used in such a context where the meat was served for the speaker but someone else instead ate it. This may be relevant to the 'passive connotation' described by Kimenyi (1976: 145).

3.3.1.2 Clause-final as a syntactic position for term focus

As is widely recognised, the most typical position dedicated to term focus in many Bantu languages is the IAV position. However, as Gibson et al. (2017) points out, Kirundi tends to utilise the clause-final position for marking term focus (cf. 3.3.1.3; see also Van der Wal 2017; Van der Wal 2022). The following examples illustrate this tendency.

(45) a. Double Object Construction: A+$_{A}$-V+T+B
Mariko yaguriye inyama abana
[maɾíko jaǧuɾije iɲama aβâːna]
mariko jagurije iɲama abaana
mariko ju-a-gur-i-je i-N-ama a-ba-ana
Mariko PP1-PST.N-buy-APPL-PERF AUG-9-meat AUG-2-child
'Mariko bought meat **for children**'

b. Double Object Construction: A+$_{A}$-V+B+T
Mariko yaguriye abana inyama
[maɾíko jaǧuɾije aβâːna iɲama]
mariko jagurije abaana iɲama
mariko ju-a-gur-i-je a-ba-ana i-N-ama
Mariko PP1-PST.N-buy-APPL-PERF AUG-2-child AUG-9-meat

‘For children Mariko bought **meat**’

What may be more striking is that, unlike in many Bantu languages where DJ forms do not take a post-verbal nominal as its direct object, DJ forms in Kirundi can take not only one object nominal but even two full object NPs, wherein the one in the clause-final position is interpreted as a focused element. In terms of the semantic difference between the CJ form and the DJ form, our collborator suggests that the DJ forms tend to be used as a reporting statement where a specific event has just occurred (the present perfect reflects this connotation).

(46) a. Double Object Construction [DJ]: A+$_{\text{A-D-}}$V+T+B
Mariko yaraguriye inyama abana
[maɾíko jaɾáǧuɾije iɲama aβâːna]
mariko jaragurije iɲama abaana
mariko ju-a-ra-gur-ir-je i-N-ama a-ba-ana
Mariko PP1-PST.N-DJ-buy-APPL-PERF AUG-9-meat AUG-2-child
‘Mariko has bought meat **for children**’

b. Double Object Construction [DJ]: A+$_{\text{A-D-}}$V+B+T
Mariko yaraguriye abana inyama
[maɾíko jaɾáǧuɾije aβâːna iɲama]
mariko jaragurije abaana iɲama
mariko ju-a-ra-gur-i-je a-ba-ana i-N-ama
Mariko PP1-PST.N-DJ-buy-APPL-PERF AUG-2-child AUG-9-meat
‘For children Mariko has bought **meat**’

This syntactic flexibility of double object NPs is nothing but a direct reflection of the object symmetry of this language, which, in turn, enables either of the two objects to be in the scope of focus at the clause final position. A cross-Bantu typological survey by Shinagawa and Marten (2021a) suggests that languages with the CJ/DJ distinction generally tend to restrict object order symmetry. Thus, its can be said that Kirundi shows double exceptionalities as

a CJ/DJ language, i.e., the clause-final position for term focus and high object order symmetry. If the two are interrelated, the a possible interpretation of the relationship may be as follows; the object symmetry, which influences a wider range of morphosyntax components than syntactic focus marking, may 'unlock' the syntactic regulations including the positional restriction for the IAV focus as well as other 'atypical' features, including the availability of post-verbal nominals after DJ forms. This is, however, a mere working hypothesis and further comprehensive description is required to enhance the understanding of such an 'exceptionality' observed in this language.

3.3.1.3 Clause-finality and object symmetry

The object symmetry attested in this language is not limited to the order of full object nominals, but observed in the availability of object concordance markers (OMs) in the verbal template, i.e., both objects can equally be licensed as a syntactic (primary) object.

(47) a. Basic word order with an OM: A+$_{A\text{-}B\text{-}}$V+T

Mariko yabaguriye inyama

[maɾíko jaβáǧuɾije iɲâːma]

mariko jabagurije iɲama

mariko ju-a-ba-gur-i-je i-N-ama

Mariko PP$_1$-PST.F-OM$_2$-buy-APPL-PERF AUG-9-meat

'Mariko bought them meat'

b. Basic word order with an OM: A+$_{A\text{-}T\text{-}}$V+B

Mariko yaziguriye abana

[maɾíko jad͡ʒíǧuɾije aβâːna]

mariko jazigurije abaana

mariko ju-a-zi-gur-i-je a-ba-ana

Mariko PP$_1$-PST.F-OM$_{10}$-PST-buy-APPL-PERF AUG-2-child

'Mariko bought them for children'

c. Basic word order with an OM [DJ]: A+$_{A\text{-}D\text{-}B\text{-}}$V+T

Mariko yarabaguriye inyama

[maɾíko jaɾáβaǥúɾije iɲama]

mariko jarabagurije iɲama

mariko ju-a-ra-ba-gur-i-je i-N-ama

Mariko PP$_1$-PST.F-DJ-OM$_2$-buy-APPL-PERF AUG-9-meat

'Mariko has bought them meat'

d. Basic word order with an OM [DJ]: A+$_{A\text{-}D\text{-}T\text{-}}$V+B

Mariko yaraziguriye abana

[maɾíko jaɾádʑ̊iǥúɾije aβâːna]

mariko jazigurije abaana

mariko ju-a-zi-gur-i-je a-ba-ana

Mariko PP$_1$-PST.F.-OM$_{10}$-PST-buy-APPL-PERF AUG-2-child

'Mariko has bought them for children'

In (47a), the applied cl.2 object is agreed and marked in the verb template, whereas the base object in (47b), which is cl. 10, is morphologically marked in the verbal template. The same operation can be applied to DJ forms as illustrated in (47c–d). Moreover, both OMs can structurally be slotted in a single verb form as in (48a), whereas there seems to be a fixed order of OM, i.e., the opposite order in (48b) is accepted as a semantically irregular sentence as the class 10 OM *zi-*, which refers to *inyama* 'meat', is interpreted as a recipient/beneficiary of the event. This case clearly suggests that a rigid rule exist for ordering multiple OMs, which may be similar to that attested in a neighbouring language Haya [JE22], where OMs should be arranged in the following sequential order; instrumental/patient (theme) < goal/benefactive < verb stem, suggesting that the order reflects the topicality hierarchy (Duranti 1979: 39–44).

(48) a. Basic word order with multiple OMs [DJ]: A+$_{A\text{-}D\text{-}T\text{-}B\text{-}}$V

Mariko yarazibaguriye

[maɾíko jaɾádʑ̊iβáǥuɾije]
mariko jarazibagurije
mariko ju-a-ra-zi-ba-gur-i-je
Mariko PP1-PST.N-DJ-OM10-OM2-buy-APPL-PERF
'Mariko has bought them for them'

b. Basic word order with multiple OMs: A+A-D-T-B-V
Mariko yarabaziguriye
mariko ju-a-ra-ba-zi-gur-i-je
Mariko PP1-PST-DJ-OM2-OM10-buy-APPL-PERF
'Mariko bought children for the meat'

Finally, the object marking symmetry can be applied to more than two OMs as long as they follow the fixed order.

(49) Basic word order with multiple OMs [DJ]: A+A-D-T-L-B-V
Mariko yarazihabaguriye
[maɾíko jaɾádʑ̊iháβaǥuɾije]
mariko jarazihabagurije
mariko ju-a-ra-zi-ha-ba-gur-i-je
Mariko PP1-PST.N-DJ-OM10-OMLOC-OM2-buy-APPL-PERF
'Mariko has bought them for them'

3.3.1.4 Verb focus

The verb focus, on the other hand, is seemingly exclusively expressed through DJ forms as shown in (50b).

(50) a. Basic word order (question): A+A-AUX+A-V+Q
Imbwebwe iriko igira iki?
[imb͡gé:b͡ge iɾikó igiɾa íki]
imbwebwe iriko igira iki

i-N-bwebwe i-ri-ko i-Ø-gir-a iki
AUG-9-jackal SM9-be-EXT SM9-PRS-do-FV what
'What is a jackal doing?'

b. PI [DJ]: A-AUX+A-D-V+A
Iriko iriruka imbwebwe
[iɾikó iɾɨ̌ːɾuka imb͡géːb͡ge]
iriko iriiruka imbwebwe
i-ri-ko i-Ø-ra-iruk-a i-N-bwebwe
SM9-be-EXT SM9-PRS-DJ-run-FV AUG-9-jackal
'A jackal is running'

This tendency supports the argument by Nshemezimana and Bostoen (2017), in that the DJ in Kirundi is exclusively used for verb focus. Section 3.3.3 further describes the DJ forms in this language in relation to relevant morphosyntactic contexts including question, subordination, and negation.

3.3.2 Morphological Focus Marking

As in many north eastern Bantu languages, Kirundi also utilises the identificational copula *ni*, as illustrated in (51), as a focus marking device. As (52a) shows, the focus marking *ni* is typically used as procliticised to a question word (or a pronominal word used as a *wh-* word). The MFM *ni* can be omitted only when the sentence is uttered as an echo question, i.e., where both speech participants share a common knowledge about a discourse context.

(51) the origin of *ni* as a copula: (Pseud-)cleft: A+COP+C[A-AUX+A-D-V]
Imbwebwe niyo iriko iriruka
[imb͡géːb͡ge niːjo iɾíko iɾɨ̌ːɾuka]
imbwebwe nijo iriko iriiruka
i-N-bwebwe ni-jo i-ri-ko i-Ø-ra-iruk-a
AUG-9-jackal COP-RES9 SM9-be-EXT SM9-PRS-DJ-run-FV
'It is a jackal that is running'

(52) a. Basic word order (question): FOC+Q+$_{A}$-V+P

Ni inde yariye inyama

[niːndé jaɾîːje iɲáma]

ni inde jariije iɲama

ni	inde	ju-a-ri-je	i-N-ama
FOC	who	PP1-PST.F-eat-PERF	AUG-9-meat

'Who ate the meat?' **[01210]**

b. Basic word order: ~~FOC+~~Q+$_{A}$-V+P

Inde yariye inyama

[indé jaɾîːje iɲáma]

inde jariije iɲama

inde	ju-a-ri-je	i-N-ama
who	PP1-PST.F-eat-PERF	AUG-9-meat

'Who ate the meat?

As shown in 3.3.1.1, a question word should not be procliticised by *ni*, when used in the clause-final position, where term focus is structurally assigned. Simply put, the presence of *ni* indicates a redundant marking of focus.

(53) Basic word order (question): A+$_{A}$-AUX+$_{A}$-V+Q

Imbwebwe iriko igira iki?

[imb͡gé:b͡ge iɾikó igiɾa íki]

imbwebwe iriko igira iki

i-N-bwebwe	i-ri-ko	i-Ø-gir-a	iki
AUG-9-jackal	SM9-be-EXT	SM9-PRS-do-FV	what

'What is a jackal doing?'

Apart from the use of a proclitic to question words, the usage of *ni* is seemingly relatively restricted. As shown in (54), *ni* appears not to be used as a proclitic to a verb, in contrast to the fact that this usage is widely observed in other North Eastern languages (especially in E50 and E60 languages).

(54) Preverbal use of *ni* (ungrammatical)

*** Ni bamukubise**

ni ba-a-mu-kubit-je

FOC SM2-PST.N/F-OM1-hit-PERF

Intd: 'They beat him (this is what happened)'

3.3.3 Conjoint/Disojoint alternation

In a seminal paper that provides a cross-Bantu typological overview of the CJ/DJ distinction, Van der Wal (2017: 15) states the following as a working definition for the distinction:

(55) The conjoint/disjoint alternation is an alternation between verb forms that are formally distinguishable, that are associated with an information-structural difference in the interpretation of verb and/or following element and of which one form is not allowed in sentence-final position.

Van der Wal (2017: 15)

Based on this definition, only CJ can be structurally identified as a form that cannot be used at the clause final position. Example (56a) illustrates such a form in Kirundi. However, its ungrammaticality is resolved once it is followed by a post-verbal constituent as in (56b).

(56) a. Basic word order [CJ]: A+A-AUX+A-V

*** Imbwebwe iriko yiruka**

[imb͡gé:b͡ge iɾikó ijiɾuka]

imbwebwe iriko iiruka

i-N-bwebwe i-ri-ko i-Ø-iruk-a

AUG-9-jackal SM9-be-EXT SM9-PRS-run-FV

Intd. 'A jackal is running'

b. Basic word order [DJ]: A+A-AUX+ A-V+Adv

Imbwebwe iriko yiruka cane

[imb͡gé:b͡ge iɾikó ijiɾuka tʃa:ne]
imbwebwe iriko iiruka cane
i-N-bwebwe i-ri-ko i-Ø-iruk-a cane
AUG-9-jackal SM9-be-EXT SM9-PRS-run-FV fast
'A jackal is running fast'

DJ, on the other hand, can be contrastively identified, i.e., it can be used at the clause final position as in (57). Additionally, while CJ tends to be structurally unmarked, DJ typically features an additional segmental and suprasegmental marking. In Kirundi, DJ is typically marked with the segmental marker *ra-* which is slotted in the TAM slot (or between the TAM sand OM slots) along with an accompanied high tone on the marker.

(57) Basic word order [DJ]: A+$_{A}$-AUX+ $_{A-D}$-V
Imbwebwe iriko iriruka
[imb͡gé:b͡ge iɾikó iɾîːɾuka]
imbwebwe iriko iriiruka
i-N-bwebwe i-ri-ko i-Ø-ra-iruk-a
AUG-9-jackal SM9-be-EXT SM9-PRS-DJ-run-FV
'A jackal is running'

As shown in (58), Kirundi enables the use of DJ with a post verbal element. As mentioned in 3.3.1.2, such forms tend to be used as sentences that report something is happening or has just happened. According to Van der Wal (2017: 19), Kirundi is one of the four sample languages (along with Makhuwa [P31], Bemba [M42], and Sambaa [G23]), where DJ can be followed by a post-verbal constituent,. In contrast, the limited use of DJ in the clause final position is attested in 5 sample languages (i.e., Kinyarwanda [JD61], Zulu [S42], Tswana [S31], Sotho [S33], and Makonde [P23]).

(58) Basic word order [DJ]: A+$_{A}$-AUG+ $_{A-D}$-V+L
Imbwembwe iriko iriruka mw'ishamba

[imb͡gé:b͡ge iɾikó iɾî:ɾuka mwiʃa:mba]
imbwembwe iriko iriiruka mwiʃamba
i-N-bwembwe i-ri-ko i-Ø-ra-iruk-a mu-i-ʃamba
AUG-9-jackal SM9-be-EXT SM9-PRS-DJ-run-FV 18-5-field
'A jackal runs/ is running through the savannah'

According to the pedagogical textbook by Cox (2005), verb forms marked by the TAM marker *ra-* demonstrate the following morphosyntactic characteristics.

(59) Selected morphosyntactic features of the *ra*-marked (DJ) forms (Cox 2005: 19–20)
i. Restriction on the syntactic position: "It is used in stating a simple fact regarding that which is happening now if no phrase or object follows. Occasionally it is used even with an object or phrase." (3.3.3.1)
ii. Usage in polar questions: "It is used in questions and answers to questions when no object or phrase follows." (3.3.3.2)
iii. Restrictions on the use in dependent clauses: "It is never used in a dependent clause, when it expresses present time." (3.3.3.3)
iv. Semantics of TAM *ra-*: "The *ra*-present may express progressive or continuous present." (3.3.3.5)

The following sections provide detailed descriptions of DJ forms in relation to the five different contexts, including those listed in (59), namely restrictions on syntactic adjacency (3.3.3.1), features in question clauses (3.3.3.2), restrictions on subordinate clauses (3.3.3.3), and in the context of negation (3.3.3.4), and semantic connotation (3.3.3.5).

3.3.3.1 DJ and its syntactic restriction

As mentioned in 3.3.1.4, although the verb focus in Kirundi tends to be expressed exclusively by DJ, the clause final position remains a typical position for the focused verb as well. According to our native collaborator, (60a)

highlights the action of running, which is happening in the forest. On the other hand, (60b), which takes an OM that refers to a raised locative, suggests an 'additional' focus on the location *mw'ishamba*.

(60) a. LD [DJ]: L+A+$_{A-}$AUX+$_{A-D-}$V

Mwishamba imbwebwe iriko iriruka

[mwiʃaːmba imb͡geb͡ge iɾikó iɾîːɾuka]

mwiʃamba imbwebwe iriko iriiruka

mu-i-ʃamba	i-N-bwebwe	i-ri-ko	i-Ø-ra-iruk-a
18-5-field	AUG-9-jackal	SM9-be-EXT	SM9-PRS-DJ-run-FV

'Through the forest jackal is running'

b. LD [DJ]: L+A+$_{A-}$AUX +$_{A-D-L-}$V

Mwishamba imbwebwe iriko irahiruka

[mwiʃaːmba imb͡geb͡ge iɾikó iɾahîːɾuka]

mwiʃamba imbwebwe iriko irahiiruka

mu-i-ʃamba	i-N-bwebwe	i-ri-ko	i-Ø-ra-ha-iruk-a
18-5-field	AUG-9-jackal	SM9-be-EXT	SM9-PRS-DJ-OM$_{LOC}$-run-FV

'Through the forest jackal is running'

While DJ in Kirundi shows a syntactic flexibility in that it may or may not be followed by a post-verbal constituent, CJ is subject to a structural restriction in which it has to be used with a post-verbal element. Moreover, the element should not be an inverted subject, i.e., the post-verbal slot should be filled by any constituent that is not subject-marked on the verb.

(61) SI: $_{A-}$AUX+$_{A-}$V+A

***Iriko yiruka imbwebwe**

i-ri-ko	i-Ø-iruk-a	i-N-bwebwe
SM9-be-EXT	SM9-PRS-run-FV	AUG-9-jackal

In this sense, it may be worth noting that the CJ form with an OM that refers to

a raised object can be accepted as a grammatical sentence. According to our native collaborator, this verb form sounds a shortened DJ form *i-**ra-**ha-iruk-a.*

(62) LD [CJ]: L+A+$_{A}$-AUX+$_{A\text{-}L}$-V

Mwishamba imbwebwe iriko ihiruka

[mwiʃa:mba imb͡gweb͡ge iɾikó ihî:ɾuka]

mwiʃamba imbwebwe iriko ihiiruka

mu-i-ʃamba i-N-bwebwe i-ri-ko i-Ø-ha-iruk-a

18-5-field AUG-9-jackal SM9-be-EXT SM9-PRS-OM$_{LOC}$-run-FV

'Through the forest jackal is running'

Lastly, it should be noted that while the post-verbal position can be filled even after a DJ verb form, the syntactic property of the post-CJ position and that of the post-DJ position should be described differently. In abovementioned DJ form, the locative phrase following the verb is interpreted as the place where the action is taking place, whereas in a CJ form below, its semantic role is interpreted as a goal. Additional observations on DJ-related semantics will be provided in 3.3.3.5

(63) a. Basic word order [DJ]: A+$_{A}$-AUX+$_{A\text{-}D}$-V+Adv

Imbwebwe iriko iriruka hariya

[imb͡ge:b͡ge iɾikó iɾî:ɾuka háɾĭ:ja]

imbwebwe iriko iriiruka hariija

i-N-bwebwe i-ri-ko i-Ø-ra-iruk-a hariija

AUG-9-jackal SM9-be-EXT SM9-PRS-DJ-run-FV DEM.R16

'A jackal is running around over there'

N.B. NOT 'A jackal is running to(ward) the place'

b. Basic word order [CJ]: A+$_{A}$-AUX+$_{A}$-V+Adv

Imbwebwe iriko yiruka hariya

[imb͡ge:b͡ge iɾikó ijiɾuka haɾĭ:ja]

imbwebwe iriko iiruka harija
i-N-bwebwe i-ri-ko i-Ø-iruk-a hariija
AUG-9-jackal SM9-be-EXT SM9-PRS-run-FV DEM.R16
'A jackal is running toward that place'

3.3.3.2 DJ in question

As stated in (59ii), DJ can be used in a polar question. (64) demonstrates that it can also be used in a polar question even when followed by a post-verbal constituent.

(64) Basic word order (question) [DJ]: A+A-D-V+L
Ingwe iraryama mugiti?
[iŋgwe iɾaɻama mugíti]
iŋgwe irarjama mugiti
i-N-gwe i-Ø-ra-rjam-a mu-ki-ti
AUG-9-leopard SM9-PRS-DJ-sleep-FV 18-7-tree
'Does a leopard sleeps inside the tree?' **[01063]**

However, DJ seems not to be used in a wh-question especially when a question word is placed at the clause initial position and thus the focus marking ni is attached to the question word. This ungrammaticality may be explained by the general restriction that avoids double focus marking (cf. Güldemann 2003: 573–574; Shinagawa and Marten 2021b: 239).

(65) a. Basic word order [CJ]: FOC+Q+A-V-L
Ni igiki kiryama mugiti
[niːgíki kiɻama mugíti]
ni igiki kirjama mugiti
ni i-ki-ki ki-Ø-rjam-a mu-ki-ti
FOC AUG-7-what SM7-PRS-sleep-FV 18-7-tree
'What sleeps in the tree?'

b. Basic word order [DJ]: FOC+Q+S-D-V-L

*** ni igiki kiraɟama mugiti**

ni	i-ki-ki	ki-Ø-ra-rjam-a	mu-ki-ti
FOC	AUG-7-what	SM7-PRS-DJ-sleep-FV	18-7-tree

Intd. 'What sleeps in the tree?'

3.3.3.3 DJ in dependent clauses

As stated in (59iii), a syntactic constraint exists on the use of DJ in dependent clauses. An apparent reflection of such restrictions can be observed in the following examples. As illustrated in (66a), the CJ form is used in a complement clause in a cleft construction headed by a pronominal demonstrative, whereas the use of DJ in the parallel syntactic context in (66b) makes the construction divided into to two independent clauses.

(66) a. Cleft: COP+A+C[S-P-V]

Ni bo bamukubise

[ní βo βă:mukubisé]

ni bo baamukubise

ni	bo	ba-a-mu-kubit-je
COP	PRON2	SM2-PST.F-OM1-hit-PERF

'It is they who beat him'

b. Clausal sequence (copula clause + finite verb): COP+A##A-D-O-V

Ni bo, baramukubise

[ní βo βáramukubise]

ni bo baramukubise

ni	bo	ba-a-ra-mu-kubit-je
FOC	PRON2	PP2-PST.F-DJ-OM1-hit-PERF

'It is them, (and) they beat him' **[01315]**

N.B. NOT 'It is they who beat him'

In addition, the ungrammaticality of DJ in a cleft sentence suggests a syntactic

constraint on the relative clause in this language (cf. Van der Wal [2017: 19–20]).

Alternatively, the DJ form is seemingly freely used in a complement clause embedded in a finite main verb. A complex tense form in (67a) denotes the event happens spontaneously within the temporal scope of the main clause, whereas a simple DJ form in (67b) depicts that the event is expected to occurr shortly.

(67) a. Complement clause [DJ]: C[A+A-AUX+A-D-V+P]
Nabonye Yohani ariko arugururа umuryango
[naβôːɲé joháni aɾíko aɾugurura umuɟâːŋgo]
naboɲe johani ariko arugururа umurjaŋgo
N-a-bon-je johani a-ri-ko
SM1SG-PST.N-see-PERF Yohani SM1-be-EXT
a-Ø-ra-ugur-ur-a u-mu-rjaŋgo
SM1-PRS-DJ-close-REV-FV AUG-3-door
'I've seen Yohani opening the door'

b. Complement clause [DJ]: C[A+A-D-V+P]
Nabonye Yohani arugara umuryango
[naβôːɲé joháni aɾuːgaɾa umuɟâːŋgo]
naboɲe johani aruugara umurjaŋgo
N-a-bon-je johani a-Ø-ra-ugar-a
SM1SG-PST.P-see-PERF Yohani SM1-PRS-DJ-close-FV
u-mu-rjaŋgo
AUG-3-door
'I saw that Yohani would be closing the door (later on)'

3.3.3.4 DJ in negation

Negation is another grammatical process associated with different behaviours pertaining to the CJ/DJ distinction. Van der Wal (2017) points out that there is a cross-linguistic tendency that the formal distinction between CJ

and DJ tends to be blurred in the context of negation (ibid.: 19–20). In many cases, DJ forms are used for (main clause) negation (ibid.: 34–35).

Interestingly, although a clear structural constraint exists on the CJ/DJ distinction in the context of negation, the restriction is imposed on the DJ, i.e., it is DJ that is restricted to occur in the main clause negation instead of the CJ, contrary to the cross-Bantu tendency.

(68) a. LI (NEG) [CJ]: L+$_{NEG=L-}$V+A

Mugiti ntiharyama ingwe

[mugíti ɲihaɟama iŋgwe]

mugiti ntihararjama iŋgwe

mu-ki-ti	nti=ha-Ø-rjam-a	i-N-gwe
18-7-tree	NEG=SM$_{LOC}$-PRS-sleep-FV	AUG-9-leopard

'Inside the tree cannot be slept by a leopard'

b. LI (NEG) [DJ]: L+$_{NEG=L-D-}$V+A

*** Mugiti ntihararyama ingwe**

mu-ki-ti	nti=ha-Ø-ra-rjam-a	i-N-gwe
18-7-tree	NEG=SM$_{LOC}$-PRS-DJ-sleep-FV	AUG-9-leopard

It should be further noted that the use of DJ in the context of main clause negation sounds like 'too much' in light of the intuition of the native speaker. This may also be interpreted as a result of the violation of the double focus restriction as mentioned in 3.3.3.2. In that sense, the following clause compound shows a typical environment of each form, i.e., CJ is used in the negative clause which also serves as part of hearer's expectation to be rejected, while DJ is used in the latter clause which includes the contrastively focused element *iŋgwe*.

(69) a. Basic word order (NEG) [CJ]: A+$_{NEG=A-}$V+L

Intambwe ntiryama mugiti,

[iɲ̊a:mb͡ge ɲ̊iɟama mugíti]

intambwe ntirjama mugiti
i-N-tambwe nti=i-Ø-rjam-a mu-ki-ti
AUG-9-lion NEG=SM9-PRS-sleep-FV 18-7-tree
'A lion does not sleep in the tree,'

b. LD [DJ]: A+L+ A-D-L-V
ariko ingwe mugiti iraharyama
[aɾíko iŋgwe mugíti iɾahájaːma]
ariko iŋgwe mugiti iraharjama
ariko i-N-gwe mu-ki-ti i-Ø-ra-ha-rjam-a
but AUG-9-leopard 18-7-tree SM9-PRS-DJ-OMLOC-sleep-FV
'but a leopard sleeps in the tree'

However, if it is not in such a contrastive context, the structurally corresponding DJ form of (69a) can be used as a main clause negation as in (70).

(70) Basic word order (NEG) [DJ]: A+NEG=A-D-V+L
Intambwe ntiraryama mugiti
[iɲ̊áːmb͡ge ɲ̊iɾaɟâːma mugíti]
intambwe ntirjama mugiti
i-N-tambwe nti=i-Ø-ra-rjam-a mu-ki-ti
AUG-9-lion NEG=SM9-PRS-DJ-sleep-FV 18-7-tree
'The lion has not yet slept in the tree'

Compared with (69a), (70) appears to denote a modal connotation of unexpectedness (e.g., the lion is supposed to have slept already but it has not yet contrary to the expectation).

3.3.3.5 DJ and its semantic connotation

This short sketch of focus-relevant sentences in Kirundi has clarified the general tendency that the nominal term focus tends to be expressed through the

control of syntactic positions, i.e., dislocation or inversion to the clause-final position[8]. In contrast, the verb focus is seemingly exclusively marked by the DJ form as argued in Nshemezimana and Bostoen (2017). If the tendency is correct, then how does the DJ form give informational salience to which aspect of the lexical meaning of verbs? This section provides a summary of several types of semantic prominence, which can be interpreted as given by the DJ template, which include i) potentiality, ii) evidentiality, and iii) intensity or iterativity.

i) Potentiality

When the DJ is used in the LI construction, the potentiality of the location seems to be focused. As presented in 3.2.1.1, 0 seemingly focuses on the potentiality of *mugiti* as a place to sleep by a leopard.

(71) FLI [DJ]: L+$_{L\text{-}D}$-V+A = 0

Mugiti hararyama ingwe

[mugíti haɾaɟâːma iŋgwe]

mugiti hararjama iŋgwe

mu-ki-ti ha-Ø-ra-rjam-a i-N-gwe

18-7-tree SM_{LOC}-PRS-DJ-sleep-FV AUG-9-leopard

'Inside the tree can be slept by a leopard' **[01060]**

ii) Evidentiality

Another salient semantic feature connotated by DJ is the evidentiality of the event expressed by the verb. As mentioned in 3.3.1.2, the DJ form tends to be used in situations where a speaker reports what has just happened or is happening at the time of utterance. This usage of DJ can be regarded as a clear reflection of this semantic connotation. (72a) also demonstrates that the use of

[8] Note that Lafkioui et al (2016) point out that the cleft construction is far more frequently used than other strategies including dislocation to the clause-final position for a term focus marking in Kirundi, thought the construction is not in the scope of this brief sketch.

the DJ form implies that the speaker actually witnessed the situation and thus provides a similar pragmatic connotation expressed by the cleft sentence in (72b).

(72) a. Single (finite) verb form [DJ]: A-D-O-V
Baramukubise
[βăːɾamukúβise]
baaramukubise
ba-a-ra-mu-kubit-je
SM2-PST.F-DJ-OM1-hit-PERF
'They beat him (emphasis is on the fact that the speaker acquainted the situation)'

b. Cleft: COP+S+C[A-O-V] = (66)
Ni bo bamukubise
[ní βo βăːmukubisé]
ni bo baamukubise
ni bo ba-a-mu-kubit-je
COP PRON2 SM2-PST.F-OM1-hit-PERF
'It is they who beat him' **[01315]**

iii) Focus on a specific semantic process
Another piece of semantic connotation that DJ marking may be relevant is attested when it is used in movement verbs. Compared to corresponding CJ forms, DJ-marked movement verbs imply that a specific process of movement is focused. Although the directionality of the movement can be expressed through applicative morphology as in (73), the DJ form in (74) implies that the agent walks around the market, e.g., stopping by at several shops.

(73) Basic word order [CJ]: A+A-V-APPL+L
imfyisi yirukira mw'ishamba
[impfjísi ijiɾukiɾa mwiʃaːmba]

imfyisi iirukira mwiʃamba
i-N-fyisi i-Ø-iruk-ir-a mu-i-ʃamba
AUG-9-hyena SM9-PRS-run-APPL-FV 18-6-field
'A hyena runs towards the forest'

cf. Basic word order [CJ]: A+$_{A}$-V+L
imfyisi yiruka mw'ishamba
[iŋpfjísi ijiɾuka mwiʃaːmba]
imfyisi iiruka mwiʃamba
i-N-fyisi i-Ø-iruk-a mu-i-ʃamba
AUG-9-hyena SM9-PRS-run-FV 18-6-field
'A hyena runs in the forest'

(74) Basic word order [DJ]: $_{A}$-AUX+$_{A-D}$-V+L
Ariko aragenda mw'isoko
[aɾikó aɾagêːnda mwisóko]
ariko aragenda muisoko
a-ri-ko a-Ø-ra-gend-a mu-i-soko
SM1-be-EXT SM1-PRS-DJ-go-FV 18-5-market
'S/he is walking around inside the market'

cf. Basic word order [CJ]: $_{A}$-AUX+$_{A}$-V+L
Ariko agenda mw'isoko
[aɾikó ageːnda mwisóko]
a-ri-ko a-Ø-gend-a mu-i-soko
SM1-be-EXT SM1-PRS-go-FV 18-5-market
'S/he is going to/inside the market'

3.4. Summary

This chapter provided a descriptive sketch of the morphosyntactic variation of mono-clausal expressions that reflect the informational saliency of each constituent, focusing on inversion constructions and various focus-related forms with a special reference to the CJ/DJ distinction. Table 4 summarises the

basic features of each construction/strategy.

Table 4. Summary of the features of each construction/strategy

Constructions/Strategies		Summary of features
Inversion	LI typology	Maximal range of verb types, i.e., unaccusative, unergative and transitive verbs can take part in LI.
	FLI	Both CJ and DJ can be used in FLI.
	SLI	Structurally possible only when the locative enclitic *=mwo* is attached to the verb.
	SI	Locative raising in SI seems to be structurally restricted in a way that the verb should be in DJ and the raised locative NP should be object marked in the verb. More investigation needed.
	LD	The raised locative noun has to be object-marked, but there seems no restriction in terms of CJ-DJ distinction.
Syntactic position for FOC		Dedicated position for focus is clause-final rather than IAV.
MFM		Attested as a particle/clitic immediately preceding a question word. Procliticisation to the verb is not accepted.
CJ/DJ	Syntactic restriction	Flexibility of DJ in terms of taking a post-verbal constituent.
	Question	DJ can be used in polar questions but there seems a restriction in wh-questions.
	Dependent clause	DJ is restricted in the clefted clause, while there seems no restriction in a complementary clause of finite (cognitive) verbs
	Negation	Both can be used in main clause negation, but more restriction tends to be imposed on DJ. When

		DJ is acceptable in NEG, it tends to express operator focus.
	Semantic connotation	DJ forms may express semantic connotations such as potentiality (with unaccusative verbs), evidentiality, and focus on a specific semantic 'process'.

In summary, the following aspects should be noted as typologically significant features. As a typology of verb types available in LI, Kirundi indicates that the maximal range of verbs can be involved in the construction, i.e., not only both types of intransitive verbs but also transitive verbs can take part in LI. With reference to the CJ/DJ alternation, while both are attested in LI, there seems to be a structural restriction on the use of CJ in SI with locative raising.

In terms of the syntactic position dedicated to term focus, it is confirmed as a general tendency that a focused constituent, be it a nominal argument or a DJ verb form, tends to sit in the clause-final instead of the IAV position as mentioned by Gibson et al. (2017). What should be further noted in relation to the tendency, which is relatvely exceptional in the context of cross-Bantu typology, is that the word order flexibility of the post-verbal constituents, which is a prerequisite of this syntactic strategy, is ensured by the high degree of object symmetry as discussed in 3.3.1.3. Interestingly, object order symmetry tends to be relatively restricted in languages with the CJ/DJ distinction as discussed in Shinagawa and Marten's (2021a) cross-Bantu survey on inter-parametric correlation pertaining to focus marking strategies. The high degree of object symmetry in Kirundi may thus be a key factor for explaining the structural 'exceptionalities' observed in different aspects of the grammatical system in Kirundi as a CJ/DJ language.

Another atypical morphosyntactic feature is observed in main clause negation. In Kirundi, DJ is more structurally restricted than CJ, which is in contrast to the general observation that DJ tends to be the regular form of main clause negation as reported from Makhwa [P31] or Makwe [G402] presented in Van der Wal (2017: 35–37). The preference for CJ in negation, on the other

hand, can be seen as a reflection of the limit of the functional load, i.e., for a single tense form to bear verb focus as well as negation would be functionally 'too much' (ibid.: 35). Including this apparent exceptionality, further description and analyses on various aspects of the interaction between the CJ/DJ distinction and other grammatical categories will provide empirical insights for a possible typological generalization pertaining to focus marking strategies in Bantu.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that semantic connotations brough about by DJ forms (in comparison with a corresponding CJ form) would also be an interesting topic for further investigation. While three semantic features, i.e., potentiality, evidentiality, and focus in a specific semantic process, are discussed in 3.3.3.5 as a typical connotation of the DJ forms, it is still unclear whether there are other semantic features or pragmatic effects that can be conveyed through the DJ marking, how these or relevant semantic features may (or may not) be expressed in different ways, and how these features can be interrelated in a general semantic scheme. All these questions are open to further empirical investigations.

List of Abbreviations

[Gloss line (morphemic information)]

1SG, 2PL etc.: Person and Number

1, 2, 3 etc. (when not followed by SG or PL): Noun class number

ANT: Anterior

APPL: Applicative

AUG: Augment

CAUS: Causative

CJ: Conjint

COP: Copula

DEM.M: Demonstrative middle

DEM.R: Demonstrative remote

DJ: Disjoint

EXT: Existential

FOC: Focus

FV: Final Vowel

LOC: Locative

NEG: Negative

OM: Object marker

PASS: Passive

PERF: Perfective

PP: Pronominal Prefix

PRON: Personal Pronoun

PRS: Present

PST.F: Far Past

PST.N: Near Past

RES: Resumptive

REV: Reversive

SM: Subject Martker

=: Clitic boundary

[Word classes and thematic roles]

ADP: Adpositional phrase

AUX: Auxiliary

C: Complement (clause)

V: Verb

A: Agent

B: Beneficiary

L: Location

P: Patient

T: Theme

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Chapter 4

Persistive in Kirundi verbs[9]

Yuko Abe

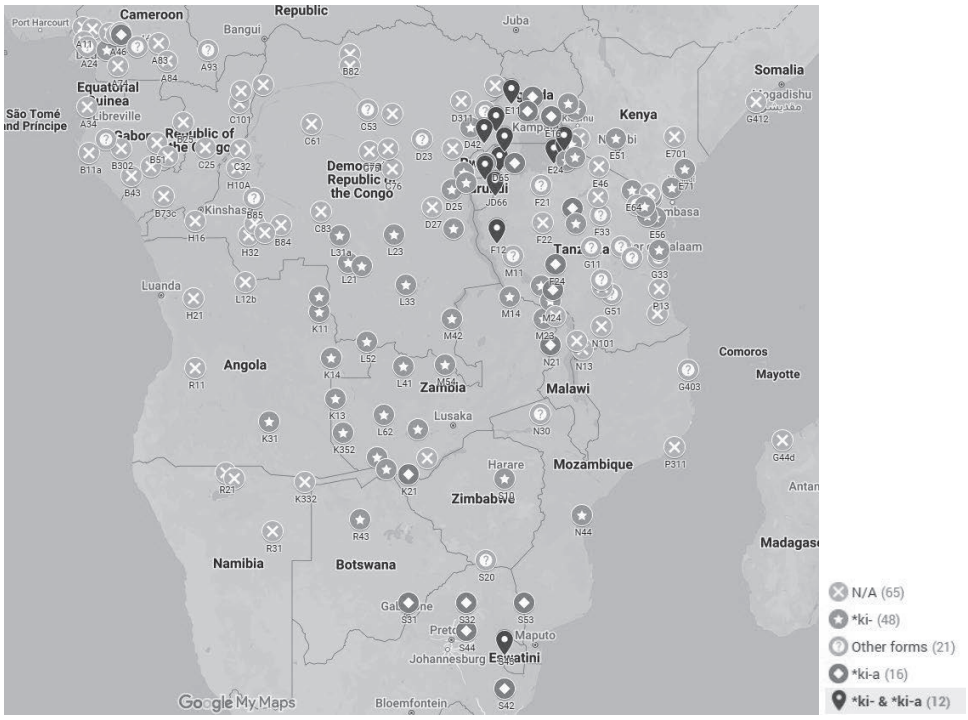
4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to describe the Kirundi (JD62) grammatical aspect known as 'persistive' and its related phenomena. Persistive is reconstructed as **kí-* in Proto-Bantu, as in the TA slot in (1). The persistive **kí-* widely spreads throughout the entire Eastern and Southern Bantu languages of zones (J)D, E, F, K, L, M N, R and S (Nurse 2008: 146), and some cases in Eastern Bantu languages have also been reported thus far (Abe 2015). It typically refers to a 'situation that has held continuously since an implicit or explicit point in the past up to the time of speaking' and 'sometimes occurs as the still-tense' (Nurse 2008: 145) in several traditional reference grammars of Bantu languages, including Kirundi (Cox 2020a).

(1) Typical Bantu verbal structure (Nurse 2003: 90)
Initial–Subject–Negative–TA–Object≠Root–Extension(s)–Final-Suffix

[9] The orthography and morphological analyses used in this chapter is based on the (Cox 2020a; Cox 2020b). The examples are given in four lines: the first line shows original text (based on the orphography), the second shows morphemes, the third is the glossing for the second line, and the fourth is a free translation. Since the focus in this chapter is the morpho-syntax and semantics of Kirundi, detailed phonetic description is omitted. The sound data of examples used in this chapter are partly available in our website the Bantu Language Digital Archive (https://bantudarc.aa-ken.jp/kirundi.html).

Map 1 shows the distribution of the reflexes of **kí-* out of the 161 Bantu languages collected from Nurse (2008: Appendix) and other reference grammars. According to Map 1, 47% (76 out of 161 languages.) of the languages confirm to have the reflexes of **kí-*, however, some languages have lost the persistive aspect. Alternatively, a few languages (13%; 21 out of 161 languages) have retained the persistive aspect, whereas the reflexed form of **kí-* has been lost. Some of the reflexes of **kí-* may appear in combination with **-a* (*kí+a-*), especially among the languages of zones J, F, and S.



Map 1 Distribution of the reflexes of **kí-*

A typical example of persistive is introduced by Bende (F12), which is spoken in neighboring areas in Tanzania in (2). In this example, the action 'work' is continuously held.

(2) Typical persistive in Bende (Abe 2015)

Tusyákola múlímó [10]

tu-syá-kol-a mu-límó

SM1PL-PERS-do-FV CL3-work

'We are still working.' (also 'Let us work first.')

Including the typical example in (2), the Bende persistive reflexes of **kí-*, *syá- / sí-* may appear in various combinations and meanings. In total, Bende has five constructions with *syá- / sí-*, as in (3). These constructions are interpreted not only as typical persistive but also as inceptive, recent past and persistive proximative 'not yet'. Such variation of persistive can be observed in Kirundi as well—though it is not an exact match.

(3) Five morphological constructions and their interpretations in Bende[11]

	Construction	Interpretation
C1	SM-*syá / sí*-VB-*a*	S is still VBing. (persistive) Let S VB first. (inceptive)
C2	SM-*syá / sí*-VB-*ílé*	S is still VBing. (persistive) S has just finished VBing. (recent past)
C3	SM-*syá-lí* + *ku*-VB-*a*	S has not VBed yet. (persistive proximative)
C4	SM-*syá-lí*+ SM-*li*+*ku*-VB-*a*	S is still VBing. (persistive)
C5	SM-*syá-lí*+ SM-VB-*ílé*	S is still VBing. (persistive) S has just finished VBing. (recent past)

In a Kirundi reference grammar (Cox 2020a: 144–145, 158), the reflexes of

[10] Bende has both refrexives of **kí-* and **kí+a.* Instead of *syá-*, an alternative form *sí-* is acceptable as in *tusíkola múlímó*. Both sentences (*tusyákola múlímó* and *tusíkola múlímó*) may be interpreted as 'Let us work first', depending on context. The difference between the two interpretations is related to the verbal aspects as active, achievement, and stative.

[11] The construction types 1, 2, and 5 may be interpreted in two ways, most probably depending on the verbal aspect types, however, clear criteria for the distinction has not been defined yet.

persistive *raca-*[12] or *ki-/gi-*[13] appear as 'still present' as in (4).

(4) Still present (Cox 2020a: 145)[14]
turacakora
tu-raca-kor-a
SM1PL-PERS-work-FV
'We are still working.' **[00978]**

Cox (2020: 145) further explains that 'in the negative and in the dependent clauses the *raca-* changes to *ki-*' as in (5a) and (5b).

(5) Alternative form of persistive *ki-* (Cox 2020a: 145)
a. Negative
Paulo ntakīza kwigishwa
Paulo nti-a-kī-z-a ku-igish-w-a
NAME NEG-SM1-PERS-come-FV CL15-teach-PASS-FV
'Paul no longer comes to learn.'

b. Dependent clause
Akirima avugana n'abandi
a-ki-rim-a a-vugan-a na a-ba-ndi
SM1-PERS-hoe-FV SM1-talk_with-FV and IV-CL2-person
'While he's hoeing, he's talking with others.' (The dependent often carries the meaning of 'while' with no introductory of conjunction necessary)

In Sections from 4.2 to 4.5, *raca-* and *ki-*, which are the Kirundi reflexes of persistive **kí-*, are observed in detail. Finally, in Section 4.6 Kirundi persistive

[12] The reflex *raca-* might be further analyzed as *ra-ca-*, although no independent morpheme *ca-* exists in Kirundi.
[13] Either *ki-* or *gi-* is determined by the dissimilation of the subsequent sound. In this paper, we use *ki-* as a representative form of the two.
[14] Sentences from (Cox 2020a) in this chapter are glossed by the author.

will be compared with those of other Bantu languages.

4.2 Persistive affirmative

The typical persistive of 'still tense' appears with *raca-*, which may be further analyzed as *ra-ca-*. Specifically, *ra-* is a present tense marker[15], whereas *ca-* could also be further analyzed as **kí+a-* (persistive + past). This form is widely observed in the languages of zones J, F, and S, as discussed in 4.1. However, *ca-* is not used as an independent morpheme in verb conjugations. Thus, *raca-* is treated as one morpheme of persistive that is only used in Kirundi. Moreover, *raca-* is the persistive marker that is used only in the present affirmative as in (6).

(6) Persistive affirmative present with *raca-* = (4)
turacakora
tu-raca-kor-a
SM1PL-PERS-work-FV
'We are still working.' **[00978]**

Another type of the persistive affirmative present is similar to (6), except for the ending, as in (7a). Instead of a final vowel *-a*, example (7a) ends with a perfect *-ye*, which is primarily selected for such as stative verbs, such as *rwāra* 'be sick'. *Rwāra* ending with a final vowel *-a* is also used, though only if the context is additionally given, as in (7b), which is used in the meaning that we still have chances to get sick (such as malaria) repeatedly. This statement indicates that when *rwāra* is used as a stative verb 'be sick', it primarily selects a perfect ending *-ye*. However, when *rwāra* is used as an accomplishment verb 'get sick', it ends in a final vowel *-a*. Therefore, either *-a* or *-ye* selects the lexical aspect of a verb. Apart from *rwāra* 'be sick', the perfect *-ye* is confirmed in the following verbs based on the list of the verbs classified by

[15] Simple present with ***ra-*** appears in *tu-**ra**-kor-a* (SM1PL-PRS-work-FV) 'We work, are working.'(Cox 2020a: 21).

lexical aspects is from Kanijo (2019: 227)[16]: *kw-ōroha* ‘to be soft’, *kw-āmbara* ‘to wear’, *ku-doha* (old) */ ku-vyibuha* (new) ‘to be fat’, *gu-hetama* ‘to be bent’, *ku-jōba* ‘to be wet’, *ku-gāsha* ‘to be fermented’, *kw-īcara* ‘to be sitting’, *gu-sinzīra* ‘to be sleeping’, *gu-sutama* ‘to be squatting’, *gu-shavura* ‘to be angry’, *ku-baka* ‘to be married’, *ku-mena* ‘to be broken’.

(7) Persistive affirmative present with either a perfect *-ye* or a final vowel *-a*

a. *turacarwāye*

tu-raca-rwar-ye

SM1PL-PERS-be_sick-PERF

‘We are still sick.’ **[01084]**

b.*turacarwāra*

tu-raca-rwar-a

SM1PL-PERS-get_sick-FV

‘We can still get sick (since we may get sick anytime).’

The persistive affirmative can be expressed in past and future tenses in the compound as in (8a–b) and (9a–b). These tenses require that the copula *ri* or *ba* part carry a tense marker. The second part of the compound does not require *raca-*, but uses another persistive form *ki-*. The ending of the second part of the compound takes a final vowel *-a* or a perfect *-ye*, according to the lexical aspect of a verb.

(8) Persistive affirmative past

a. *twari tugikora*

tu-a-ri	tu-ki-kor-a
SM1PL-PST-COP	SM1PL-PERS-work-FV

‘We were still working’ **[01078]**

[16] See Appendix.

b. *twari tukiwrāye*

tu-a-ri tu-ki-rwār-ye

SM1PL-PST-COP SM1PL-PERS-be_sick-PERF

'We were still sick.' **[01087]**

(9) Persistive affirmative future

a. *tuzoba tugikora*

tu-zo-ba tu-ki-kor-a

SM1PL-FUT-COP SM1PL-PERS-work-FV

'We will be still working.' **[01081]**

b. *tuzoba tukiwrāye*

tu-zo-ba tu-ki-rwār-ye

SM1PL-FUT-COP SM1PL-PERS-be_sick-PERF

'We will be still sick.' **[01090]**

In summary, the typical persistive affirmatives are listed in (10). However, the ending *-a* or *-ye* is selected according to the lexical aspect of a verb.

(10) Typical persistive affirmative in three tenses

Construction	Interpretation
SM-*raca*-VB-*a /-ye*	S is still VBing. (present)
SM-*a-ri* + SM-*ki*-VB-*a /-ye*	S was still VBing. (past)
SM-*zo-ba* + SM-*ki*-VB-*a /-ye*	S will be still VBing. (future)

4.3 Persistive negative

As we introduced in (5a), the persistive morpheme *ki-* is used in negatives. In the negative, it is typically interpreted as 'no longer', used to intensify the negation.

(11) Persistive negative present (Cox 2020a: 145) = (5a)

Paulo ntakīza kwigishwa

Paulo nti-a-kī-z-a kw-igish-w-a

Paul NEG-SM1-PERS-come-FV CL15-teach-PASS-FV

'Paul no longer comes to learn.'

The affirmative sentences of three tenses that appeared in Section 4.2 can be negated as in examples (12)-(14). In the past and future tenses, the copula *ri* or *ba* of a compound is attached to a negative marker *nti-*, whereas the persistive marker *ki-* appears in the second.

(12) Persistive negative present

ntitugikora

nti-tu-ki-kor-a

NEG-SM1PL-PERS-work-FV

'We no longer work.' **[00982]**

(13) Persistive negative past

ntitwari tugikora

nti-tu-a-ri tu-ki-kor-a

NEG-SM1PL-PST-COP SM1PL-PERS-work-FV

'We no longer worked.'

(14) Persistive negative future

ntituzoba tugikora

nti-tu-zo-ba tu-ki-kor-a

NEG-SM1PL-FUT-COP SM1PL-PERS-work-FV

'We will no longer work.' **[00994]**

As observed in (7)-(9), stative verbs, such as *rwāra* 'be sick' also require a perfect ending *-ye* in the negative. See the examples of the three tenses (15a-c).

(15) Persistive negative in the three tenses for a stative verb *rwāra* ‘be sick’

a. *ntitukirwāye*
nti-tu-ki-rwār-ye
NEG-SM1PL-PERS-work-PERF
‘We are no longer sick.’

b. *ntitwari tukirwāye*
nti-tu-a-ri tu-ki-rwār-ye
NEG-SM1PL-PST-COP SM1PL-PERS-work-PERF
‘We were no longer sick.’

c. *ntituzoba tukirwāye*
nti-tu-zo-ba tu-ki-rwār-ye
NEG-SM1PL-FUT-COP SM1PL-PERS-work-PERF
‘We will be no longer sick.’

In summary, the persistive negatives that correspond to the persistive affirmative in (10) are listed in (16).

(16) Persistive negative in the three tenses

Construction	Interpretation
nti-SM-*ki*-VB-*a /-ye*	S no longer VB. (present)
nti-SM-*a*-*ri*+SM-*ki*-VB-*a /-ye*	S no longer VBed. (past)
nti-SM-*zo*-*ba*+SM-*ki*-VB-*a /-ye*	S will no longer VB. (future)

4.4 *Ki-* in dependent clauses

The persistive sentences observed thus far are used in independent clauses. Specifically, the persistive marker *raca-* is solely used for the affirmative present, whereas the persistive marker *ki-* is used in a compound for the past and future tenses.

Instead of *raca-*, the marker *ki-* is used in affirmatives, where the verb becomes a dependent clause with the meaning of ‘while’ without a conjunction,

as in (5b). The marker *ki-* indicates the continuity of time, which is similar to the 'still tense' in independent clauses.

(17) *ki-* in a dependent clause = (5b)
Akirima avugana n'abandi

a-ki-rim-a	a-vugan-a	na	a-ba-ndi
SM1-PERS-hoe-FV	SM1-talk_with-FV	and	IV-CL2-person

'While he's hoeing, he's talking with others.' (The dependent often carries the meaning of 'while' with no introductory of conjunction necessary)

This study uses a list with 65 verbs of different aspectual classes of verbs from Kanijo (2019: 227) and tests the *ki-* interpretations. The result indicates that not all verbs are interpreted as a dependent clause that carries the meaning of 'while'. Dependent on the aspectual classes of a verb, three interpretations are observed that carry temporal clauses of 'while', 'when', and 'right after'.

(18) *ki-* of 'while' interpretation
tugikina Fara yaciye aza

tu-ki-kin-a	Fara	a-a-ca-ye	a-z-a
SM1PL-PERS-dance-FV	NAME	SM1-PST-cut-PERF	SM1-come-FV

'While we were dancing, Fara just came.'[17]

(19) *ki-* of 'when' interpretation
bakigwa Fara yaciye aza

ba-ki-gu-a	Fara	a-a-ca-ye	a-z-a
SM2-PERS-fall_down-FV	NAME	SM1-PST-cut-PERF	SM1-come-FV

'When they fell down, Fara just came.'

The difference between (18) and (19) is the lexical aspect of a verb in dependent clauses. *Kina* 'dance' in (18) is an action verb whose action can be

[17] The verb stem of *yaciye* is *guca* 'to cut' that is often used as an auxiliary verb, meaning 'immediately'(Cox 2020b: 13).

continuously held, whereas *gwa* ‘fall down’ in (19) is an achievement verb whose action is held only once.

Several stative verbs, such as *rwāra* ‘be sick’, can be interpreted in two ways; namely ‘while’ and ‘when’ as in (20a–b). These examples, which are similar to those in (7), are used with both endings, namely, a final vowel *-a* and a perfect *-ye*, which is dependent on the interpretation of the verb. *Rwāra* is interpreted as ‘while’ if it ends with a perfect *-ye,* as in (20a). However, it ends with a final vowel *-a,* as in (20b), by interpreting the clause as ‘when’. *Rwāra* in (20b) is no longer a stative verb. Instead, it becomes an achievement ‘get sick’.

(20) *ki-* of both ‘while’ and ‘when’ interpretations

a. *tukirwāye Fara yaciye aza*

tu-ki-rwār-ye Fara a-a-ca-ye a-z-a

SM1PL-PERS-be_sick-PERF NAME SM1-PST-cut-PERF SM1-come-FV

‘While we were sick Fara just came.’

b. *tukirwāra baraduha imiti*

tu-ki-rwār-a ba-ra-tu-h-a i-mi-ti

SM1PL-PERS-get_sick-FV SM2-PRS-OM1PL-give-FV IV-CL4-tree

‘When we get sick, they (usually) give us medicines.’

Other examples that are interpreted in both ‘while’ and ‘when’ are those with the following verbs: *ku-nūka* ‘to smell bad; stink’, *ku-mōta* ‘to smell good’, *kw-āmbara* ‘to get dressed’, *ku-doha* (old) / *ku-vyibuha* (new) ‘to be(come) fat’, *ku-bira* ‘to boil’, *gu-hetama* ‘to be(come) bent’, *ku-jōba* ‘to be(come) soaked’, *kw-īcara* ‘to sit’, *gu-sinzīra* ‘to fall asleep/sleep’, *gu-sutama* ‘to squat’, *gu-shavura* ‘to be(come) angry’, *ku-baka* ‘to (get) married’.

Another interpretation is ‘right after’, as in (21), whose verb is a motion verb. Other examples of ‘right after’ interpretation are those with the following motion verbs: *kw-īruka* ‘to run’, *ku-garuka* ‘to return’, *ku-za* ‘to come’.

(21) *ki-* of the‘right after’ interpretation

tukigenda Fara yaciye aza

tu-ki-gend-a	Fara	a-a-ca-ye	a-z-a
SM1PL-PERS-go-FV	NAME	SM1-PST-cut-PERF	SM1-come-FV

‘Fara came right after we left.’

The tense of the entire sentence matches the tense of the independent clause. Thus, the future tense is also available, as in (22), apart from the present and past tenses in examples (17) –(21).

(22) *Ki-* in the future with ‘while’ interpretation

Nzotūnga mugisinzirīye

n-zo-tūng-a	mu-ki-sinzīr-ye
SM1SG-FUT-be_rich-FV	SM2PL-PERS-sleep-PERF

‘I will be rich, while you (pl) are still sleeping.’ **[01432]**

In summary, the *ki-* used in dependent clauses features two types of construction with different endings; *-a* or *-ye*. Furthermore, it has three interpretations, namely, ‘while’, ‘when’, and ‘right after’, as in (23). The difference in construction and interpretation is dependent on the lexical aspects of a verb, which was tested by using a list in Appendix (Kanijo 2019: 227). The ‘while’ interpretation is typically observed for active (except for motion verbs), series, perception stative, and accomplishment verbs. Alternatively, no-perception stative verbs are also interpreted as ‘while’, when the verb ends with the perfect *-ye*. This usage as ‘while’ inherits its original persistive meaning, that is the ‘situation that has held continuously since an implicit or explicit point in the past up to the time of speaking’ (Nurse 2008: 145). The ‘when’ interpretation is observed with achievement verbs that lack the continuity of an action or an event, whereas the ‘right after’ interpretation is observed with a few motion verbs that may have a source or goal point.

(23) *Ki-* in dependent clauses

Construction	Interpretation
SM-*ki*-VB-*a*...	While VBed/VBs/will VB... (active, series, perception stative, accomplishment verbs)
SM-*ki*-VB-*a*...	When S VBed/VBs/will VB... (achievement verbs)
SM-*ki*-VB-*a*...	Right after VBed/VBs/will VB... (motion verbs)
SM-*ki*-VB-*ye*...	While S VBed/VBs/will VB... (no-perception stative verbs)

A single verb can be used in multiple aspects, as in (20). However, the lexical aspects in (23) are not a perfect match. For example, the motion verbs can be interpreted in multiple ways. Thus, the difference in the lexical aspects of a verb requires further investigation.

4.5 *Ki-* of past habitual in an independent clause

Out of the 65 verbs listed by Kanijo (2019: 227), the two perceptual verbs *ku-bona* 'to see' and *kw-ūmva* 'to hear' behave differently. They may appear with persistive affirmative *raca-* in independent clauses (24a), and with *ki-* in dependent clauses (24b). In addition, they may appear with *ki-* in independent clauses, which does not occur for other verbs. The *ki-* in independent clauses (24c) is interpreted as the past habitual 'used to'.

(24) *ku-bona* 'to see' in three interpretations

a. Persistive affirmative *raca-*
   turacabona
   tu-raca-bon-a
   SM1PL-PERS-see-FV
   'We can still see.'[18]

[18] For *ku-bona* 'to see', *kw-ūmva* 'to hear' the persistive affirmative *turacabona* and

b. *ki-* of 'when' interpretation in a dependent clause
tukibona ivyabaye Fara yaciye aza
tu-ki-bon-a i-bi-a-ba-ye Fara
SM1PL-PERS-see-FV IV-SM8-PST-be-PERF NAME
a-a-ca-ye a-z-a
SM1-PST-cut-PERF SM1-come-FV
'When we saw what happened, Fara came.'

c. *ki-* of 'past habitual' interpretation in an independent clause
tukibona
tu-ki-bon-a
SM1PL-PERS-see-FV
'We used to be able to see.'

At the moment, no case exists to be interpreted as past habitual in independent clauses apart from these two perceptual verbs *ku-bona* 'to see' and *kw-ūmva* 'to hear'. In the future study, other perceptual verbs will need to be tested.

4.6 Kirundi persistives compared with other Bantu languages

This section intends to compare Kirundi persistives and their related phenomena with those of other Bantu languages focusing the three features in (25) and provides the following remarks.

(25) Three features to compare persistives
(i) forms of reflexes of **kí-*
(ii) persistive negative, and
(iii) extended meaning of the reflexes of **kí-* in dependent clauses

The first feature (i) is the reflexed forms of Proto-Bantu **kí-*, as in Map 1,

turacyumva are explained as 'we can still see' and 'we can still hear' with an auxiliary 'can'. What is implied by the auxiliary 'can' needs to be revealed in the further research.

which illustrates the distribution of 161 Bantu languages. It classifies the languages into four types based on common features: N/A (not applicable), **kí-, *kí+a, *kí-* and **kí+a-*, and other forms of persistive use.

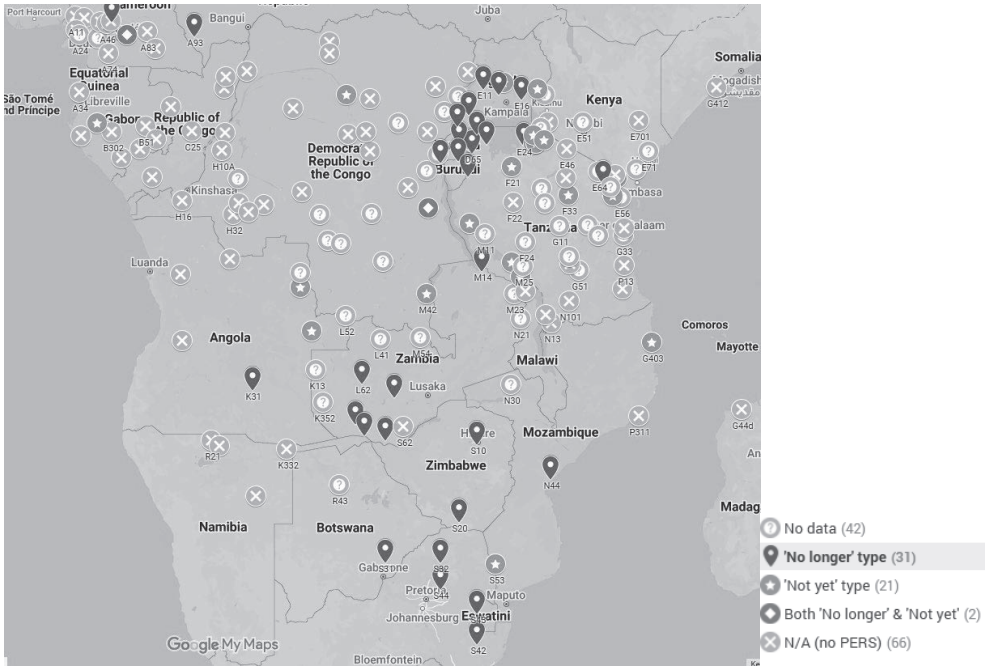
Kirundi has two forms for persistive, namely, *raca-* and *ki-*, which have a nearly complementary distribution in terms of use[19]. In Map 1 Kirundi is classified as a '**kí-* and **kí+a-*' type, because the *raca-* form can be analyzed as the reflex of **kí+a-*. In the modern Kirundi language, *raca-* is an independent morpheme that cannot be further divided. However, with the help of the Proto-Bantu reconstruction, *raca-* could be reconstructed as **ra-ki-a-*, where *ra-* is a present marker; **ki-* is a hypothetic persistive, and **a-* as a past marker; as such, **ki-a-* would then be assumed to become *ca-*.

The distribution of '**kí-* and **kí+a-*' type is observed especially in the languages of zones J, F, and S (Map 1). Moreover, Nurse (2008: 147) claims that 'the shape (**kí+a-*) appears predominantly, although not universally, in the affirmative persistive, with simple **ki-* in the negative.' This statement is consistent with Kirundi's use of the two forms: *raca-* and *ki-*.

The second feature (ii) compares the persistive negative. As we see in Section 4.3, Kirundi persistive negative appears with the negative marker *nti-* before subject marker (SM) position (*nti-*SM-*ki-*VB-*a/-ye*), and is interpreted as 'no longer' to intensify the negation.

From the database of 161 Bantu languages by Nurse (2008: Appendix) and other reference grammars, two types of persistive negative are observed, namely, 'no longer' and 'not yet' types. Out of the 161 languages, 52 languages are relevant for this comparison, which excludes 66 languages not having persistive and 42 languages without data. Out of the 52 relevant languages, 31 (60%) belong to the 'no longer' type, whereas 21 (40%) belong to the 'not yet' type (Map 2).

[19] Except for the perceptual verbs *ku-bona* 'to see' and *kw-ūmva* 'to hear' that have both raca- and ki- in affirmative independent clause. See 0.



Map 2 Distribution of persistive negative

The ‘no longer’ type predominantly appears among the so-called Great Lakes Bantu languages, which includes Kirundi. Similar to the Kirundi examples in Section 3.3, the reflex of **kí-* is used for negatives with an obvious negative marker, as in the Haya example (26).

(26) The ‘no longer’ type in Haya (E22) (Nurse 2008: 147) glossed by the author

titúkigura	cf) *tukiáágura*
ti-tú-ki-gur-a	tu-kiáá-gur-a
NEG-SM1PL-PERS-buy-FV	SM1PL-PERS-buy-FV
‘We are no longer buying.’	‘We are still buying.’ (affirmative)

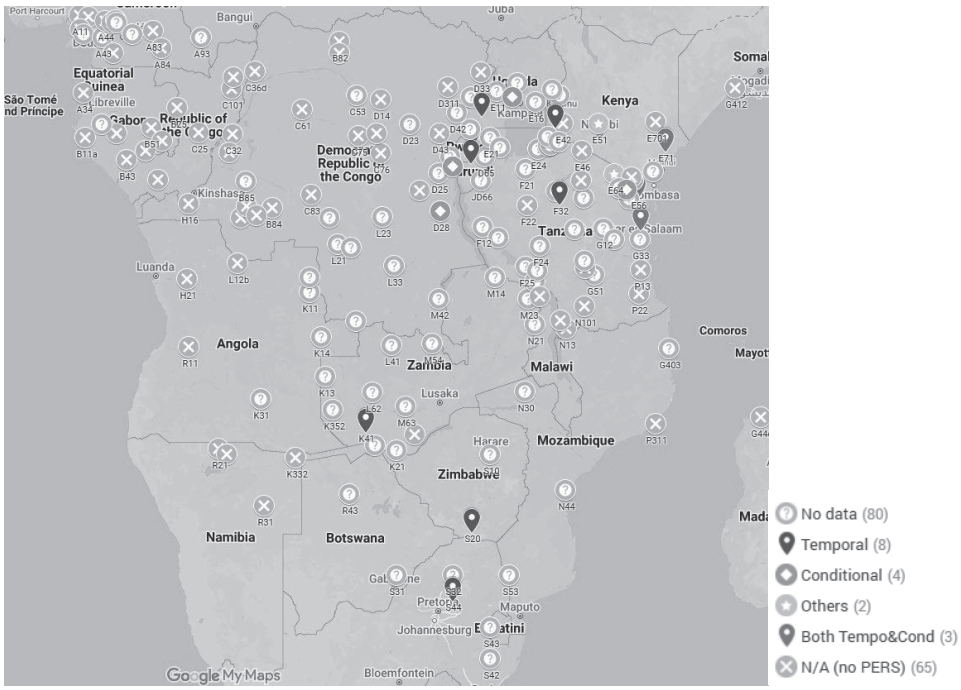
Alternatively, the ‘not yet’ type spreads among the Eastern-Southern Bantu languages. However, this type may be further divided into two. The first has a negative marker, as in Mbugu/Ma’a (G20A) in example (27a), and the second lacks an obvious negative marker, as in Bende (F12) example in (27b), which

is the third construction type from (3).

(27) The ‘not yet’ type with and without a negative marker

a. Mbugu / Ma’a (G20A) (Mous 2003: 142; Nurse 2008: appendix)
téchérikúru
té-chéri-kúru
NEG.SM$_{1}$-PERS-dig
‘He hasn’t dug yet.’

b. Bende (F12) (Abe 2015: 26)
tusyálí kúɣúla
tu-syá-lí kú-ɣúl-a
SM$_{1PL}$-PERS-be CL$_{15}$-buy-FV
‘We have not bought yet.’



Map 3 Distribution of **kí-* of dependent clauses

The third feature (iii) compares the extended meaning of the reflexes of **kí-* in dependent clauses. At the moment, only 17 languages are relevant to this feature (Map 3) due to the lack of a sufficient description of languages.

The Kirundi *ki-* is used in dependent clauses in three temporal uses, namely, 'while', 'when', and 'right after' as discussed in Section 4.4. Out of 17 relevant languages, eight are confirmed as having temporal use; four have conditional use 'if', and three have both temporal and conditional uses.

Swahili (G42) is an example of temporal and conditional (see 28). The Swahili *ki-* has, however, no longer the persistive use in independent clauses. However, it is used as 'while' (temporal) in (28a) and 'if' (conditional) in (28b) only for dependent clauses.

(28) Swahili (G42) dependent clauses of temporal and conditional (Ashton 1944: 138)

a. Temporal use 'while' (simultaneous)

Tuliwaona watoto wakicheza

tu-li-wa-on-a wa-toto wa-ki-chez-a

SM1PL-PST-OM2-see-FV CL2-child SM2-SIM-play-FV

'We saw the children while they were playing.'

b. Conditional use 'if'

Ukimwona Hamisi, mwambie namtaka

u-ki-m̀-on-a Hamisi m̀-ambi-e

SM2SG-CND-OM1see-FV NAME OM1-tell-SUBJ

n-a-m̀-tak-a

SM1SG-PRS-OM1want-FV

'If you see Hamisi, tell him I want him.'

Among the three features presented in (25), (i) and (ii) demonstrate the significant distribution of the Great Lakes Bantu languages including Kirundi, whereas feature (iii) does not exhibit the obvious distributional characteristics.

4.7 Summary

The Kirundi reflexes of **kí-* have two forms, *raca-* and *ki-*, which illustrate a nearly complementary distribution. According to the lexical aspect, the endings may be either the final vowel *-a*, or a perfect *-ye*. Kirundi persistive can be added using the negative marker *nti-*, resulting in the meaning 'no longer'. When *ki-* is used in dependent clauses, it becomes a temporal clause, such as 'while', 'when', and 'right after'. The difference between the three forms is dependent on the lexical aspects of a verb. However, only two perceptual verbs, namely, *ku-bona* 'to see' and *kw-ūmva* 'to hear', depict the exceptional interpretation as past habitual in independent clauses. This type of verbs requires further investigation with a focus on the extended meanings of persistive reflexes.

From the comparison with other Bantu languages, the Great Lakes Bantu languages, including Kirundi, share significant common features, such as (i) having two forms, and (ii) persistive negative meaning 'no longer'. However, the study observes no characteristic distribution for dependent clauses.

Nevertheless, additional research on Kirundi is required, especially regarding the extended meanings of persistive reflexes together with the appropriate classification of verbs, particularly when a single verb may have multiple lexical aspects.

Appendix

The list of 65 Kirundi verbs that are translated from Kanijo (2019: 227).

Aspectual class	Kirundi examples
Activities	*ku-ririmba* 'to sing', *ku-rira* 'to cry', *gu-twēnga* 'to laugh', *gu-kina* 'to play, dance', *ku-yāga* 'to talk, chat', *ku-fūmba* 'to smoke', *kw-iyoga* 'to shower, bathe', *ku-gura* 'to buy', *ku-baza* 'to ask', *gu-turagura* 'to thunder', *ku-genda* 'to go', *kw-īruka* 'to run', *ku-garuka* 'to return', *ku-za* 'to come'
Series	*gu-korora* 'to cough', *ku-jugumira* 'to tremble', *ku-ryāna* 'to bite', *ku-gōna* 'to snore', *gu-hekenya* 'to chew'
Perception statives	*ku-bona* 'to see', *kw-ūmva* 'to hear', *ku-rora* 'to look (at)', *ku-nūka* 'to smell bad; stink', *ku-mōta* 'to smell good', *gu-honja* 'to taste (by swallowing a bit)', *kw-ūmviriza* 'to listen'
Non-perception statives	*kw-ībuka* 'to remember', *gu-kūnda* 'to love, like', *gu-hūza* 'to agree', *kw-ōroha* 'to be soft', *ku-rwāra* 'to be sick', *gu-sa* 'to resemble'
Accomplishment	*kw-āmbara* 'to get dressed', *gu-sya* 'to grind', *gu-pfundikira* 'to block sthg, plug', *ku-dūga* 'to climb', *kw-ūbaka* 'to build', *gu-suka* 'to pour into', *ku-sekura* 'to pound', *ku-rima* 'to cultivate', *ku-rya* 'to eat', *ku-nywa* 'to drink'
Transitional achievements	*ku-doha* (old) / *ku-vyibuha* (new) 'to be(come) fat', *ku-bira* 'to boil', *gu-hetama* 'to be(come) bent', *ku-jōba* 'to be(come) soaked', *ku-menya* 'to (come to) know', *kw-ūgurura* 'to open', *gu-kura* 'to grow'

Irreversible resultative achievements	*gu-pfa* ‘to die’, *ku-bora* ‘to be(come) rotten’, *gu-shika* ‘to arrive’, *ku-pfūsha* ‘to be(come) blunt’, *kw-ūma* ‘to dry up’, *gu-kira* ‘to recover’, *ku-gāsha* ‘to spoil, ferment’, *gu-sara* ‘to be(come) crazy’, *gu-shōnga* ‘to melt (plastic)’
Reversible resultative achievements	*ku-gwa* ‘to fall down’, *kw-īcara* ‘to sit’, *gu-sinzīra* ‘to fall asleep/sleep’, *gu-sutama* ‘to squat’, *gu-shavura* ‘to be(come) angry’, *ku-baka* ‘to (get) married’, *ku-mena* ‘to break’

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3: Noun class or Person
CL: Noun class
CND: Conditional
COP: Copula
FUT: Future
FV: Final vowel
IV: Initial vowel
NEG: Negative
OM: Object Marker
PASS: Passive
PERF: Perfect
PL: Plural
PRS: Present
PST: Past
S: Subject
SG: Singular
SIM: Simultaneous
SM: SubjectMarker
SUBJ: Subjunctive
VB: Verb base

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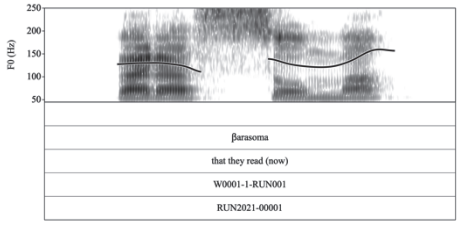
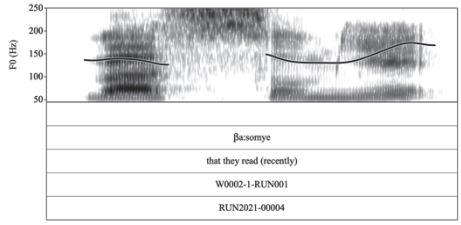
Chapter 5

Plots of Kirundi items

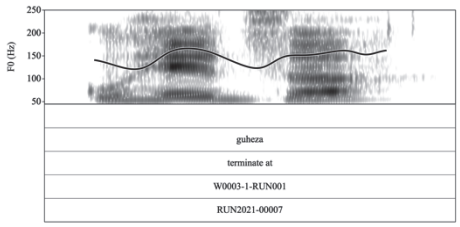
This chapter presents one representative plots of all the Kirundi words or sentences with the following tiers: Kirundi, English translation and ID numbers. In the ID W007-2-RUN001, W007 is an item ID, 2 means the second repetition, RUN001 is the speaker ID. The bottom tier takes the ID format RUN2021-00326, which means token 326 of the Kirundi data collected in 2021. All recordings are available upon request at https://bantudarc.aa-ken.jp/rundi.html



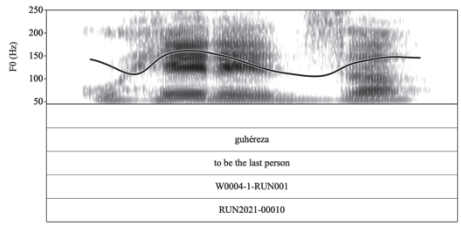
βarasoma
that they read (now)
W0001-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00001



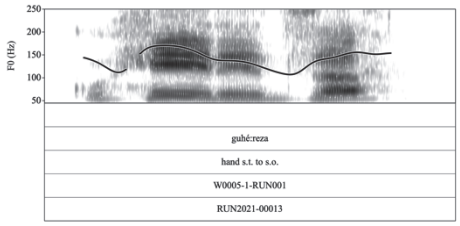
βa:somye
that they read (recently)
W0002-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00004



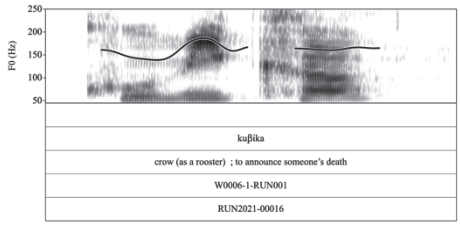
guheza
terminate at
W0003-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00007



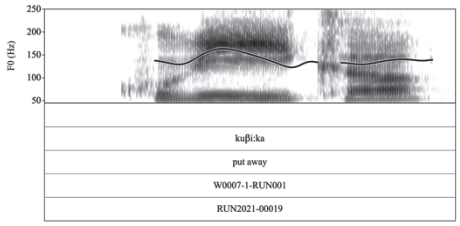
guhéreza
to be the last person
W0004-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00010



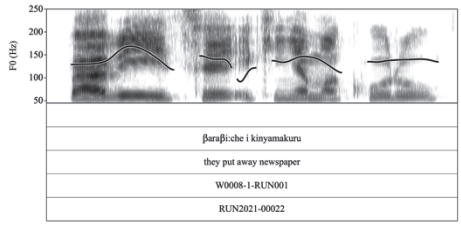
guhé:reza
hand s.t. to s.o.
W0005-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00013



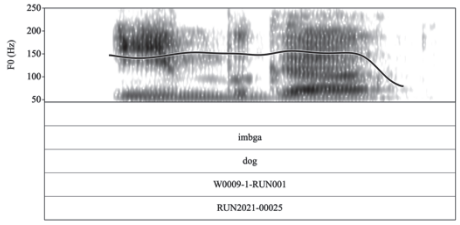
kuβika
crow (as a rooster) ; to announce someone's death
W0006-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00016



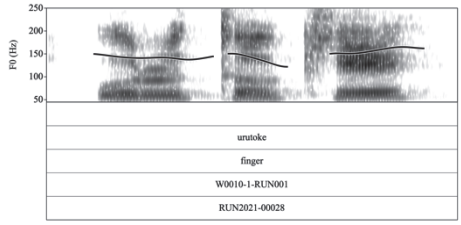
kuβi:ka
put away
W0007-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00019



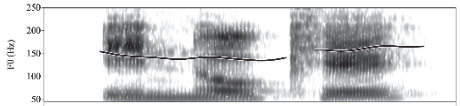
βaraβi:che i kinyamakuru
they put away newspaper
W0008-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00022



imbga
dog
W0009-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00025



urutoke
finger
W0010-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00028

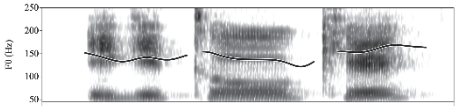


inhoke

fingers (/t/ -> [h] Ganda rule)

W0011-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00031

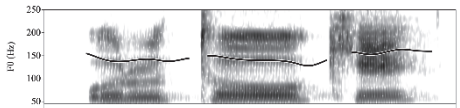


igitooke

banana plantation

W0012-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00034

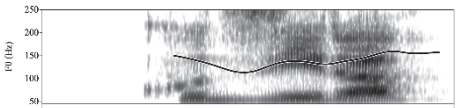


uru-tooke

a big banana, a bad banana

W0013-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00037

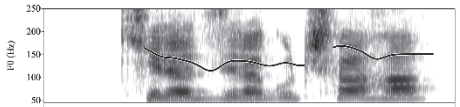


kuzira

to be hostile to

W0014-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00040

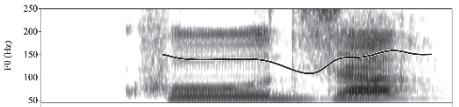


kirazira gucha ngaha

It is forbidden this way.

W0015-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00043

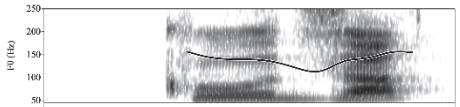


ku-uzira

to visit, to come for

W0016-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00046

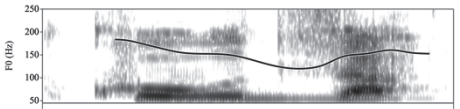


ku-za

to come

W0017-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00049

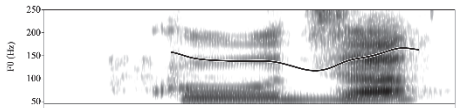


ku-za

to come

W0017-4-RUN001

RUN2021-00052

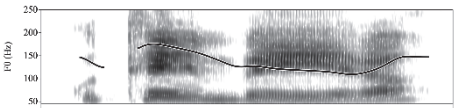


ku-uza

a cow to regurgitate

W0018-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00055

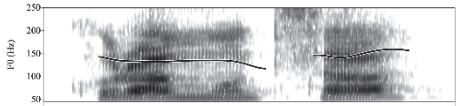


kutembera

to visit a place

W0019-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00058

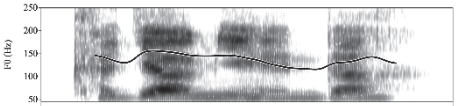


kuramucha

to visit a person, to greet someone

W0020-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00061

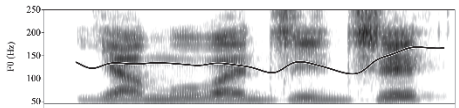


kagja:mye:nda

person up to his ears in debt

W0021-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00064

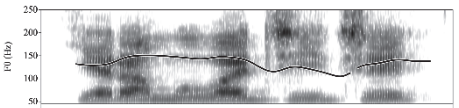


jamuβadʒidʒe

He asks her. (/r/ in Bujumbura Rural)

W0022-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00067

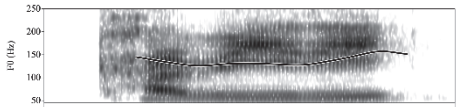


jaramuβadʒidʒe

He asked her. (/r/ in Bujumbura Rural)

W0023-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00070

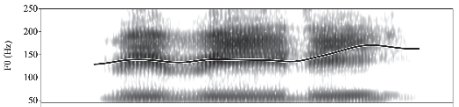


kaβiri

two (numeral)

W0024-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00073

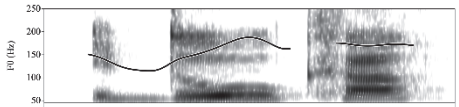


βiβiri

two things

W0025-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00076

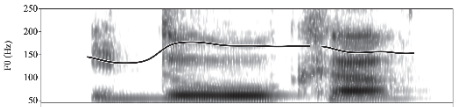


i duúka

store, shop

W0026-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00079

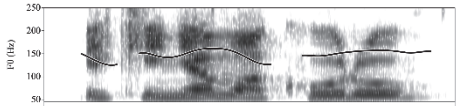


i dúuka

store, shop

W0027-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00082

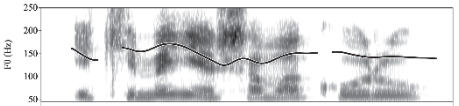


i kipámakuru

newspaper

W0028-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00085

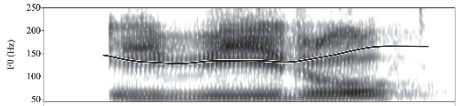


i kimepa βa-makuru

any kind of media

W0029-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00088

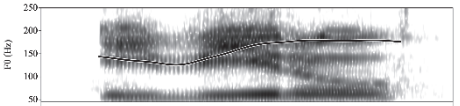


i βiró

office

W0030-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00091

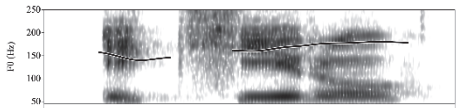


i βiro

weight (kilogram)

W0031-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00094

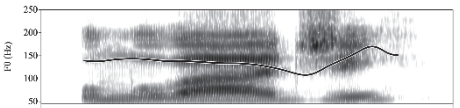


i kíro

a kilogram

W0032-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00097

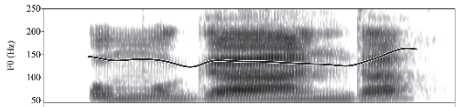


u muβa:dʒi

carpenter; sculptor

W0033-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00100

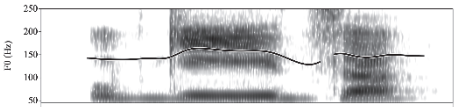


u muga:nda

scaffold, framework things that are put together

W0034-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00103

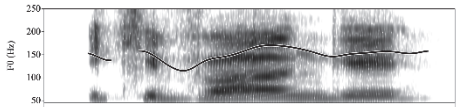


u gi:dʒa

beauty

W0035-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00106

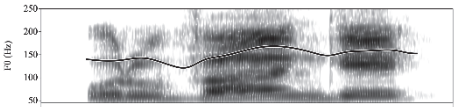


ilɛivá:ŋge

conglomeration, mixture (of anything)

W0036-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00109

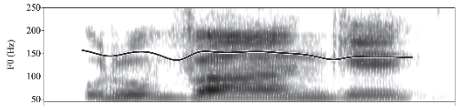


uriva:ŋge

conglomeration, mixture (of anything)

W0037-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00112

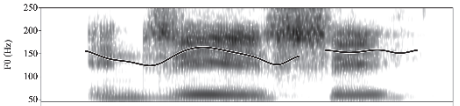


uruvá:ŋge

conglomeration, mixture (of anything)

W0038-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00115

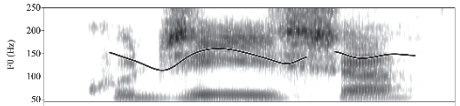


ind͡ʒi:fi

braid, tress; the rope that ties cow's leg before milking

W0039-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00118

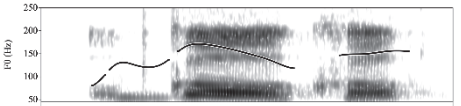


kud͡ʒiːʃa

to weave baskets

W0040-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00121

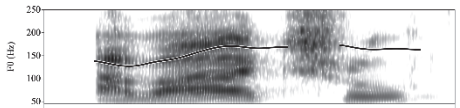


ubgoːko

type, sort, kind

W0041-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00124

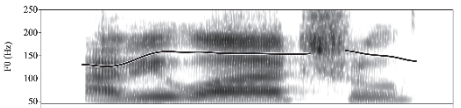


aβaːt͡ʃhu

ours (people)

W0042-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00127

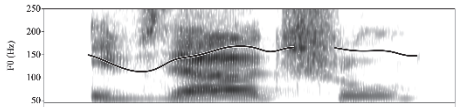


aβi waːt͡ʃhu

ours (people)

W0043-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00130

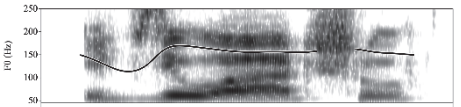


ivjaːt͡ʃhu

ours (things)

W0044-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00133

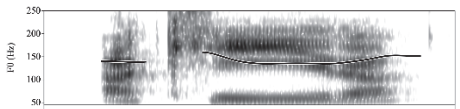


ivi waːt͡ʃhu

ours (things)

W0045-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00136

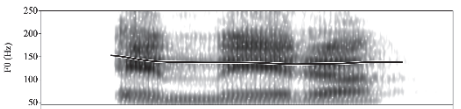


akiːra

Accept! Take (it!)

W0046-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00139

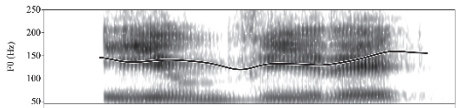


emeːra

Agree! (as a yes)

W0047-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00142

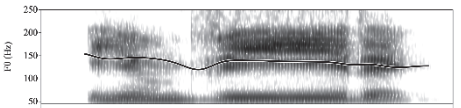


ijumviːre

"Just listen! Listen by yourself!

W0048-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00145

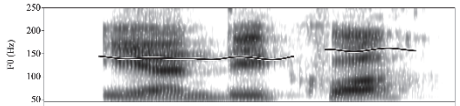


ijumviːre

think hard! (to recall the location of a key)

W0049-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00148

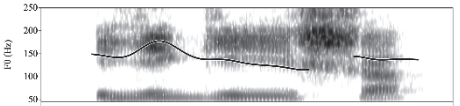


ijandikwa

enrollment

W0050-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00151

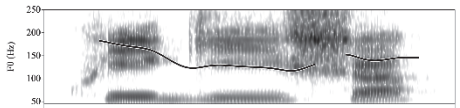


ijigiːʃa

instruction from school/academics

W0051-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00154

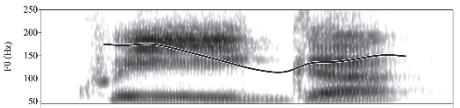


kwigiːʃa

to teach

W0052-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00157

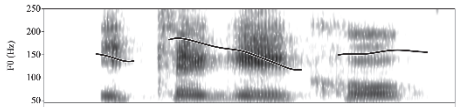


kwiga

to learn

W0053-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00160

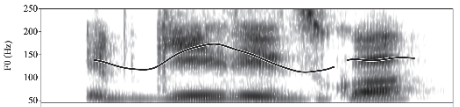


ithegeko

instruction about non-academics

W0054-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00163

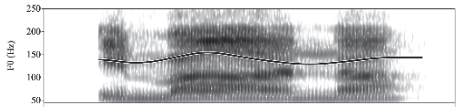


ibgiridɾkwa

instruction (general)

W0055-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00166

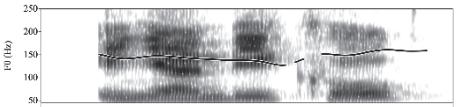


imana

God

W0056-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00169

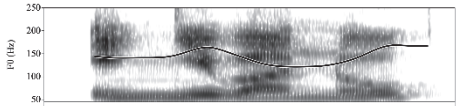


ɪpandikɔ

writing

W0057-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00172

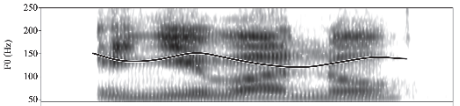


ɪpiβano

stolen item (that is class 5)

W0058-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00175

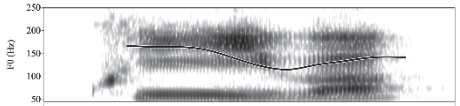


ɪpiβano

stolen item (that is class 5)

W0058-4-RUN001

RUN2021-00178

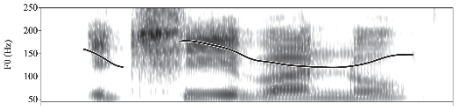


ku-iβa

to steal

W0059-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00181

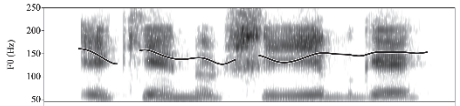


iʧhiβano

stolen item (in general)

W0060-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00184

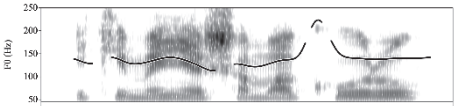


ikhinhu ʧhi:bge

stolen item (direct translation)

W0061-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00187

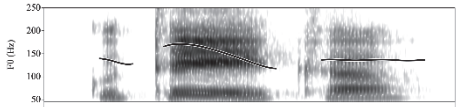


i kimeŋa ʃa-makuru

any kind of media

W0029-3-RUN001

RUN2021-00090

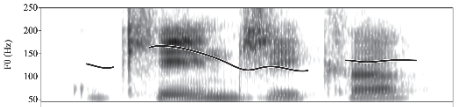


gutɛ́eka

to cook

W0063-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00193

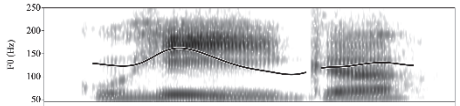


gukindʒika

to cook (more polite)

W0064-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00196

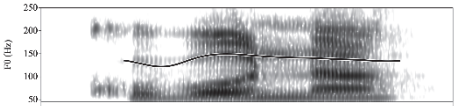


guhiiga

to hunt

W0065-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00199

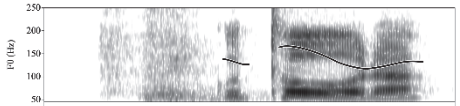


kuβona

to see

W0066-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00202

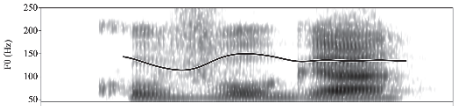


kuthoora

to find, elect

W0067-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00205

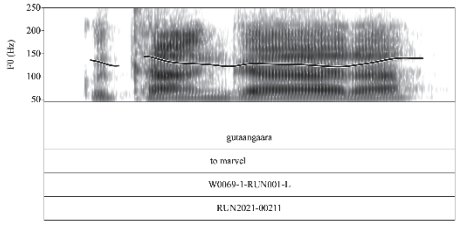


kuvûga

to speak

W0068-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00208

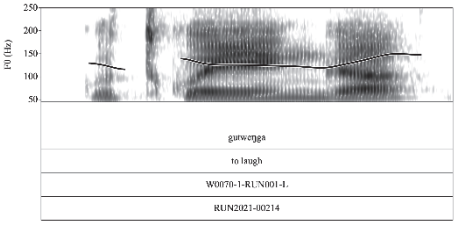


guraangaara

to marvel

W0069-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00211

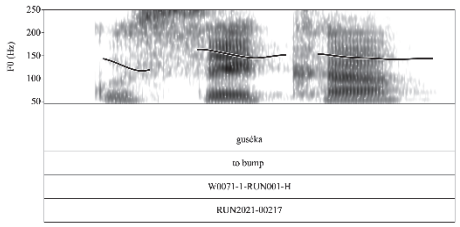


gurwenga

to laugh

W0070-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00214

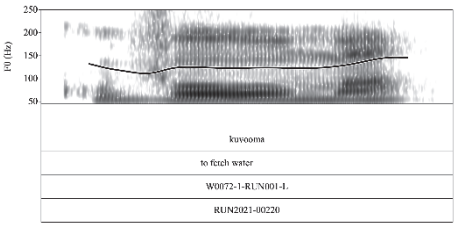


guséka

to bump

W0071-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00217

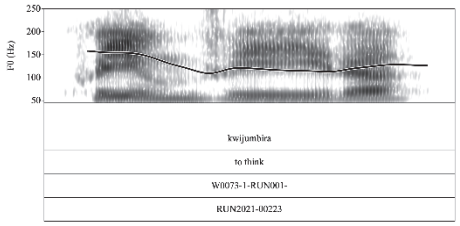


kuvooma

to fetch water

W0072-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00220

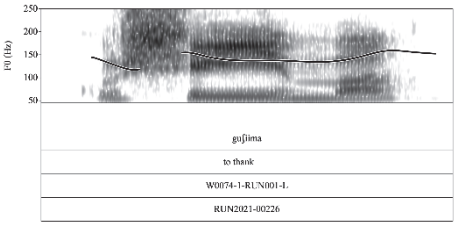


kwijumbira

to think

W0073-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00223

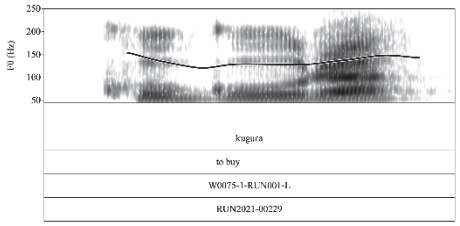


guʃiima

to thank

W0074-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00226

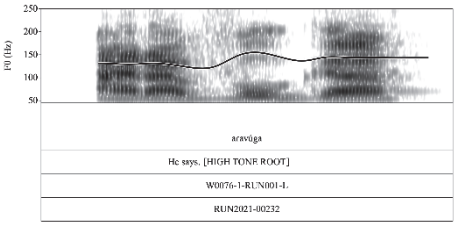


kugura

to buy

W0075-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00229

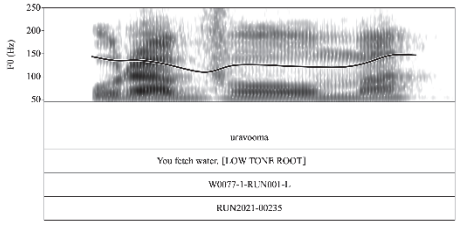


aravüga

He says, [HIGH TONE ROOT]

W0076-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00232

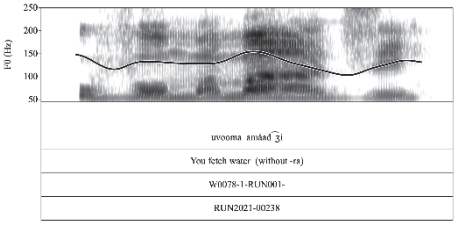


uravooma

You fetch water. [LOW TONE ROOT]

W0077-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00235

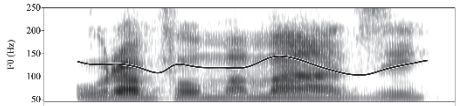


uvooma amáad͡ʒi

You fetch water (without -ra)

W0078-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00238

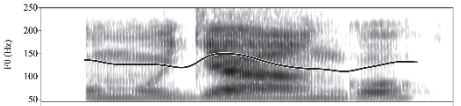


uravooma amáad͡ʒi

You fetch water. (with -ra)

W0079-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00241

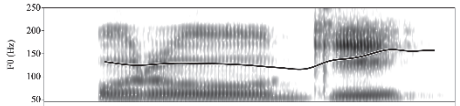


umugjáango

door

W0080-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00244

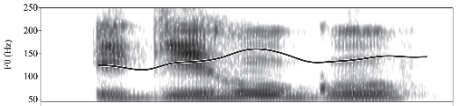


uruugi

door (used in rural areas)

W0081-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00247

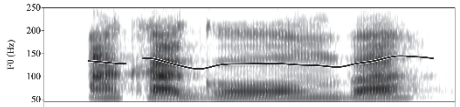


igihúgu

country

W0082-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00250

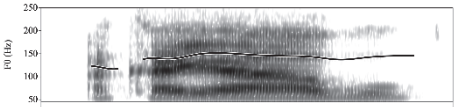


akagoomba

wildcat

W0083-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00253

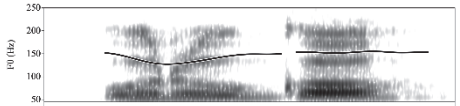


akajáaβu

cat

W0084-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00256

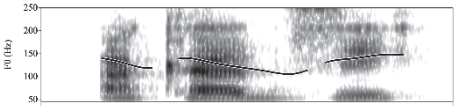


urugó

enclosure (around house and yard); fence

W0085-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00259

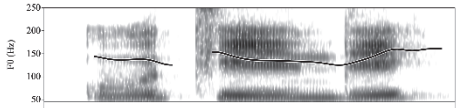


akazi

job, employment

W0086-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00262

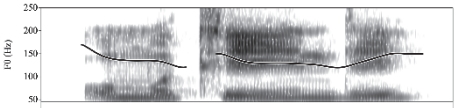


uβutiindi

(insult toward objects)

W0087-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00265

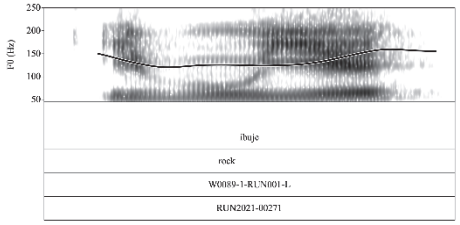


umutiindi

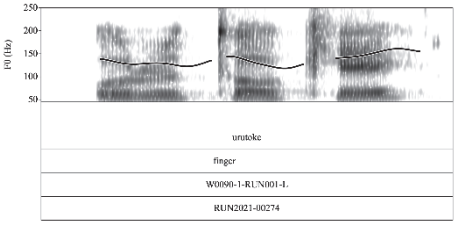
(insult toward a person or animals); unlucky person {Rundi}, poor person {Rwanda}

W0088-1-RUN001-L

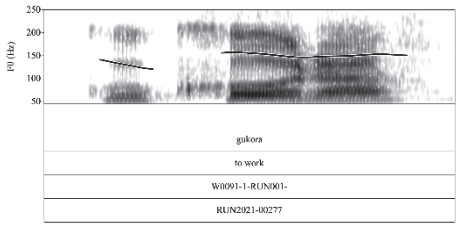
RUN2021-00268



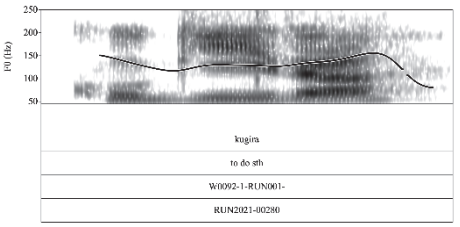
ibuje
rock
W0089-1-RUN001-L
RUN2021-00271



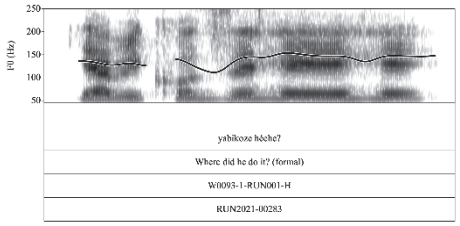
urutoke
finger
W0090-1-RUN001-L
RUN2021-00274



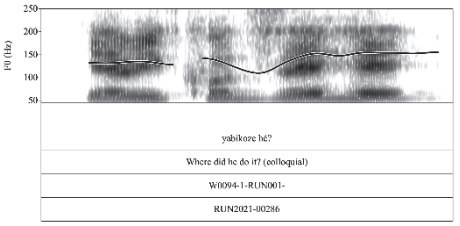
gukora
to work
W0091-1-RUN001-
RUN2021-00277



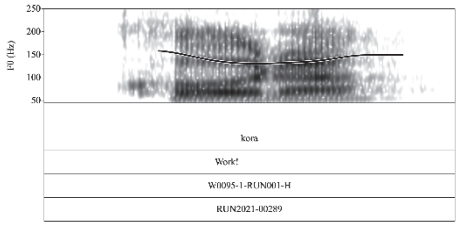
kugira
to do sth
W0092-1-RUN001-
RUN2021-00280



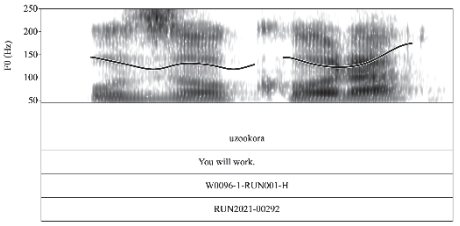
yabikoze hêche?
Where did he do it? (formal)
W0093-1-RUN001-H
RUN2021-00283



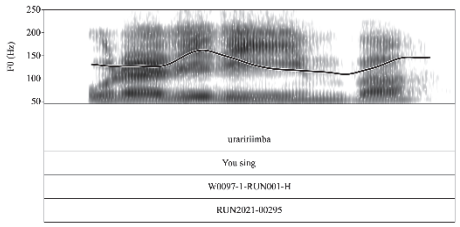
yabikoze hê?
Where did he do it? (colloquial)
W0094-1-RUN001-
RUN2021-00286



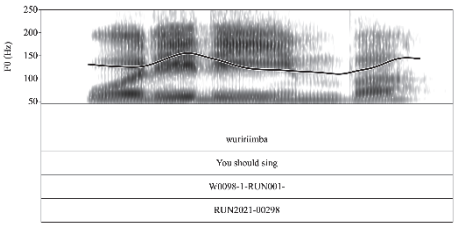
kora
Work!
W0095-1-RUN001-H
RUN2021-00289



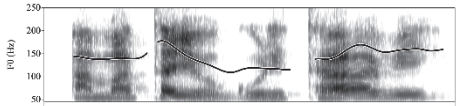
uzookora
You will work.
W0096-1-RUN001-H
RUN2021-00292



urariiimba
You sing
W0097-1-RUN001-H
RUN2021-00295



wuriiimba
You should sing
W0098-1-RUN001-
RUN2021-00298

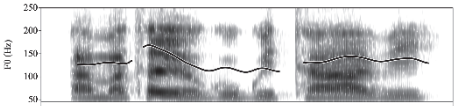


amatá jogura itaábi

Milk can be exchanged for tobacco. (lit. Milk can buy tobacco)

W0099-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00301

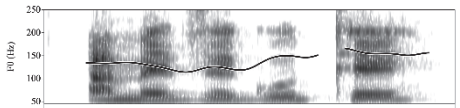


amatá jogugwa itaábi

Milk can be exchanged for tobacco.

W0100-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00304

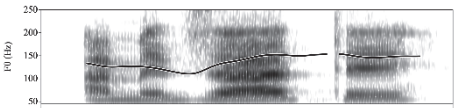


amere gute?

How is he doing? (used more often)

W0101-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00307

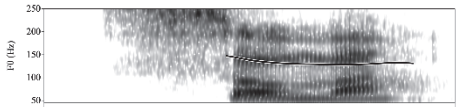


amezaaté?

How is he doing? (close to Kinyarwanda)

W0102-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00310

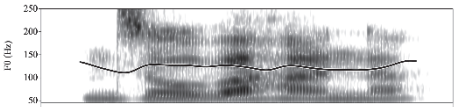


soma!

Read!

W0103-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00313

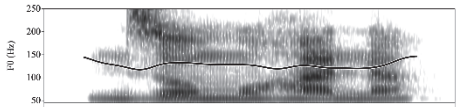


nzoobahana

I will punish them

W0104-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00316

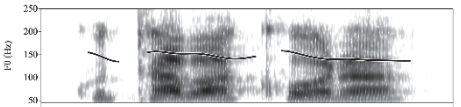


nzoomuhana

I will punish him.

W0105-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00319

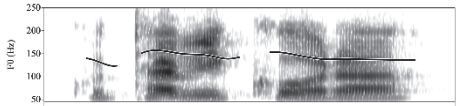


kutábakóra

not to do them (people)

W0106-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00322

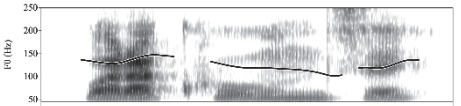


kutábikóra

not to do them (things)

W0107-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00325

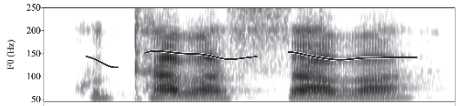


waraküunze

You loved.

W0108-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00328

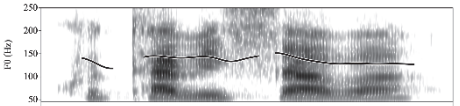


kutábasába

not to request them (people)

W0109-1-RUN001-1.

RUN2021-00331

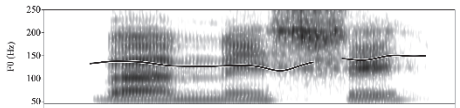


kutáhisába

not to request them (things)

W0110-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00334

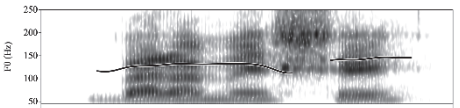


βaámeʃe

They washed.

W0111-1-RUN001-1.

RUN2021-00337

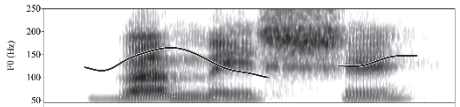


βaraméʃe

They wash (present)

W0112-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00340

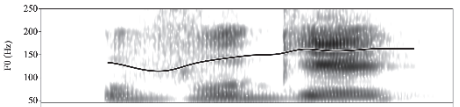


βaméʃe

if they washed

W0113-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00343

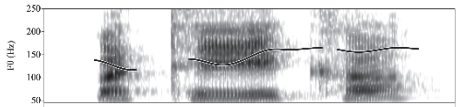


uvugé

You should say (used as suggestion, older form)

W0114-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00346

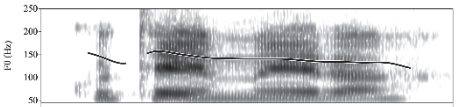


bareéká

...that they cook.

W0115-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00349

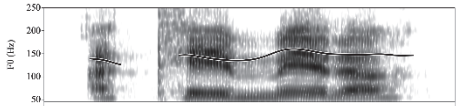


guteeméra

to agree (subject must be an agent)

W0116-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00352

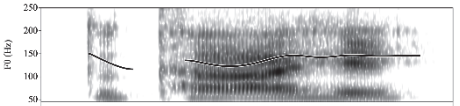


ateeméra

one who does not agree

W0117-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00355

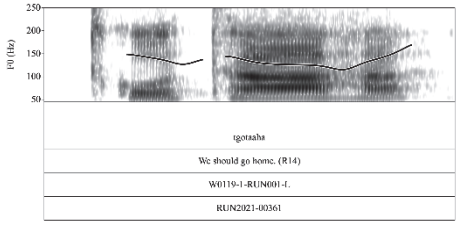


dutaahé

We should go home. (R14)

W0118-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00358

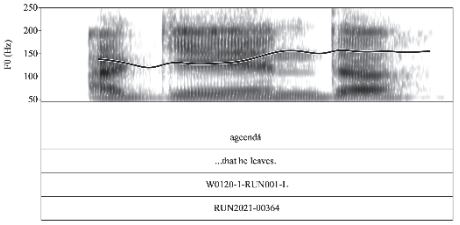


tgotaaha

We should go home. (R14)

W0119-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00361

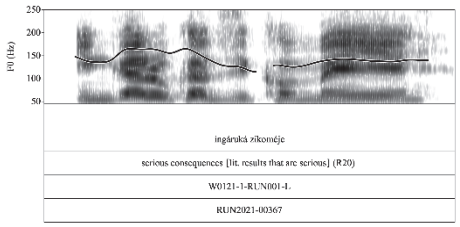


agcendâ

...that he leaves.

W0120-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00364

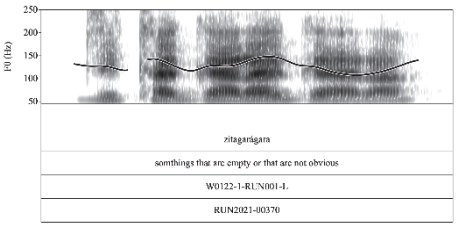


ingáruká zikoméje

serious consequences [lit. results that are serious] (R20)

W0121-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00367

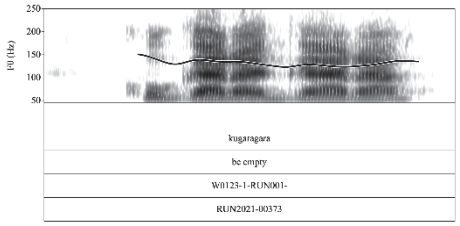


zitagarágara

somthings that are empty or that are not obvious

W0122-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00370

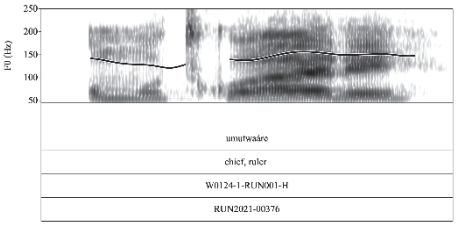


kugaragara

be empty

W0123-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00373

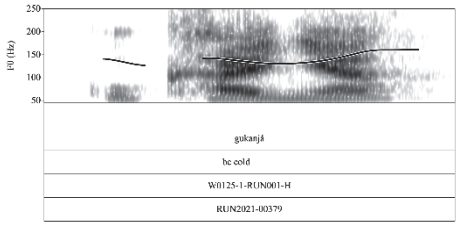


umutwaare

chief, ruler

W0124-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00376

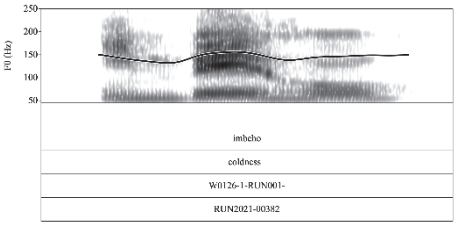


gukanjá

be cold

W0125-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00379

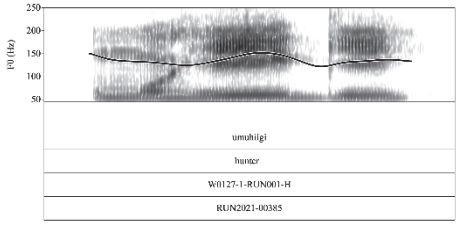


imbeho

coldness

W0126-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00382

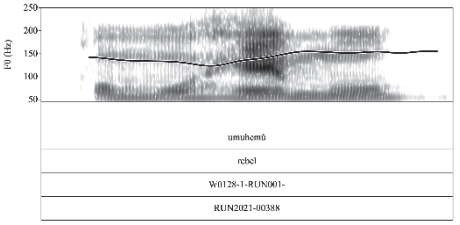


umuhiigi

hunter

W0127-1-RUN001-H

RUN2021-00385

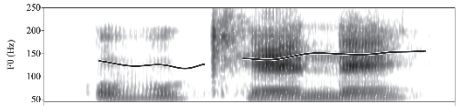


umuhemû

rebel

W0128-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00388

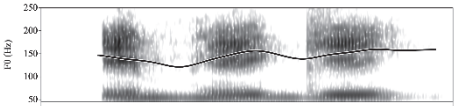


ubukené

poverty

W0129-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00391

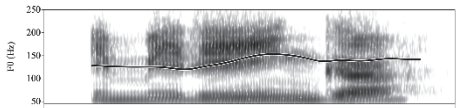


imbigi

amulet (male)

W0130-1-RUN001-L

RUN2021-00394

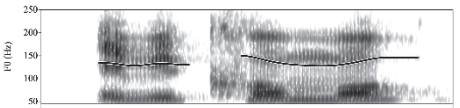


imiriinga

amulet (female)

W0131-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00397

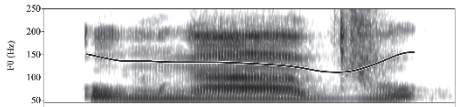


ibikomo

amulet (young female)

W0132-1-RUN001-

RUN2021-00400

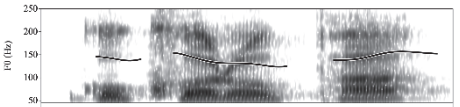


umga:vu

trash; traditional fertilizers

W0133-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00403

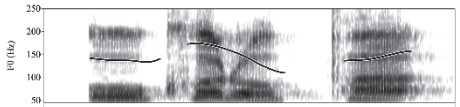


gukoropa

to sweep

W0134-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00406

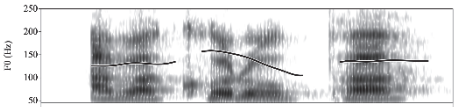


ukoropa

sweeper

W0135-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00409

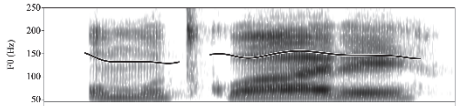


abakoropa

cl2-sweeper

W0136-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00412

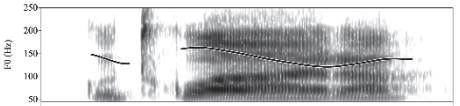


umutwaare

district officer

W0137-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00415

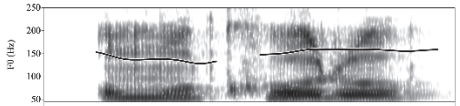


gutwaara

to run a district

W0138-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00418

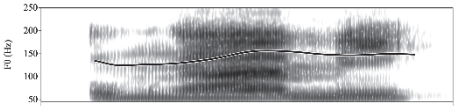


umukoru

chief (army, etc.)

W0139-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00421

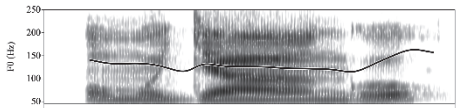


umgami

the king

W0140-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00424

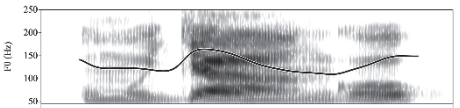


umugjaango

family

W0141-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00427

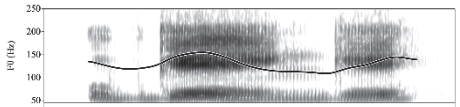


umugjáango

door

W0142-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00430

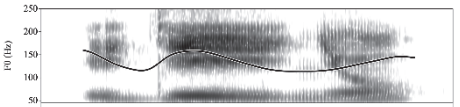


ubgêenge

intelligence

W0143-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00433

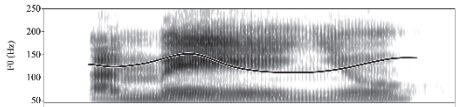


igjiijo

tooth

W0144-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00436

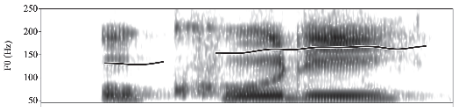


amégho

teeth

W0145-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00439

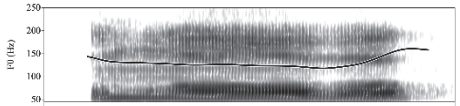


ukhuri

truth

W0146-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00442

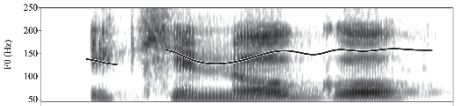


um"obo

hole (made by rats)

W0147-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00445

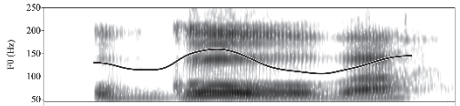


ikinogo

hole (on the ground)

W0148-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00448

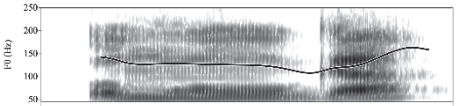


ubgóoba

fear

W0149-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00451

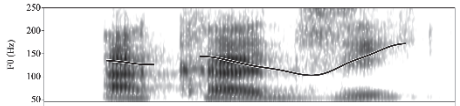


umhu:ga

profession (any type); usually requires technical skill

W0150-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00454

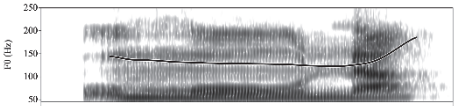


akhazi

profession (such as dealer, soldier)

W0151-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00457

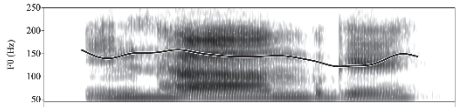


umuuna

nosebleed

W0152-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00460

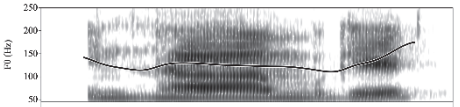


inháambge

step

W0153-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00463

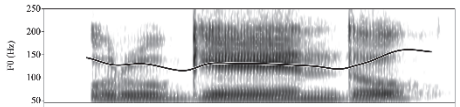


inhaambge

lion

W0154-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00466

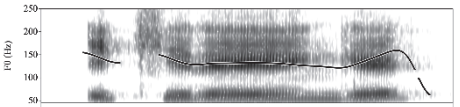


urugeendo

journey

W0155-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00469

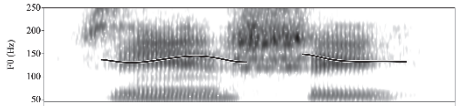


ikirenge

foot

W0156-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00472

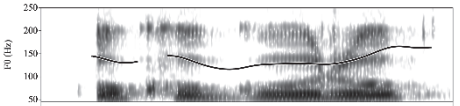


vyiinshi

many

W0190-2-RUN001

RUN2021-00575

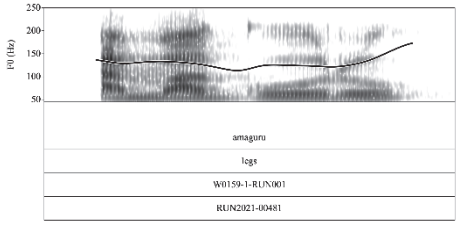


ukuguru

leg

W0158-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00478

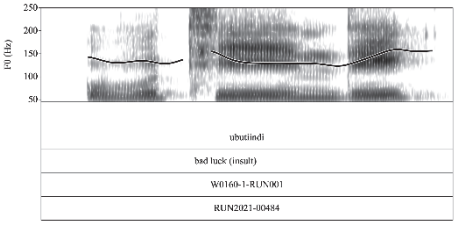


amaguru

legs

W0159-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00481

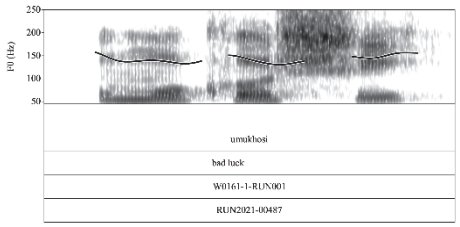


ubutiindi

bad luck (insult)

W0160-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00484

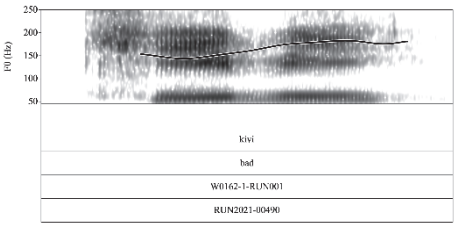


umukhosi

bad luck

W0161-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00487

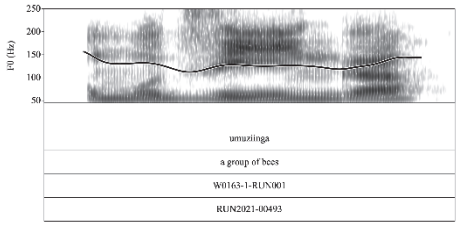


kivi

bad

W0162-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00490

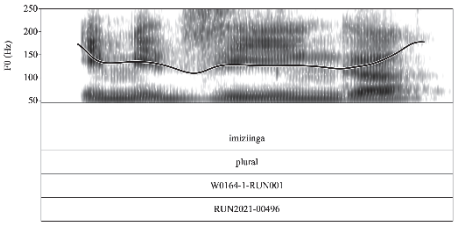


umuziinga

a group of bees

W0163-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00493

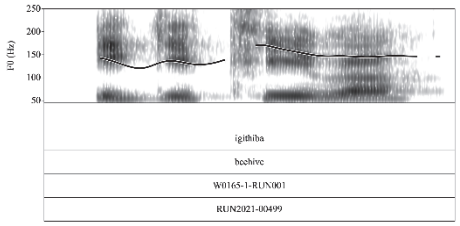


imiziinga

plural

W0164-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00496

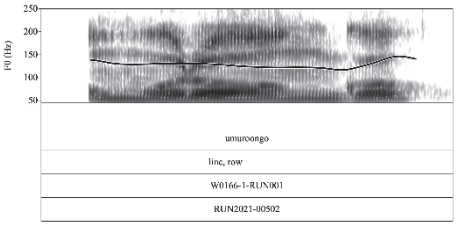


igithiba

beehive

W0165-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00499

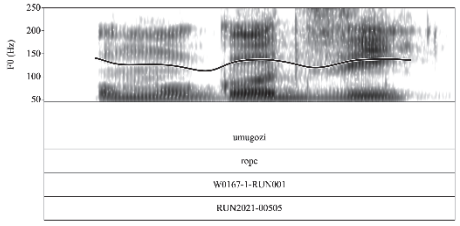


umuroongo

line, row

W0166-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00502

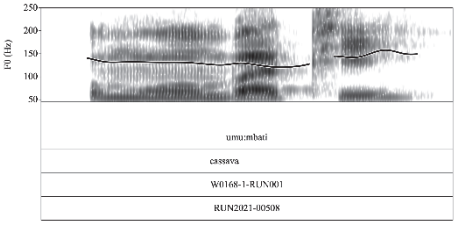


umugozi

rope

W0167-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00505

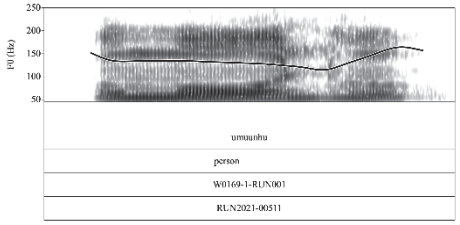


umu:mbati

cassava

W0168-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00508

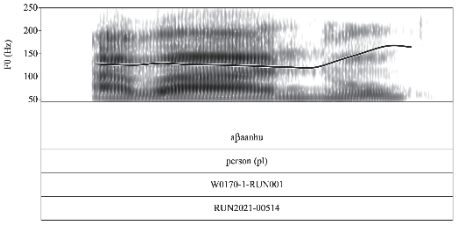


umuunhu

person

W0169-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00511

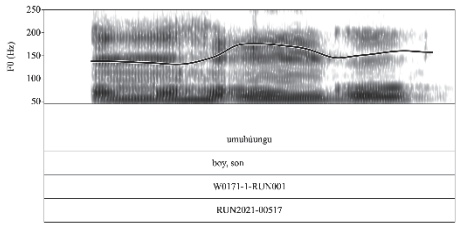


aβaanhu

person (pl)

W0170-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00514

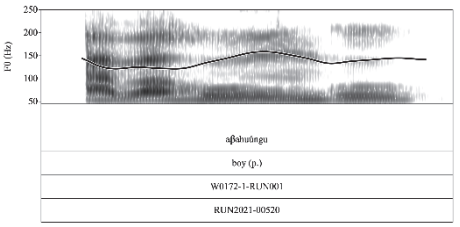


umuhúungu

boy, son

W0171-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00517

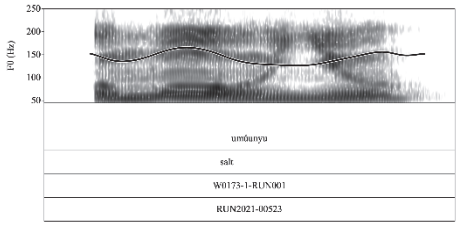


aβahuúngu

boy (p.)

W0172-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00520

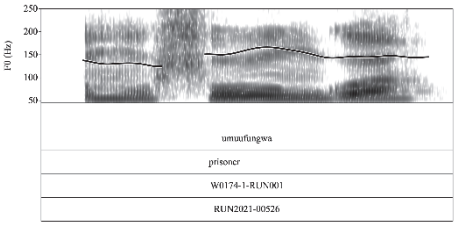


umúunyu

salt

W0173-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00523

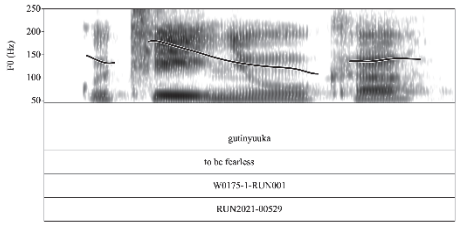


umuufúngwa

prisoner

W0174-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00526

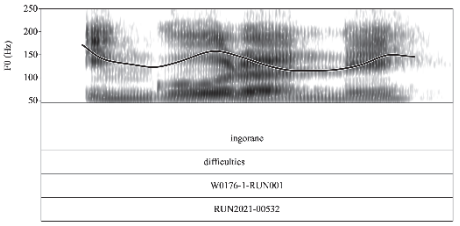


gutinyuuka

to be fearless

W0175-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00529

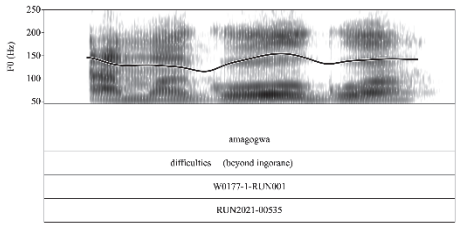


ingorane

difficulties

W0176-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00532

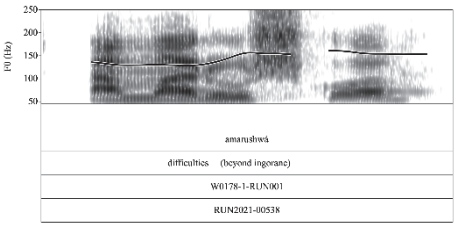


amagogwa

difficulties (beyond ingorane)

W0177-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00535

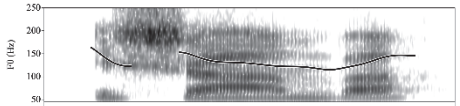


amarushwá

difficulties (beyond ingorane)

W0178-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00538

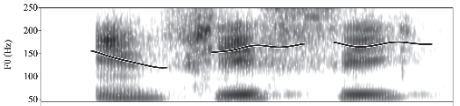


ifaamba

jungle

W0179-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00541

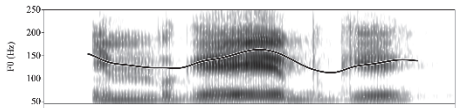


imfyisi

hyena

W0180-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00544

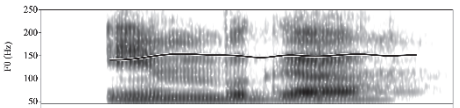


imbgembge

jackal

W0181-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00547

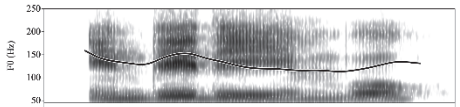


imbga

a dog

W0182-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00550

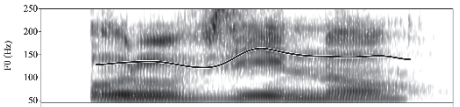


indirimbo

song (general)

W0183-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00553

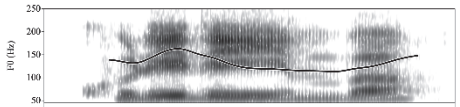


uruvino

song (sung by a choir)

W0184-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00556

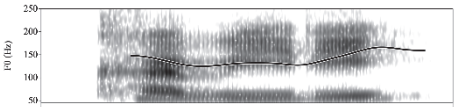


kurivimba

to sing

W0185-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00559

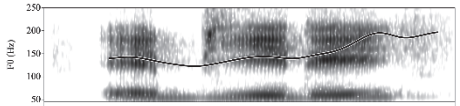


kavyiri

two (when counting, cl 14)

W0186-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00562

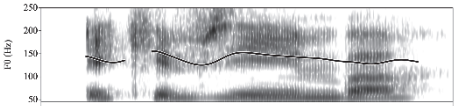


evyiri

two (class 4)

W0187-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00565

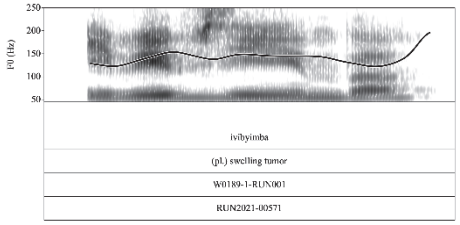


ikibyimbe

swelling; tumor, abcess

W0188-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00568

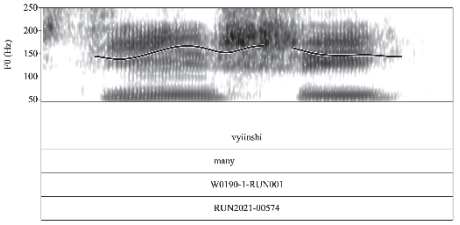


ivibyimba

(pl.) swelling tumor

W0189-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00571

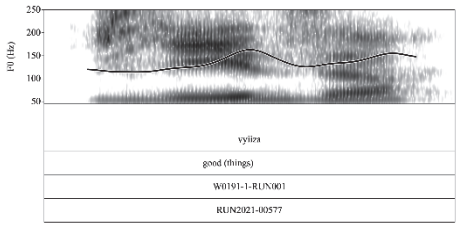


vyiinshi

many

W0190-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00574

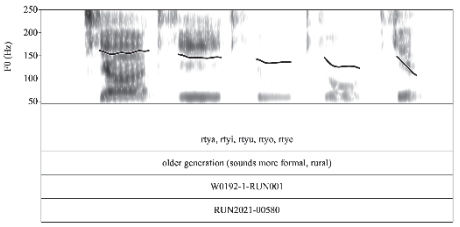


vyiiza

good (things)

W0191-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00577

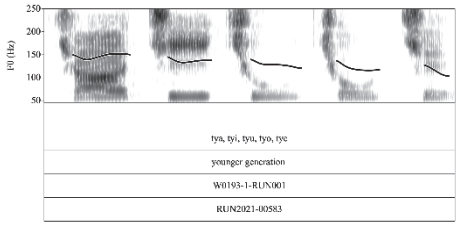


rtya, rtyi, rtyu, rtyo, rtye

older generation (sounds more formal, rural)

W0192-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00580

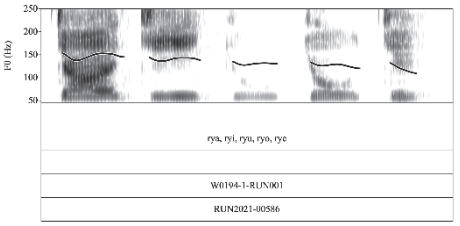


tya, tyi, tyu, tyo, tye

younger generation

W0193-1-RUN001

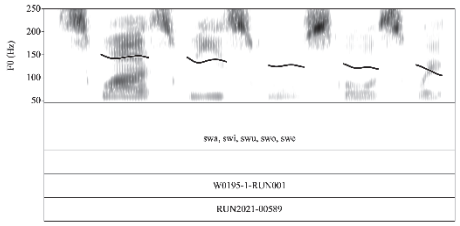
RUN2021-00583



rya, ryi, ryu, ryo, rye

W0194-1-RUN001

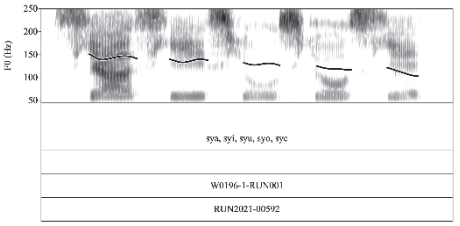
RUN2021-00586



swa, swi, swu, swo, swe

W0195-1-RUN001

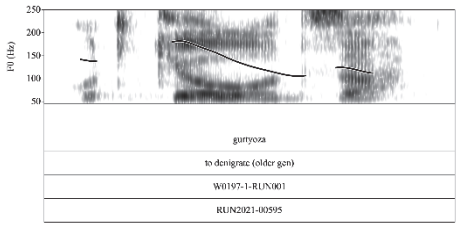
RUN2021-00589



sya, syi, syu, syo, sye

W0196-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00592

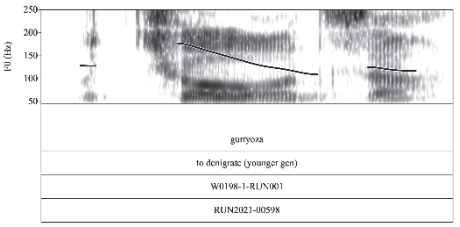


gurryoza

to denigrate (older gen)

W0197-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00595

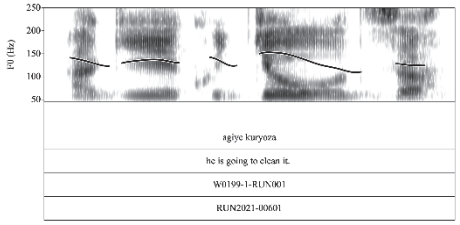


gurryoza

to denigrate (younger gen)

W0198-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00598

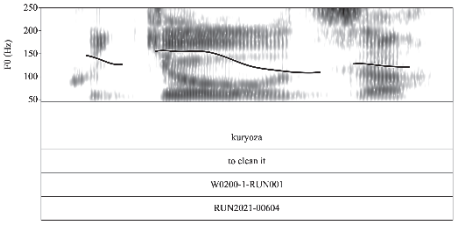


agiye kuryoza

he is going to clean it.

W0199-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00601

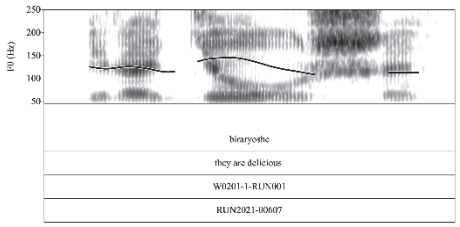


kuryoza

to clean it

W0200-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00604

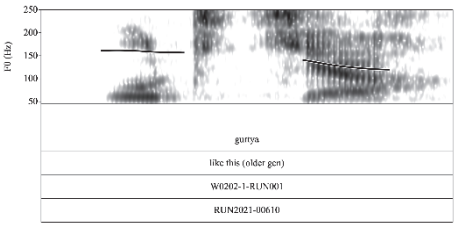


biraryoshe

they are delicious

W0201-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00607

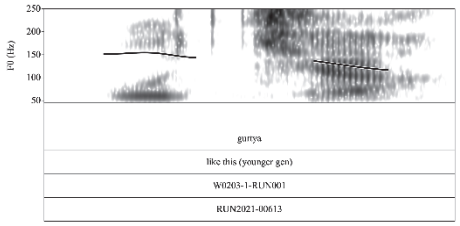


gurtya

like this (older gen)

W0202-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00610

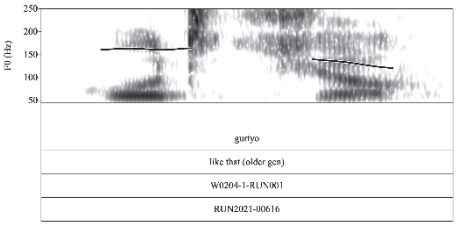


gurtya

like this (younger gen)

W0203-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00613

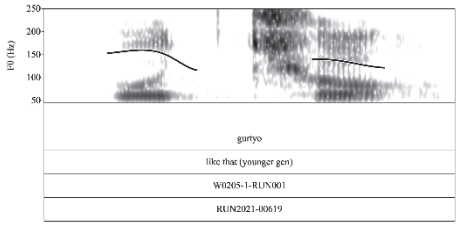


gurtyo

like that (older gen)

W0204-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00616

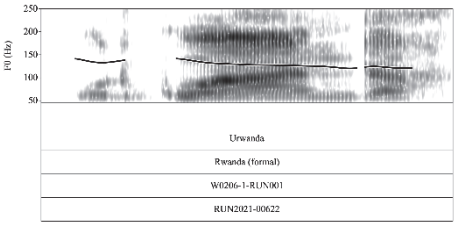


gurtyo

like that (younger gen)

W0205-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00619

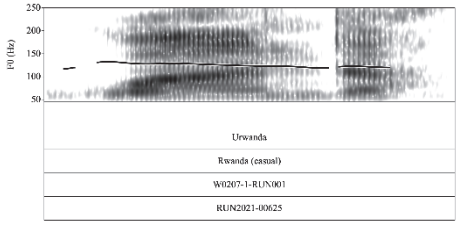


Urwanda

Rwanda (formal)

W0206-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00622

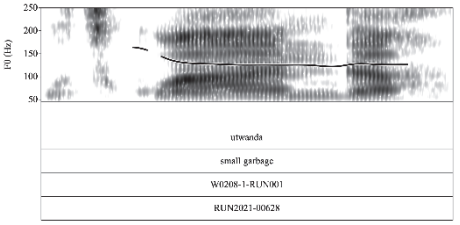


Urwanda

Rwanda (casual)

W0207-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00625

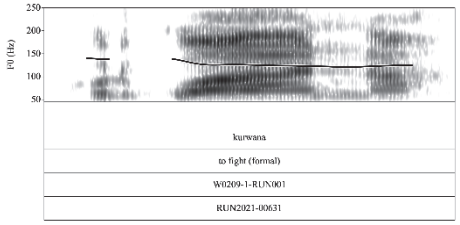


utwanda

small garbage

W0208-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00628

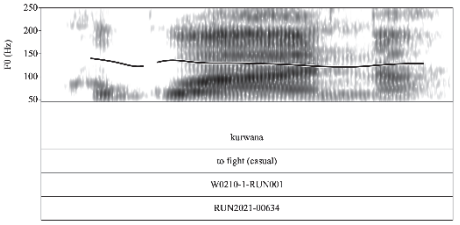


kurwana

to fight (formal)

W0209-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00631

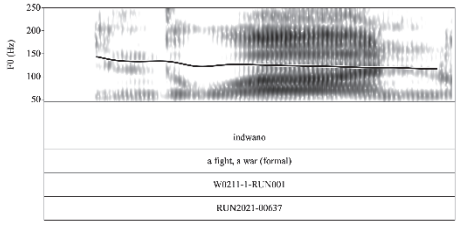


kurwana

to fight (casual)

W0210-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00634

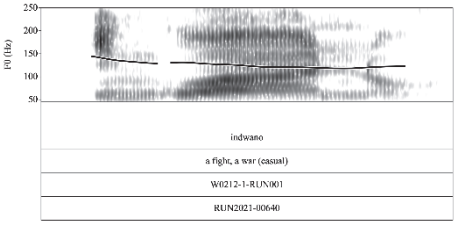


indwano

a fight, a war (formal)

W0211-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00637

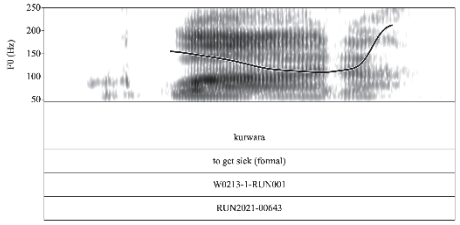


indwano

a fight, a war (casual)

W0212-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00640

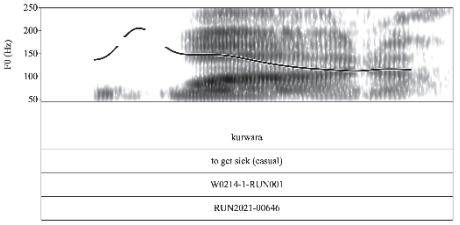


kurwara

to get sick (formal)

W0213-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00643

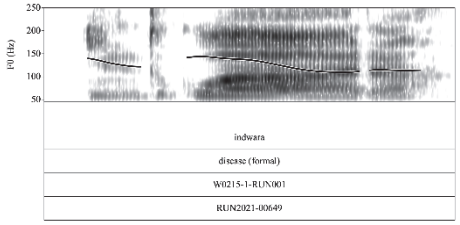


kurwara

to get sick (casual)

W0214-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00646

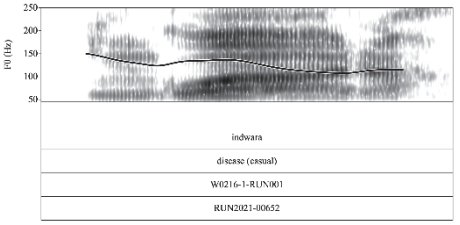


indwara

disease (formal)

W0215-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00649

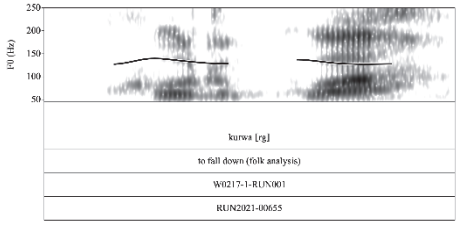


indwara

disease (casual)

W0216-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00652

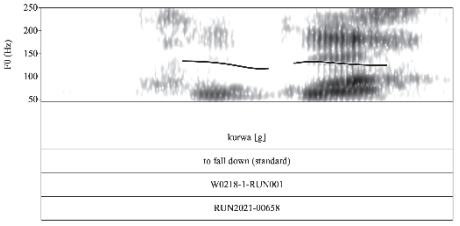


kurwa [rg]

to fall down (folk analysis)

W0217-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00655

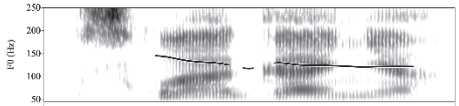


kurwa [g]

to fall down (standard)

W0218-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00658

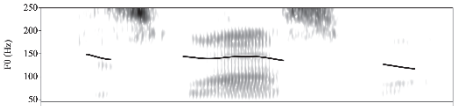


guswaganya

to lie

W0219-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00661

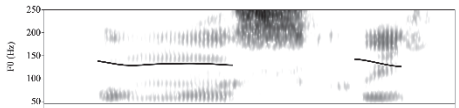


giswaswa

family name

W0220-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00664

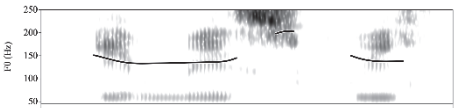


umuswi

a chick

W0221-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00667

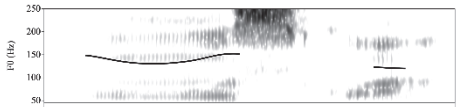


imiswi

chicks

W0222-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00670

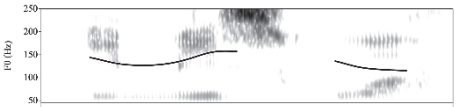


umuswa

termite

W0223-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00673

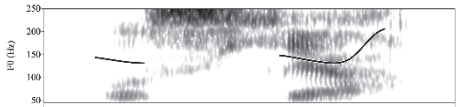


imiswa

termites (pl)

W0224-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00676

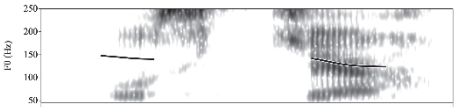


gusya

to grind, to blend

W0225-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00679

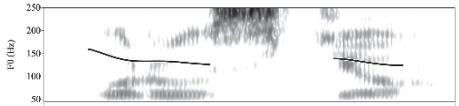


gusya

to grind, to blend

W0226-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00682

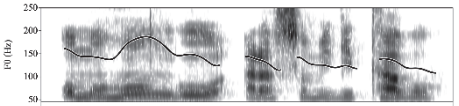


umusyo

a grinding stone (the base, or the whole)

W0227-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00685

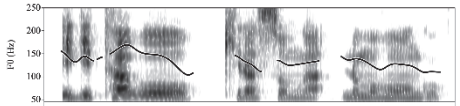


u muhungu arasoma igitabo

The boy reads a book.

S001-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00688

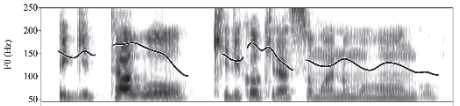


igitabo kirasom-g-a numuhungu

The book is read by the boy.

S002-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00691

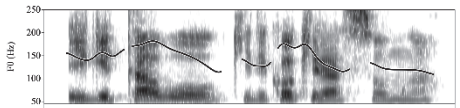


igitabo kiriko kirasom-g-a numuhungu

The book is being read by the boy.

S003-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00694

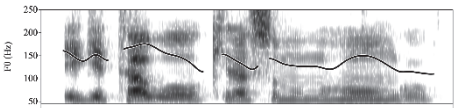


igitabo kiriko kirasom-g-a

The book is being read.

S005-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00697

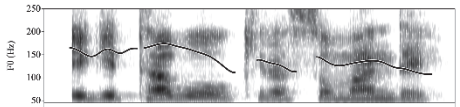


igitabo kirasoma umuhungu

only if the boy is d-linked

S006-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00700

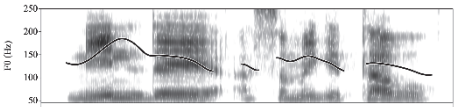


igitabo kirasoma inde?

a. Who is reading the book? (less common)

S007-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00703

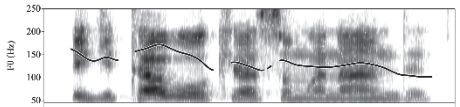


ninde asoma igitabo?

b. Who is reading the book? (preferred)

S008-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00706

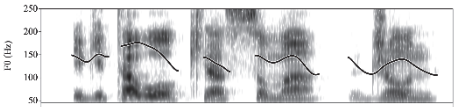


Igitabo kirasomga nande?

c. The book was read by whom?

S009-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00709

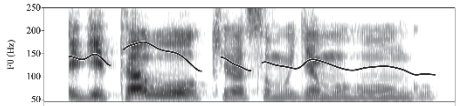


igitabo kirasoma John.

JOHN reads the book.

S010-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00712

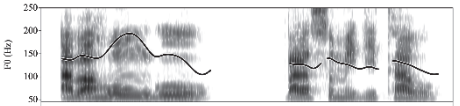


igitabo kirasoma u-ja-muhungu

THIS BOY reads the book.

S011-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00715

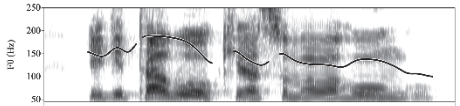


abahungu barasoma igitabo

(pl. answer) BOYS read the book.

S012-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00718

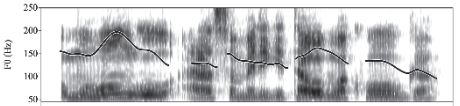


igitabo kirasoma a-bahungu

(pl. answer) BOYS read the book.

S013-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00721

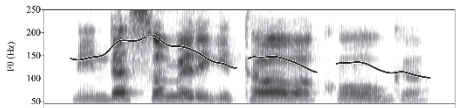


umuhungu arasomera igitabo abakoga

The boy is reading a book for girls

S014-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00724

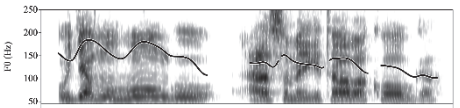


ninde asomera igitabo abokoga?

Who is reading a book for girls?

S015-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00727

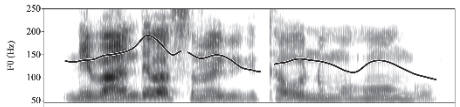


ugyamhungu arasomera igitabo abokoga.

THIS BOY reads the book for the girls.

S017-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00730

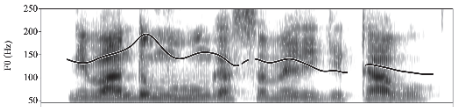


nibande basomegwa igitabo numuhungu?

Whom were read the book by the boy? (more natural)

S019-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00733

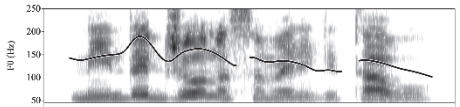


nibande umuhungu asomera igitabo?

For whom reads the boy a book?

S020-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00736

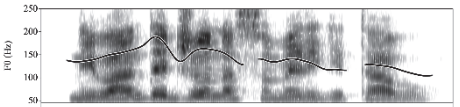


ninde John somera igitabo?

For whom reads John a book? (natural)

S021-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00739

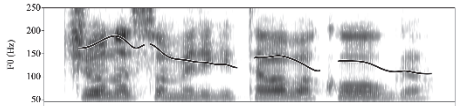


nibande John somera igitabo?

For whom reads John a book?

S022-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00742

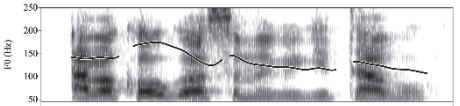


John asomera igitabo abakoga.

John reads the book for the girls

S023-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00745

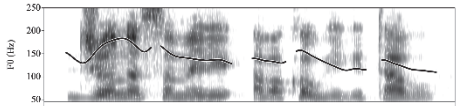


abakoga basomegwa igitabo

the girls were read the book.

S024-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00748

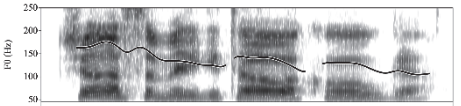


John asomera abakoga igitabo

John reads THE BOOK for the girls (What is John reading for the girls?)

S026-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00751

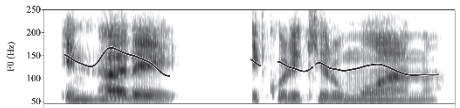


John asomera igitabo abakoga

John reads the book for THE GIRLS (For whom is John reading the book?)

S027-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00754

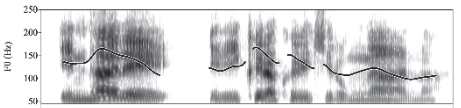


inhare ikurikira mwana.

The lion follows a child.

S028-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00757

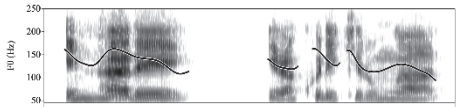


inhare iriko irakurikira mwana.

The lion is following a child.

S029-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00760

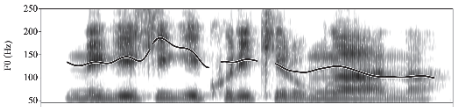


inhare irakurikira mwana.

The lion follows a child

S030-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00763

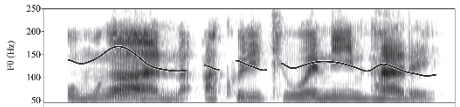


nigiki gi kurikira mwana?

What follows a child?

S031-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00766

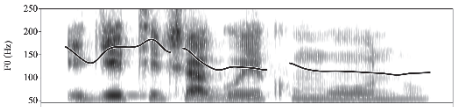


umwana a kurigikwa ni inhare

The child is followed by a lion.

S032-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00769

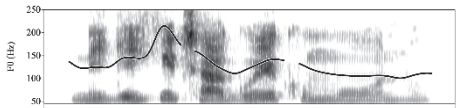


igiti chaguye ku muntu.

A tree fell on a person. / A tree fell at someone's place

S035-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00772

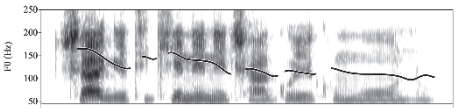


nigiki chaguye ku muntu?

What fell on a person?

S036-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00775

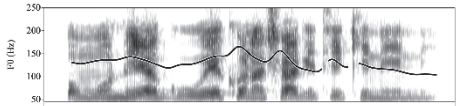


chagi tikinini chaguy ku muntu.

The big tree fell on the person.

S037-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00778

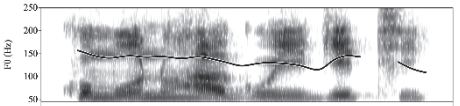


umuntu yaguwekona chagi tikinini

(lit. on a person a tree fell)

S038-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00781

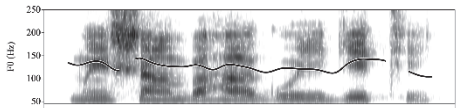


kumuntu haguye igiti

(only means: the tree fell at someone's place)

S039-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00784

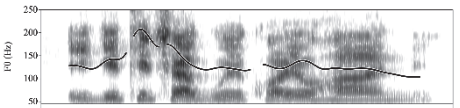


mwishamba haguye igiti

A tree fell in the forest.

S041-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00787

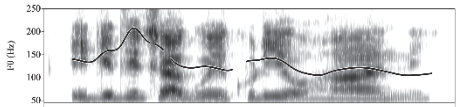


igiti chaguy kwa yohani

A tree fell at John's (place)

S042-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00790

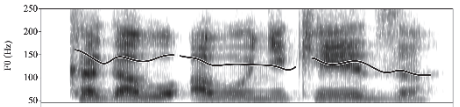


igiti chaguy kuri yohani

A tree fell on John.

S043-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00793

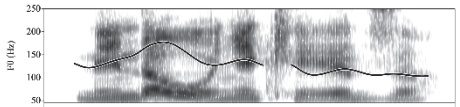


Kagabo abonye Keza

Kagabo sees Keza

S044-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00796

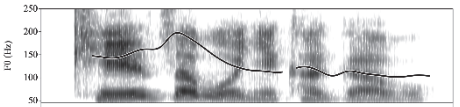


Niinde abonye Keza?

Who sees Keza?

S045-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00799

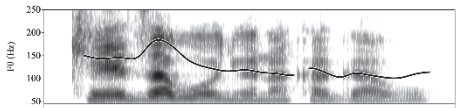


Keza abonye Kagabo

(only) Keza sees Kagabo (NOT: KAGABO sees Keza)

S046-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00802

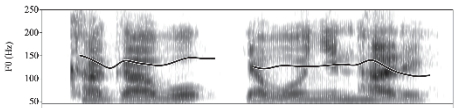


Keza abonywe na Kagabo

Keza was seen by Kagabo

S047-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00805

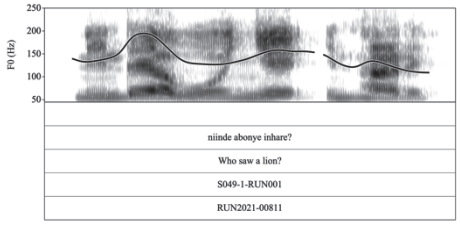


Kagabo abonye inhare

Kagabo saw a lion

S048-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00808

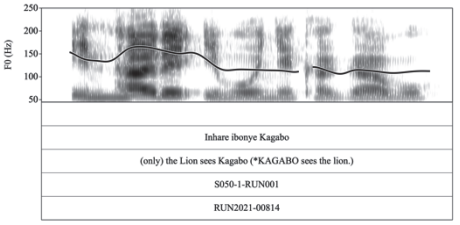


niinde abonye inhare?

Who saw a lion?

S049-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00811

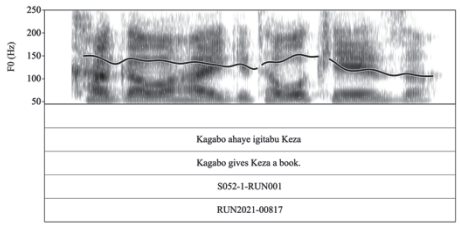


Inhare ibonye Kagabo

(only) the Lion sees Kagabo (*KAGABO sees the lion.)

S050-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00814

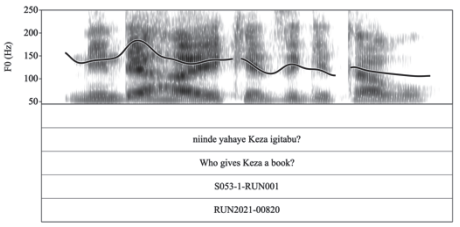


Kagabo ahaye igitabu Keza

Kagabo gives Keza a book.

S052-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00817

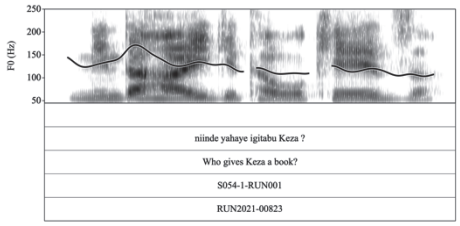


niinde yahaye Keza igitabu?

Who gives Keza a book?

S053-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00820

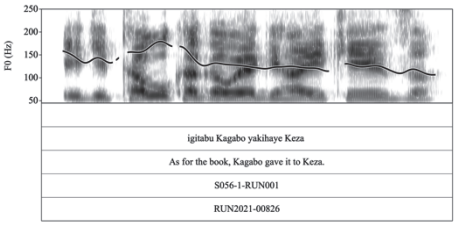


niinde yahaye igitabu Keza ?

Who gives Keza a book?

S054-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00823

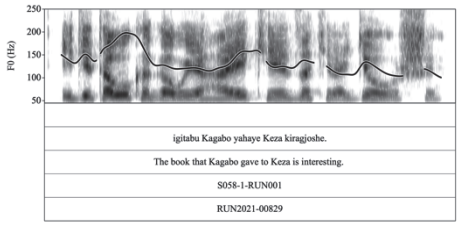


igitabu Kagabo yakihaye Keza

As for the book, Kagabo gave it to Keza.

S056-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00826

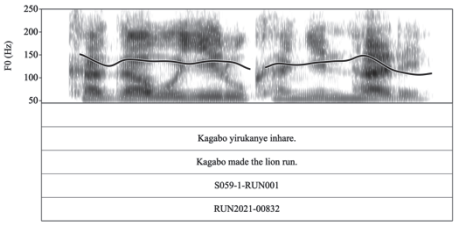


igitabu Kagabo yahaye Keza kiragjoshe.

The book that Kagabo gave to Keza is interesting.

S058-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00829

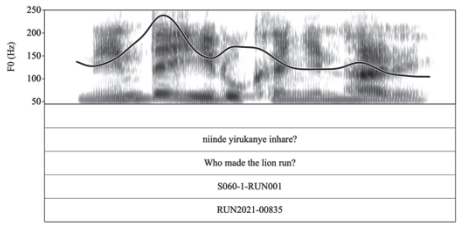


Kagabo yirukanye inhare.

Kagabo made the lion run.

S059-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00832

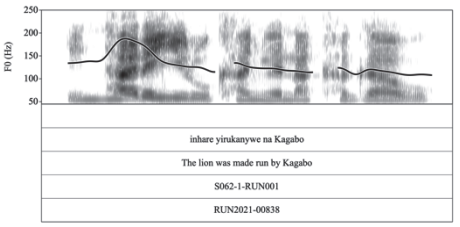


niinde yirukanye inhare?

Who made the lion run?

S060-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00835

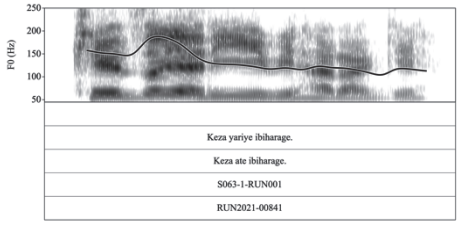


inhare yirukanywe na Kagabo

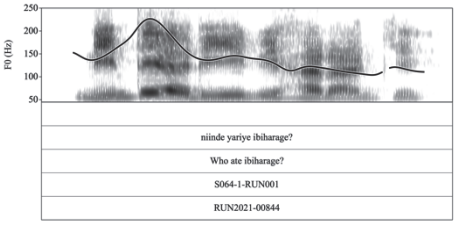
The lion was made run by Kagabo

S062-1-RUN001

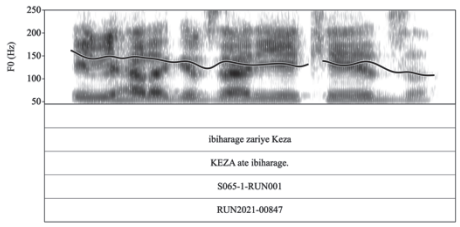
RUN2021-00838



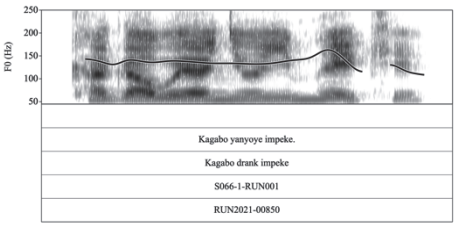
Keza yariye ibiharage.
Keza ate ibiharage.
S063-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00841



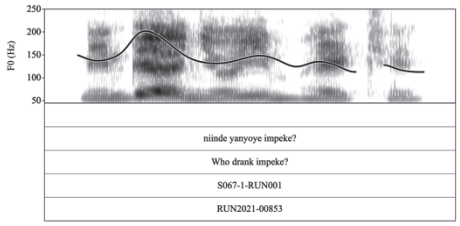
niinde yariye ibiharage?
Who ate ibiharage?
S064-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00844



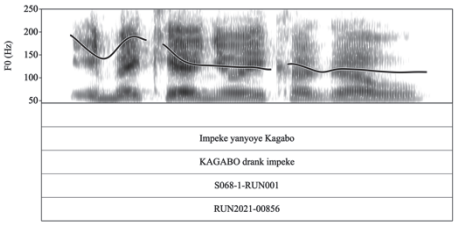
ibiharage zariye Keza
KEZA ate ibiharage.
S065-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00847



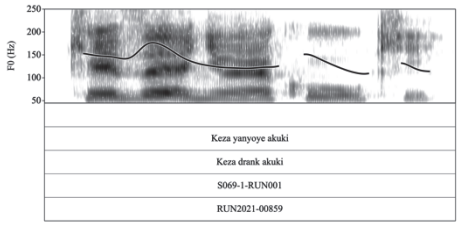
Kagabo yanyoye impeke.
Kagabo drank impeke
S066-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00850



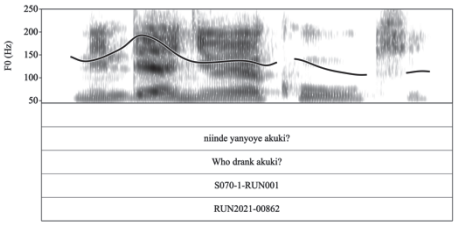
niinde yanyoye impeke?
Who drank impeke?
S067-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00853



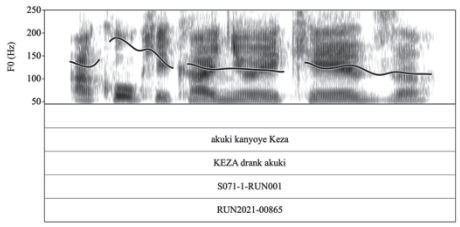
Impeke yanyoye Kagabo
KAGABO drank impeke
S068-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00856



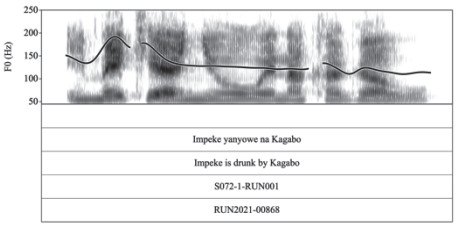
Keza yanyoye akuki
Keza drank akuki
S069-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00859



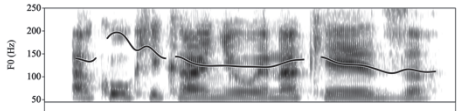
niinde yanyoye akuki?
Who drank akuki?
S070-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00862



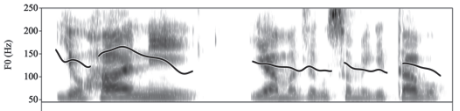
akuki kanyoye Keza
KEZA drank akuki
S071-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00865



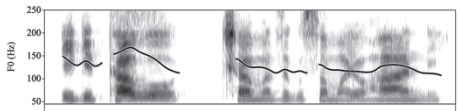
Impeke yanyowe na Kagabo
Impeke is drunk by Kagabo
S072-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00868



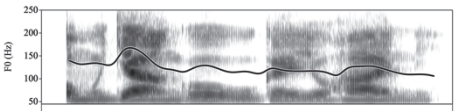
Akuki kanyowe na Keza
Akuki is drunk by Keza
S073-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00871



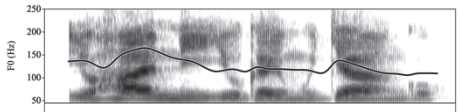
Johani yamaze gusoma igitabu
John has already read a book (it's too late).
S076-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00874



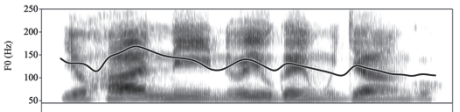
Igitabu chamaze gusoma Johani
(only possible in John being focused).
S077-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00877



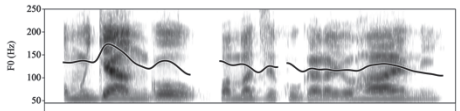
umugjango ugaya johanni
JOHN closed the door.
S078-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00880



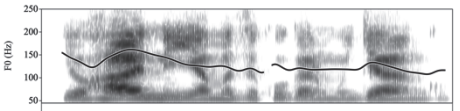
johanni jugaye umugjango
John closed the door
S079-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00883



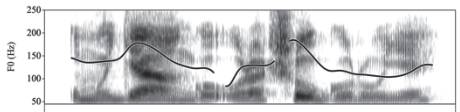
johanni niwe jugaye umugjango
It is John who closed the door.
S080-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00886



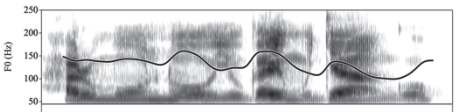
umugyango wamaze kugara johani
(different meaning, JOHN has already closed door).
S081-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00889



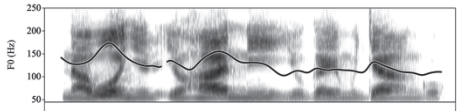
johani yamaze kugara umugyango
John has already closed the door. (too late)
S082-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00892



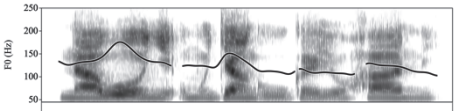
umugyaangu urachu guruye?
Is the door still open? (for non-inversion answer)
S083-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00895



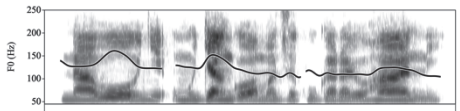
hari umuunhu yugaye umugyango?
Did anyone close the door? (for inversion answer)
S084-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00898



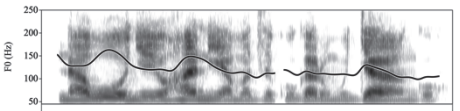
na vonye Johani yugaye mugiaango
I saw John had CLOSED the door.
S085-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00901



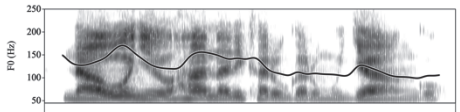
na vonye umugyaango mugaye Johanni
I saw JOHN had closed the door.
S086-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00904



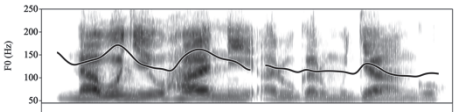
na vonye umugjango wamaze kugara Johani
I saw JOHN had already closed the door.
S087-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00907



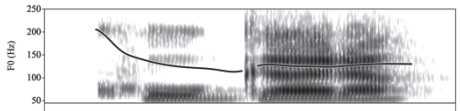
na vonye Johani yamaze kugara umugyjango
I saw John had already CLOSED the door.
S088-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00910



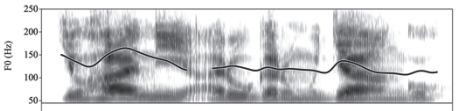
na vonye johani arika arugari mugyaango
I saw that John was closing the door.
S089-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00913



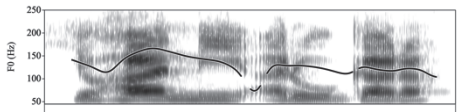
na vonye Johani arugaru mugyaango
I saw that John would be closing the door.
S090-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00916



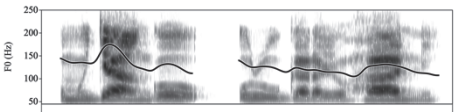
kugara
to close
S091-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00919



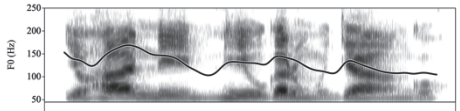
Johani arugara mugyaango
John will close the door.
S092-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00922



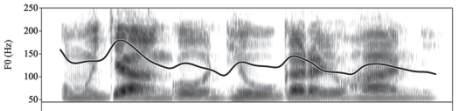
Johani arugara
John will close.
S093-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00925



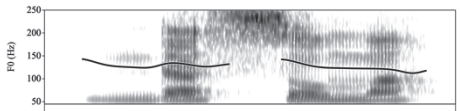
umugyaango orogara Johani
JOHN will close the door.
S094-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00928



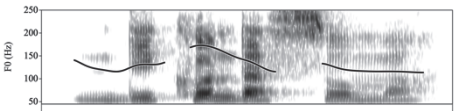
Johani niyugara mugyango
John will not close the door.
S095-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00931



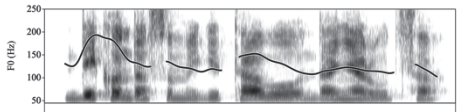
umugyaango niugara Johani
JOHN will not close the door.
S096-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00934



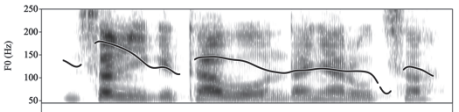
ndasoma
I read
S097-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00937



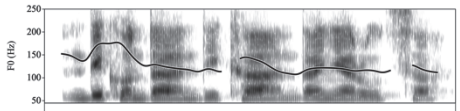
ndikondasoma
I'm reading
S098-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00940



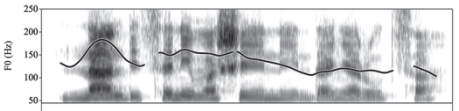
ndiko ndasome igitabu danya rutsha
my reading of the book is really fast
S099-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00943



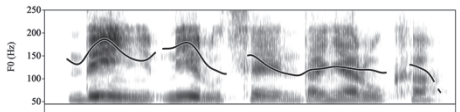
nsome igitabu danya rutsha
I'm reading a book quickly
S100-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00946



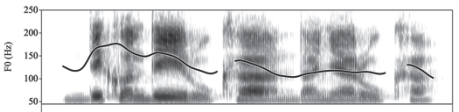
ndiko ndandika damnya rutsha
my typing is really fast
S101-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00949



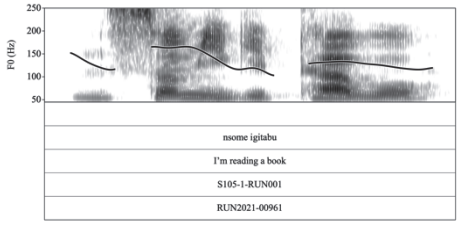
nandiche ni machine danya rutscha.
you will be fast (when you are using this computer)
S102-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00952



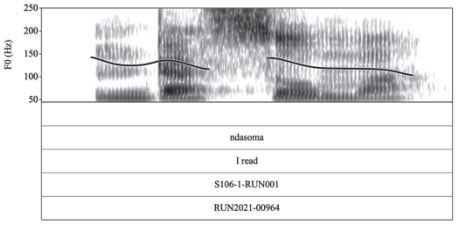
ni ruche danya ruka.
by running I will get there fast.
S103-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00955



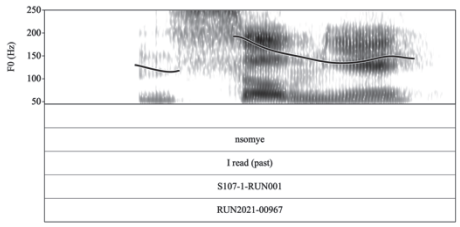
ndiko ndi ruka danya ruka.
I will be quick by running (I'm fast in running)
S104-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00958



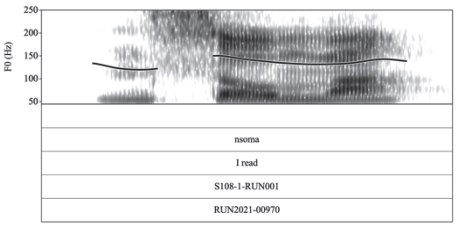
nsome igitabu
I'm reading a book
S105-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00961



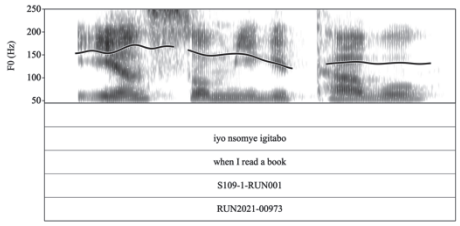
ndasoma
I read
S106-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00964



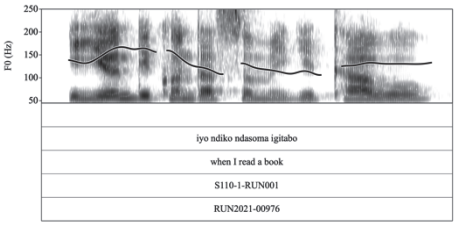
nsomye
I read (past)
S107-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00967



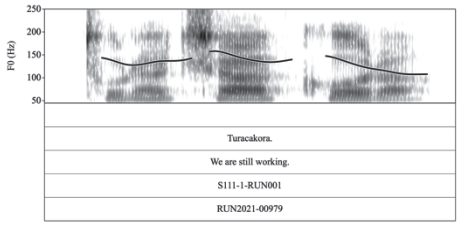
nsoma
I read
S108-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00970



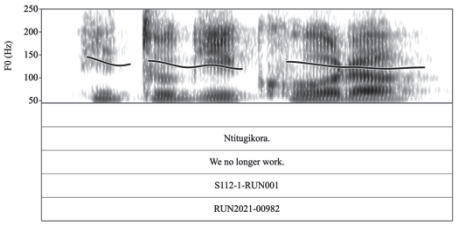
iyo nsomye igitabo
when I read a book
S109-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00973



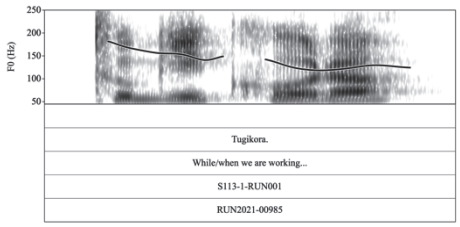
iyo ndiko ndasoma igitabo
when I read a book
S110-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00976



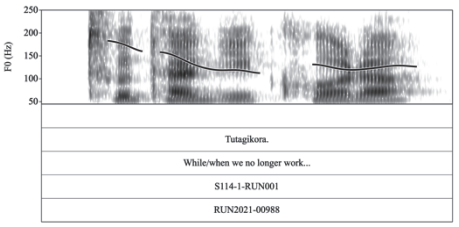
Turacakora.
We are still working.
S111-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00979



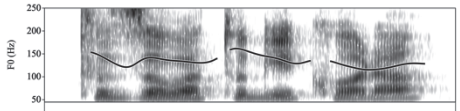
Ntitugikora.
We no longer work.
S112-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00982



Tugikora.
While/when we are working...
S113-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00985



Tutagikora.
While/when we no longer work...
S114-1-RUN001
RUN2021-00988

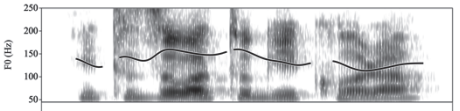


Tuzoba tugikora.

We will be working.

S115-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00991

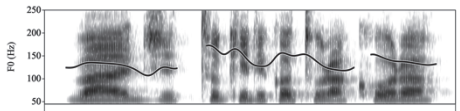


Ntituzoba tugikora.

We will no longer work.

S116-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00994

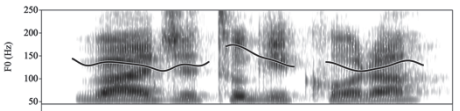


Baje tukiriko turakora.

They come while we are still working.

S117-1-RUN001

RUN2021-00997

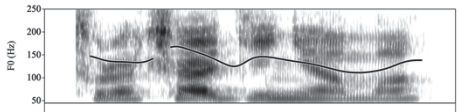


Baje tugikora.

They come while we are still working.

S118-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01000

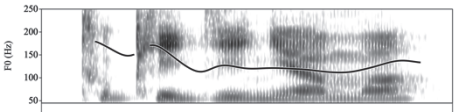


Turacarya inyama.

We are still eating the meat.

S119-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01003

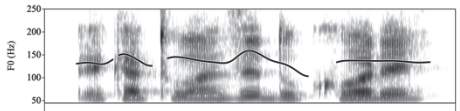


Tukirya inyama.

While/when we are eating the meat…

S120-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01006

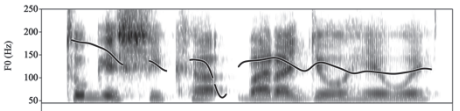


Leka, tuanze dukore.

Wait, let us work first.

S121-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01009

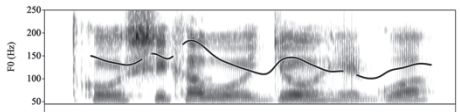


Tugishika, bararyoherwe.

When we arrived, they were happy.

S122-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01012

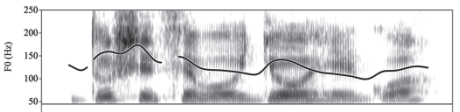


Twoshika boryoherwa.

If we arrive, they will be happy.

S123-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01015

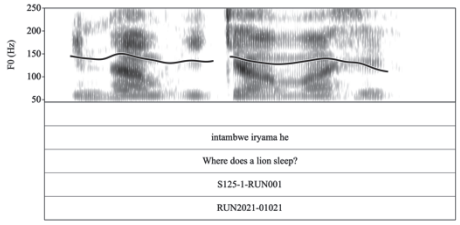


Dushice boryoherwa.

If we arrive, they will be happy.

S124-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01018

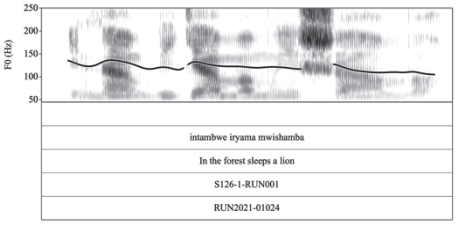


intambwe iryama he

Where does a lion sleep?

S125-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01021

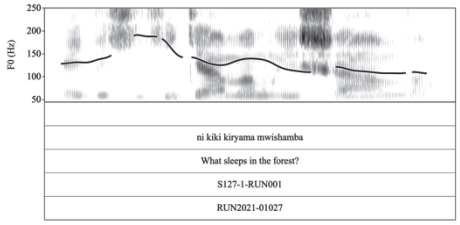


intambwe iryama mwishamba

In the forest sleeps a lion

S126-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01024

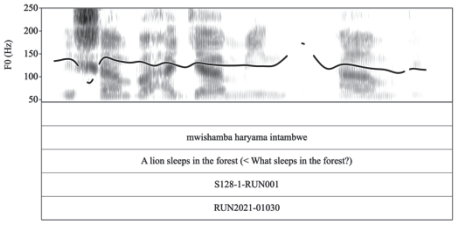


ni kiki kiryama mwishamba

What sleeps in the forest?

S127-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01027

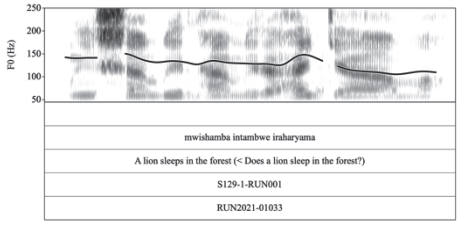


mwishamba haryama intambwe

A lion sleeps in the forest (< What sleeps in the forest?)

S128-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01030

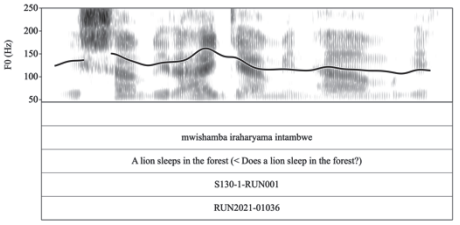


mwishamba intambwe iraharyama

A lion sleeps in the forest (< Does a lion sleep in the forest?)

S129-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01033

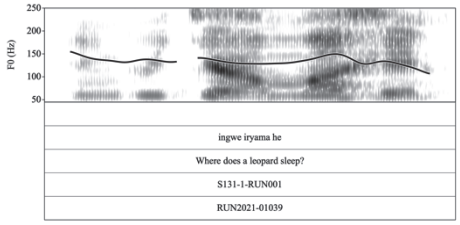


mwishamba iraharyama intambwe

A lion sleeps in the forest (< Does a lion sleep in the forest?)

S130-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01036

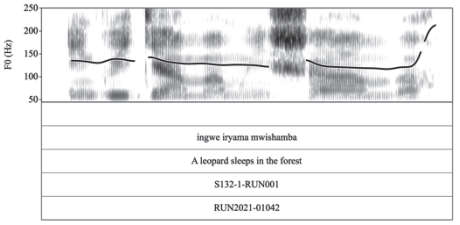


ingwe iryama he

Where does a leopard sleep?

S131-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01039

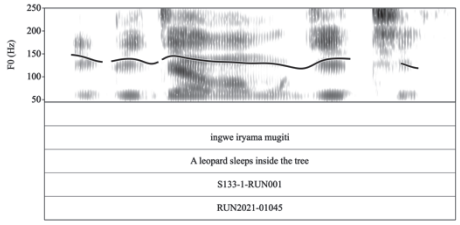


ingwe iryama mwishamba

A leopard sleeps in the forest

S132-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01042

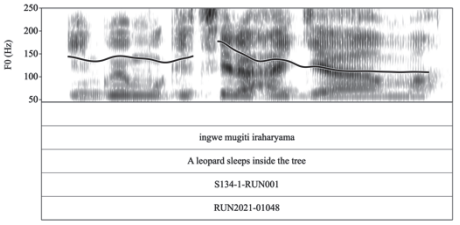


ingwe iryama mugiti

A leopard sleeps inside the tree

S133-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01045

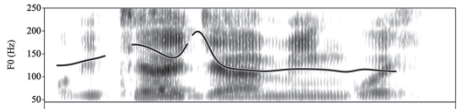


ingwe mugiti iraharyama

A leopard sleeps inside the tree

S134-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01048

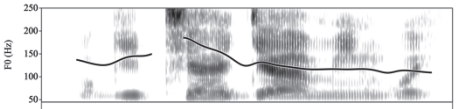


mugiti haryama ingwe

Inside the tree sleeps a leopard (< What sleeps inside the tree?)

S135-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01051

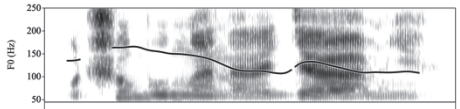


mugiti haryama ingwe

Inside the tree sleeps a leopard (< What sleeps inside the tree?)

S136-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01054

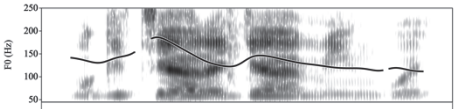


muchumba umwana araryamie

In the room a child sleeps

S137-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01057

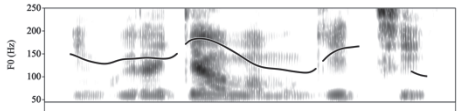


mugiti hararyama ingwe

Inside the tree can be slept by a leopard

S138-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01060

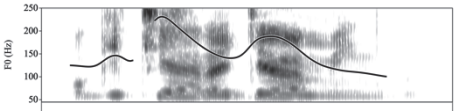


ingwe iraryama mugiti

Does a leopard sleeps inside the tree?

S139-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01063

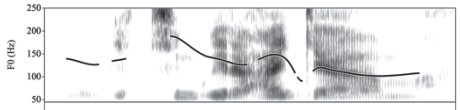


mugiti hararyama ingwe

Inside the tree a leopard sleeps

S140-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01066

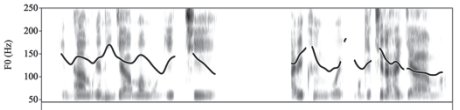


mugiti ingwe iraharyama

Inside the tree a leopard sleeps (< Does a leopard sleeps inside the tree?)

S141-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01069

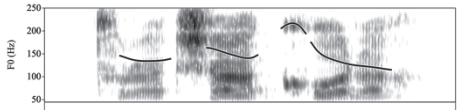


intambwe ntiryama mugiti, aliko ingwe mugiti iraharyama

A lion doesn't sleep inside the tree but a leopard sleeps inside the tree

S142-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01072

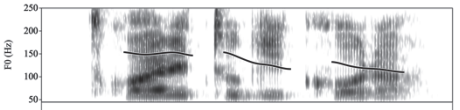


Turacakora.

We are still working.

S144-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01075

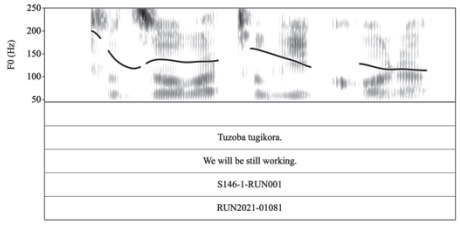


Twari tugikora.

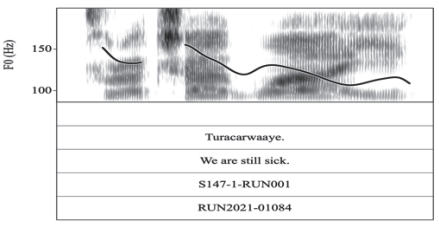
We were still working.

S145-1-RUN001

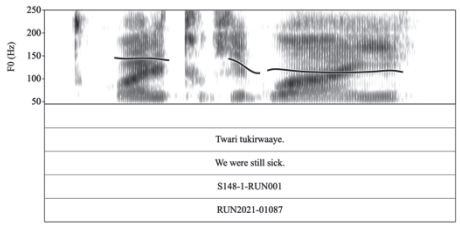
RUN2021-01078



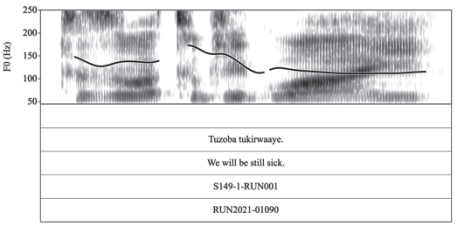
Tuzoba tugikora.
We will be still working.
S146-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01081



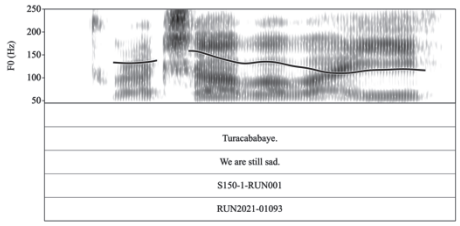
Turacarwaaye.
We are still sick.
S147-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01084



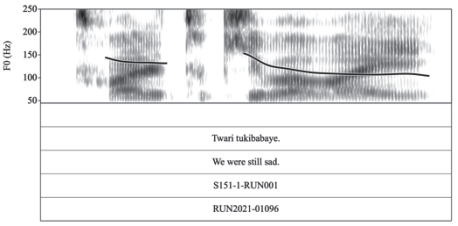
Twari tukirwaaye.
We were still sick.
S148-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01087



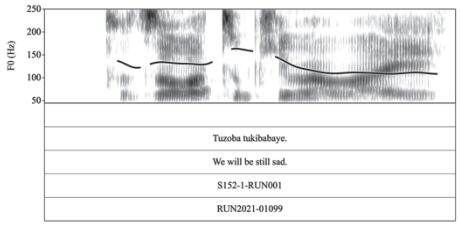
Tuzoba tukirwaaye.
We will be still sick.
S149-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01090



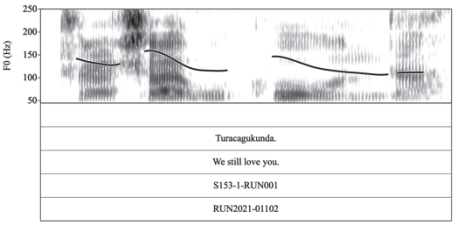
Turacababaye.
We are still sad.
S150-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01093



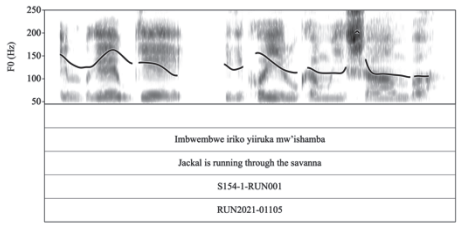
Twari tukibabaye.
We were still sad.
S151-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01096



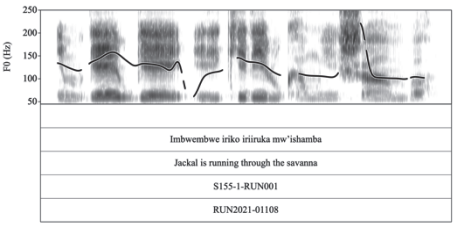
Tuzoba tukibabaye.
We will be still sad.
S152-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01099



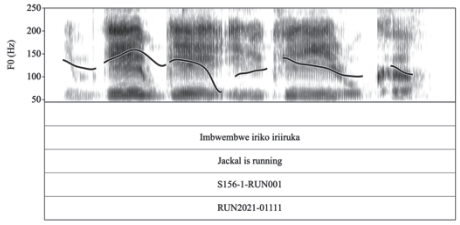
Turacagukunda.
We still love you.
S153-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01102



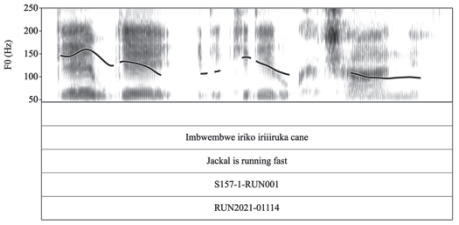
Imbwembwe iriko yiiruka mw'ishamba
Jackal is running through the savanna
S154-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01105



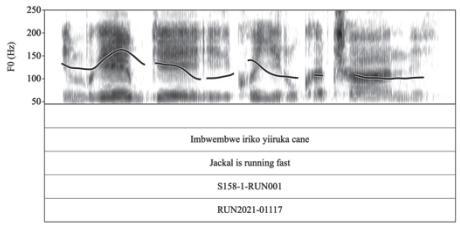
Imbwembwe iriko iriiruka mw'ishamba
Jackal is running through the savanna
S155-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01108



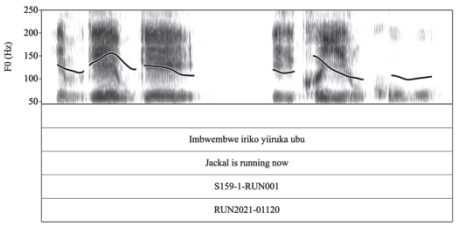
Imbwembwe iriko iriiruka
Jackal is running
S156-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01111



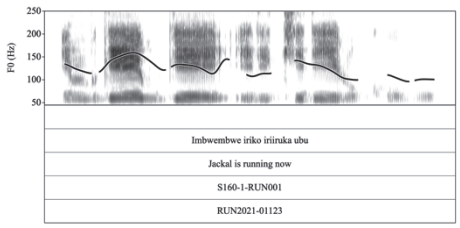
Imbwembwe iriko iriiiruka cane
Jackal is running fast
S157-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01114



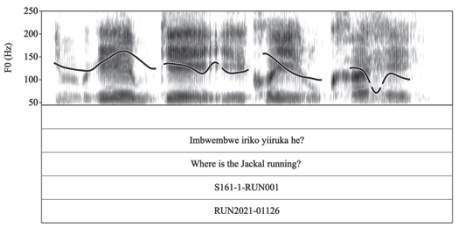
Imbwembwe iriko yiiruka cane
Jackal is running fast
S158-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01117



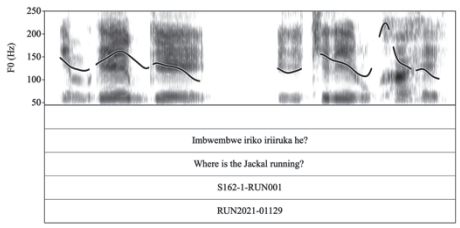
Imbwembwe iriko yiiruka ubu
Jackal is running now
S159-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01120



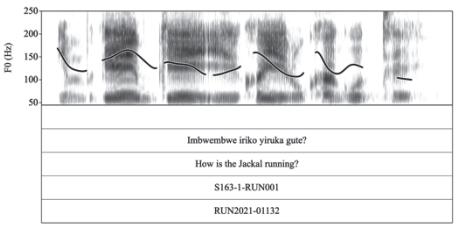
Imbwembwe iriko iriiruka ubu
Jackal is running now
S160-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01123



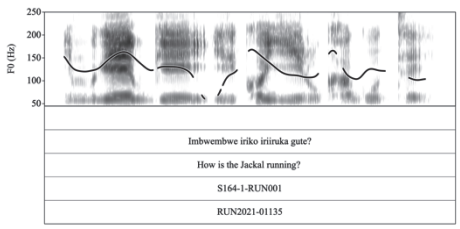
Imbwembwe iriko yiiruka he?
Where is the Jackal running?
S161-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01126



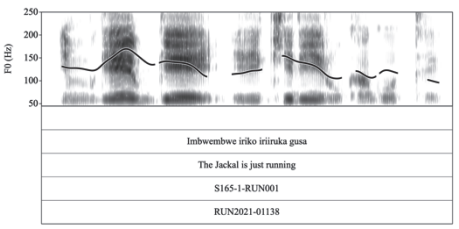
Imbwembwe iriko iriiruka he?
Where is the Jackal running?
S162-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01129



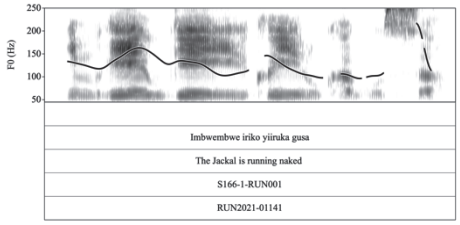
Imbwembwe iriko yiruka gute?
How is the Jackal running?
S163-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01132



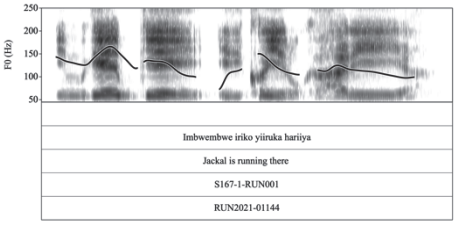
Imbwembwe iriko iriiruka gute?
How is the Jackal running?
S164-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01135



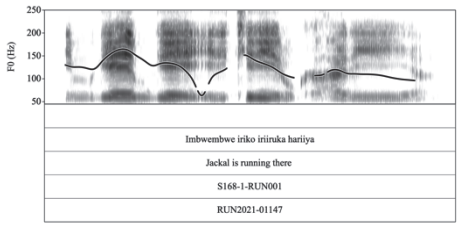
Imbwembwe iriko iriiruka gusa
The Jackal is just running
S165-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01138



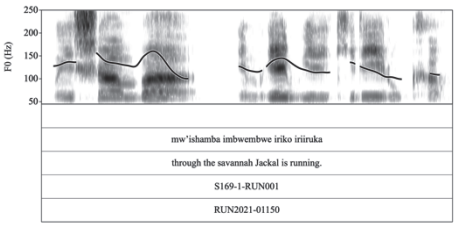
Imbwembwe iriko yiiruka gusa
The Jackal is running naked
S166-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01141



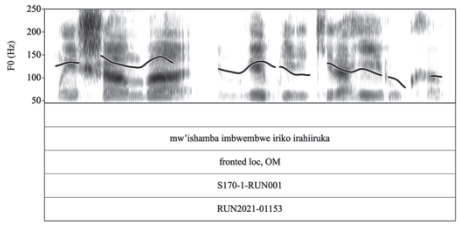
Imbwembwe iriko yiiruka hariiya
Jackal is running there
S167-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01144



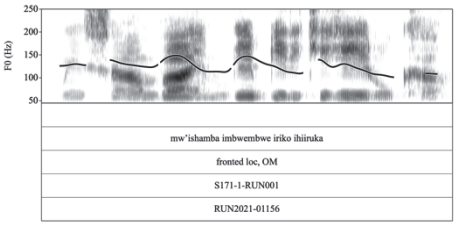
Imbwembwe iriko iriiruka hariiya
Jackal is running there
S168-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01147



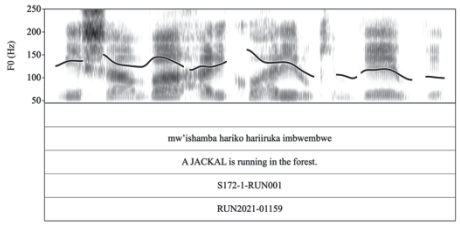
mw'ishamba imbwembwe iriko iriiruka
through the savannah Jackal is running.
S169-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01150



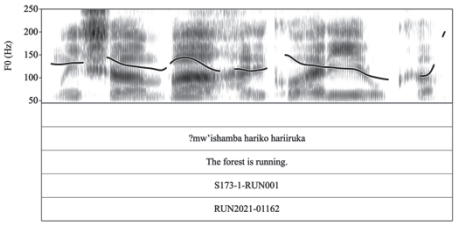
mw'ishamba imbwembwe iriko irahiiruka
fronted loc, OM
S170-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01153



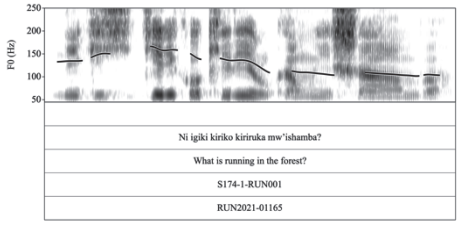
mw'ishamba imbwembwe iriko ihiiruka
fronted loc, OM
S171-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01156



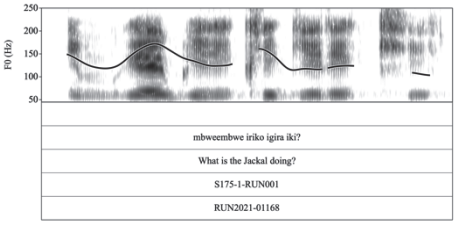
mw'ishamba hariko hariiruka imbwembwe
A JACKAL is running in the forest.
S172-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01159



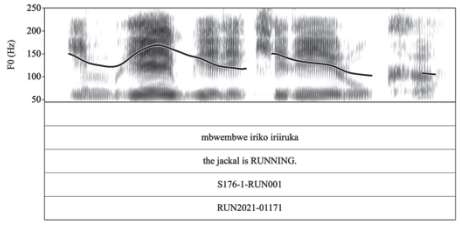
?mw'ishamba hariiko hariiruka
The forest is running.
S173-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01162



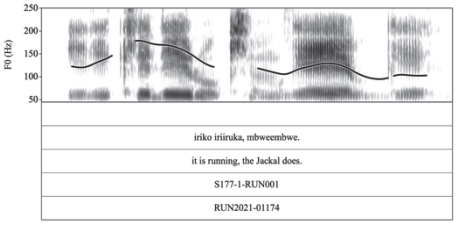
Ni igiki kiriko kiriruka mw'ishamba?
What is running in the forest?
S174-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01165



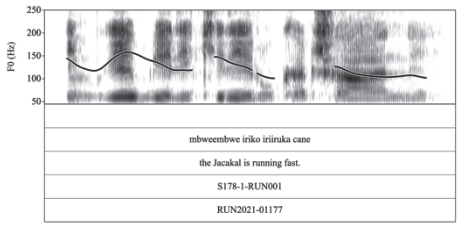
mbweembwe iriko igira iki?
What is the Jackal doing?
S175-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01168



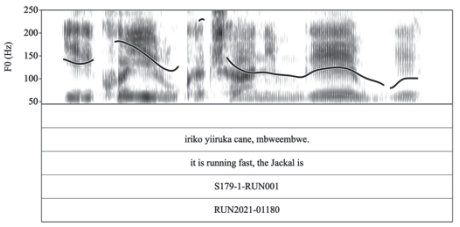
mbwembwe iriko iriiruka
the jackal is RUNNING.
S176-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01171



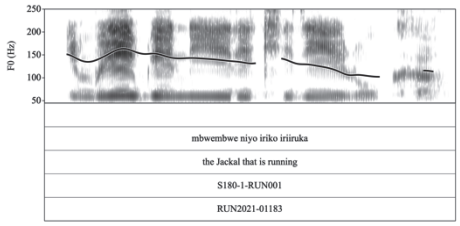
iriko iriiruka, mbweembwe.
it is running, the Jackal does.
S177-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01174



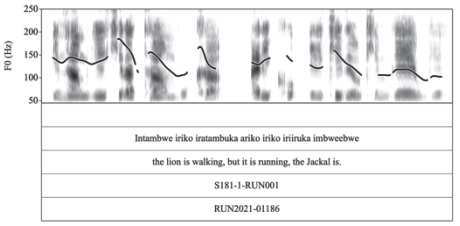
mbweembwe iriko iriiruka cane
the Jacakal is running fast.
S178-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01177



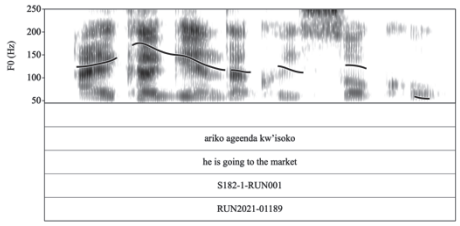
iriko yiiruka cane, mbweembwe.
it is running fast, the Jackal is
S179-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01180



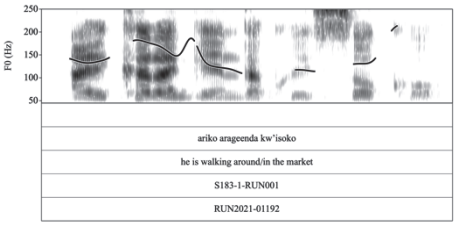
mbwembwe niyo iriko iriiruka
the Jackal that is running
S180-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01183



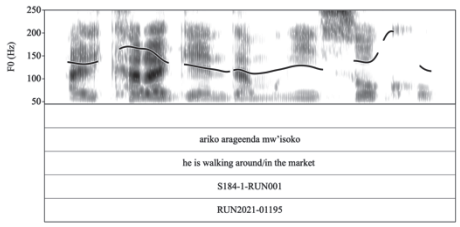
Intambwe iriko iratambuka ariko iriko iriiruka imbweebwe
the lion is walking, but it is running, the Jackal is.
S181-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01186



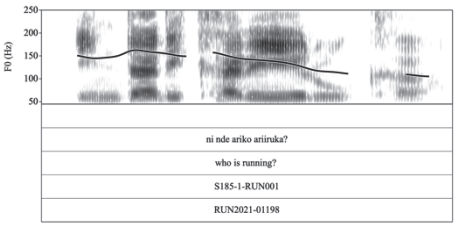
ariko ageenda kw'isoko
he is going to the market
S182-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01189



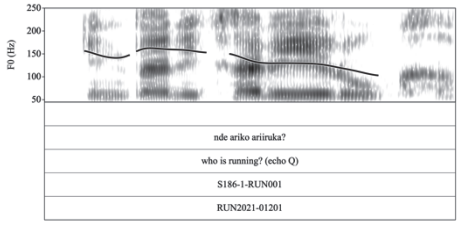
ariko arageenda kw'isoko
he is walking around/in the market
S183-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01192



ariko arageenda mw'isoko
he is walking around/in the market
S184-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01195



ni nde ariko ariiruka?
who is running?
S185-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01198

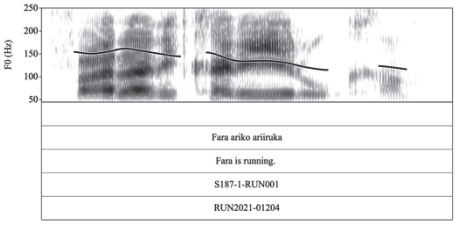


nde ariko ariiruka?

who is running? (echo Q)

S186-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01201

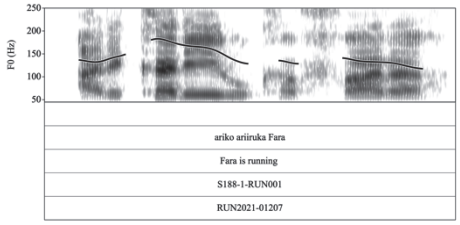


Fara ariko ariiruka

Fara is running.

S187-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01204

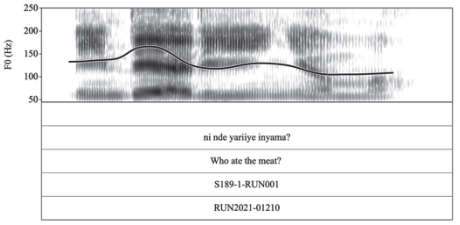


ariko ariiruka Fara

Fara is running

S188-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01207

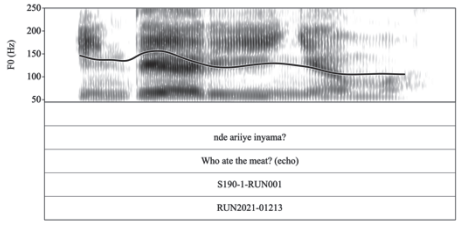


ni nde yariiye inyama?

Who ate the meat?

S189-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01210

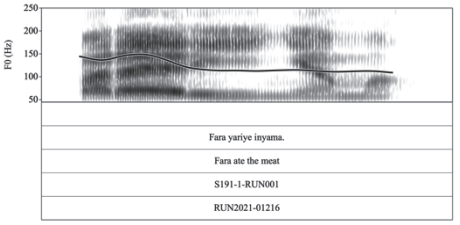


nde ariiye inyama?

Who ate the meat? (echo)

S190-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01213

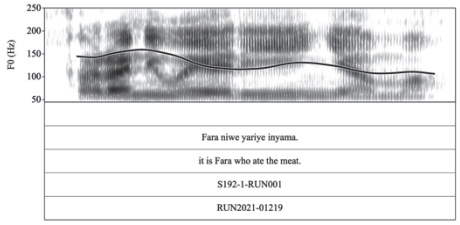


Fara yariye inyama.

Fara ate the meat

S191-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01216

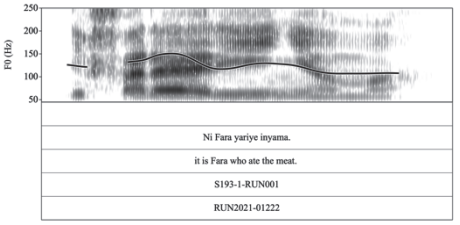


Fara niwe yariye inyama.

it is Fara who ate the meat.

S192-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01219

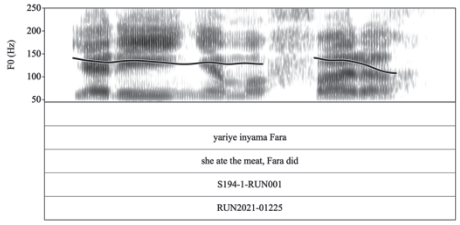


Ni Fara yariye inyama.

it is Fara who ate the meat.

S193-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01222

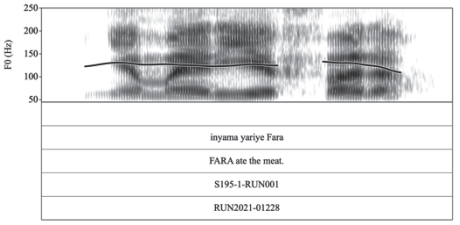


yariye inyama Fara

she ate the meat, Fara did

S194-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01225

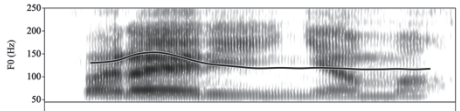


inyama yariye Fara

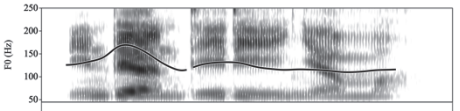
FARA ate the meat.

S195-1-RUN001

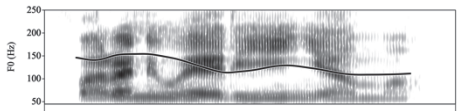
RUN2021-01228



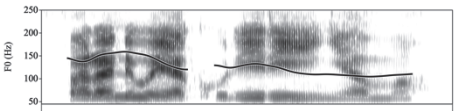
Fara yariye inyama
Fara ate the meat
S196-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01231



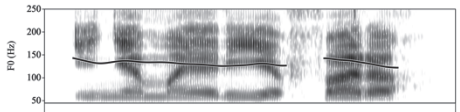
Ni nde andiriye inyama?
WHO ate the meat?
S197-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01234



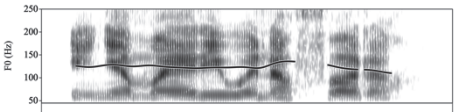
Fara niwe ariye inyama
Fara ate the meat.
S198-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01237



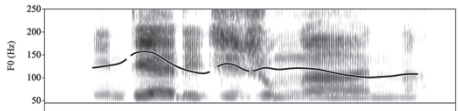
Fara niwe akuririye inyama
Fara ate the meat.
S199-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01240



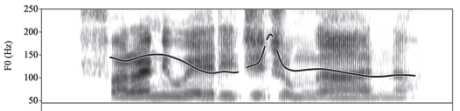
inyama iriye Fara
FARA ate the meat.
S200-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01243



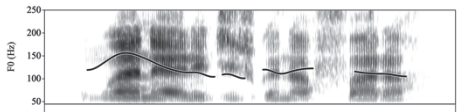
inyama iriiwe na Fara.
meat was eaten by Fara
S201-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01246



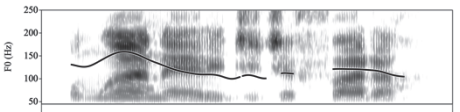
Ni inde arijije umwana?
WHO made my child crying?
S202-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01249



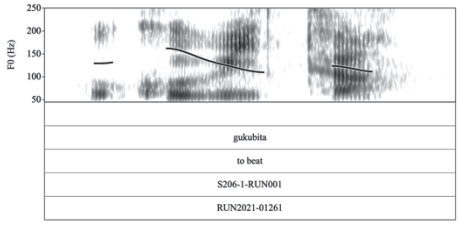
Fara niwe arijije umwana,
Fara made the child crying
S203-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01252



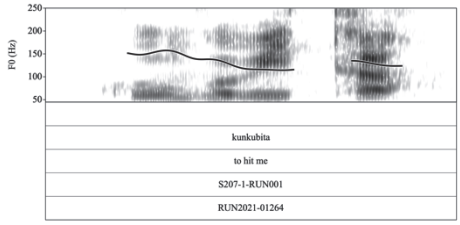
Umwana arijijwe na Fara
Fara made the child crying.
S204-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01255



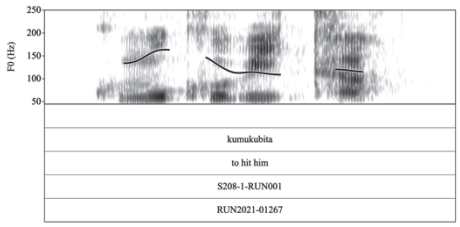
?Umwana arijije Fara
The child made Fara cyring.
S205-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01258



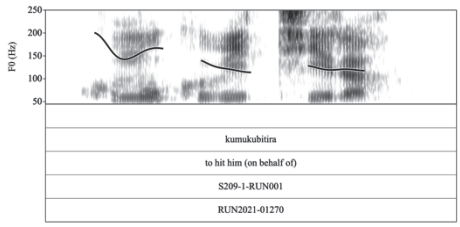
gukubita
to beat
S206-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01261



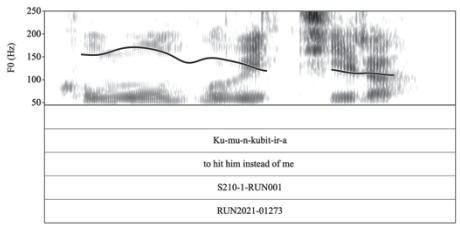
kunkubita
to hit me
S207-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01264



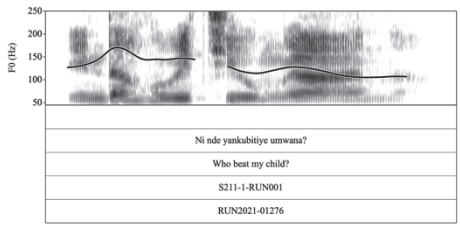
kumukubita
to hit him
S208-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01267



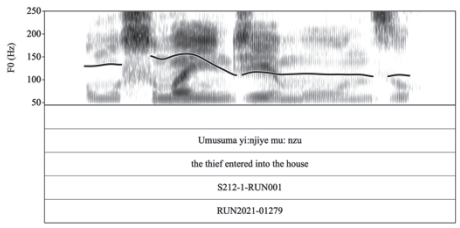
kumukubitira
to hit him (on behalf of)
S209-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01270



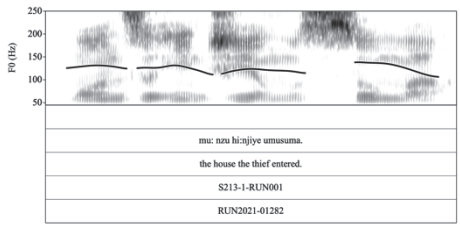
Ku-mu-n-kubit-ir-a
to hit him instead of me
S210-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01273



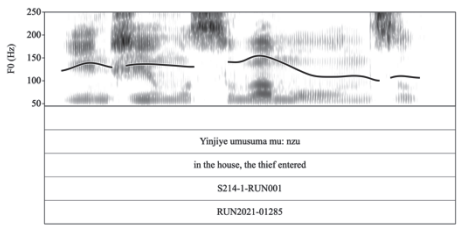
Ni nde yankubitiye umwana?
Who beat my child?
S211-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01276



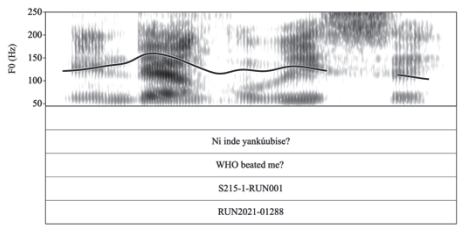
Umusuma yi:njiye mu: nzu
the thief entered into the house
S212-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01279



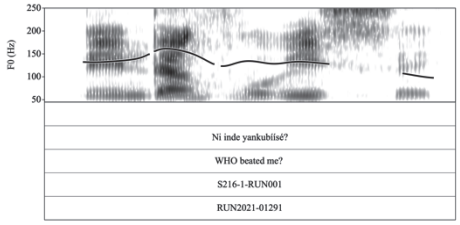
mu: nzu hi:njiye umusuma.
the house the thief entered.
S213-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01282



Yinjiye umusuma mu: nzu
in the house, the thief entered
S214-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01285



Ni inde yankúubise?
WHO beated me?
S215-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01288

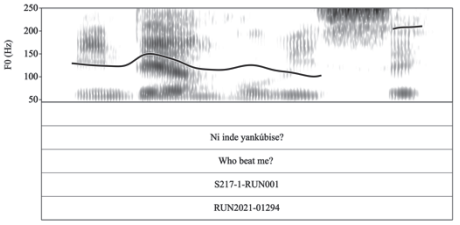


Ni inde yankubíisé?

WHO beated me?

S216-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01291

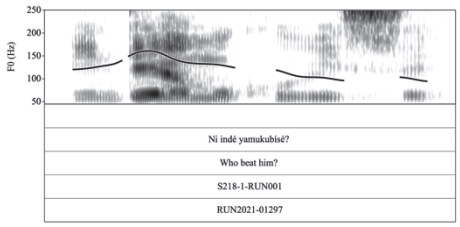


Ni inde yankúbise?

Who beat me?

S217-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01294

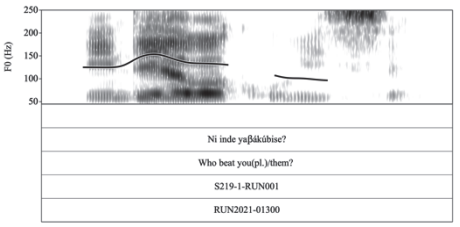


Ni indé yamukubisé?

Who beat him?

S218-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01297

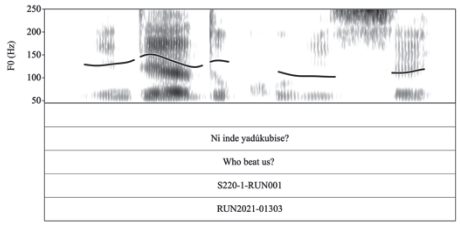


Ni inde yaβákúbise?

Who beat you(pl.)/them?

S219-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01300

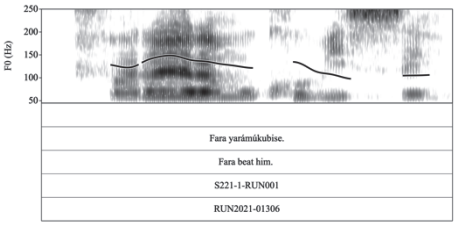


Ni inde yadúkubise?

Who beat us?

S220-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01303

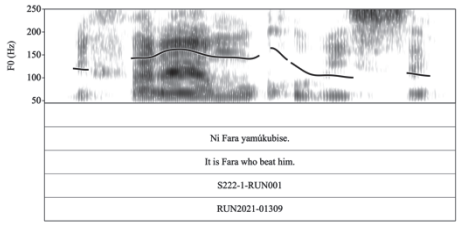


Fara yarámúkubise.

Fara beat him.

S221-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01306

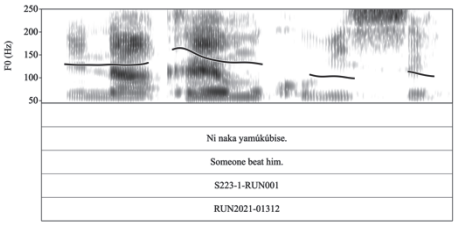


Ni Fara yamúkubise.

It is Fara who beat him.

S222-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01309

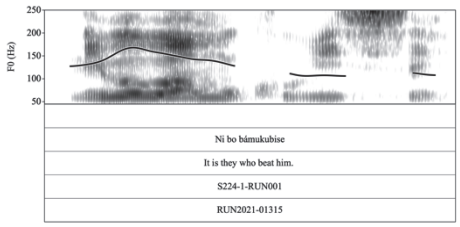


Ni naka yamúkúbise.

Someone beat him.

S223-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01312

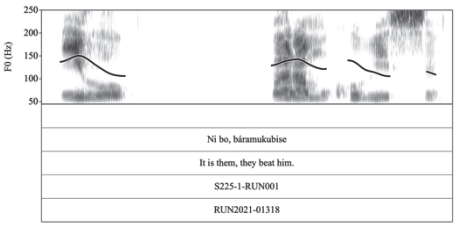


Ni bo bámukubise

It is they who beat him.

S224-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01315

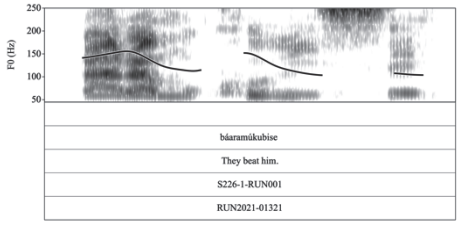


Ni bo, báramukubise

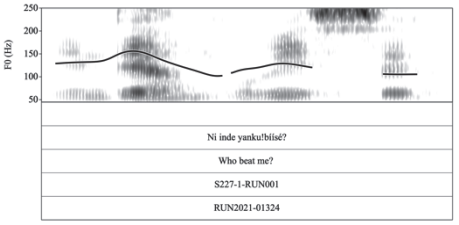
It is them, they beat him.

S225-1-RUN001

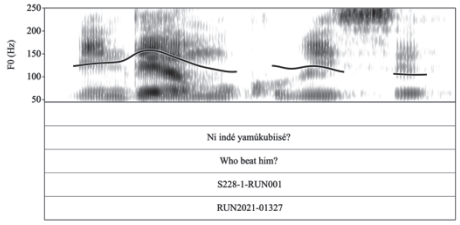
RUN2021-01318



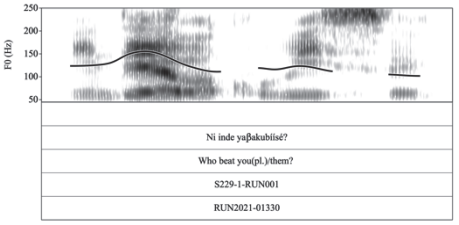
báaramúkubise
They beat him.
S226-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01321



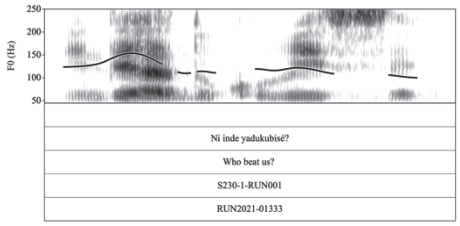
Ni inde yanku!bíisé?
Who beat me?
S227-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01324



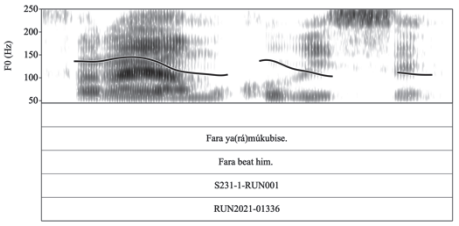
Ni indé yamúkubiisé?
Who beat him?
S228-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01327



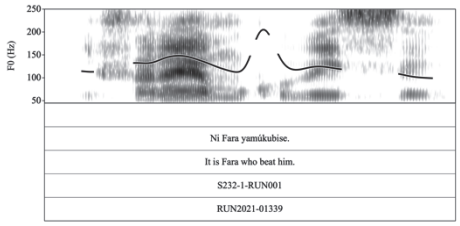
Ni inde yaβakubíisé?
Who beat you(pl.)/them?
S229-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01330



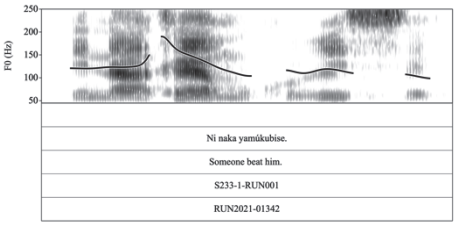
Ni inde yadukubisé?
Who beat us?
S230-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01333



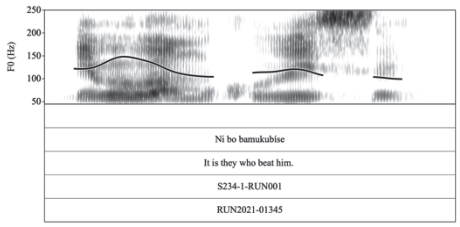
Fara ya(rá)múkubise.
Fara beat him.
S231-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01336



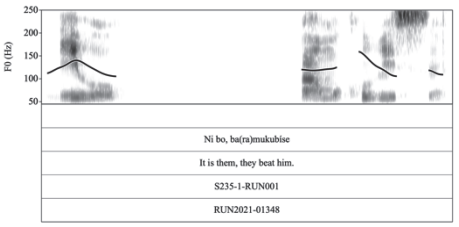
Ni Fara yamúkubise.
It is Fara who beat him.
S232-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01339



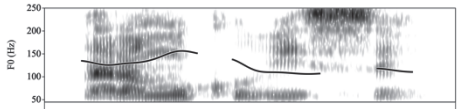
Ni naka yamúkubise.
Someone beat him.
S233-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01342



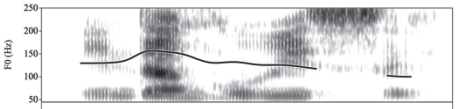
Ni bo bamukubise
It is they who beat him.
S234-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01345



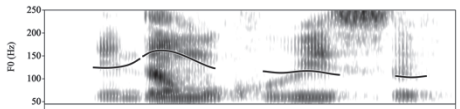
Ni bo, ba(ra)mukubise
It is them, they beat him.
S235-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01348



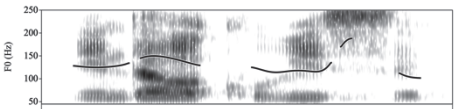
baramúkubise
They beat him.
S236-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01351



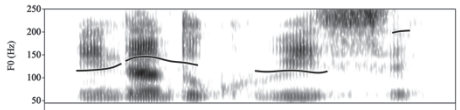
Ni inde ankubíise?
Who beats me?
S237-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01354



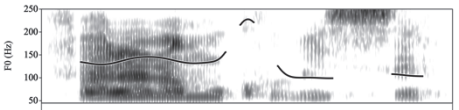
Ni inde amukubíise?
Who beats him?
S238-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01357



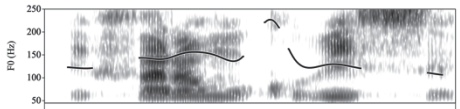
Ni inde aβakubíise?
Who beats you(pl.)/them?
S239-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01360



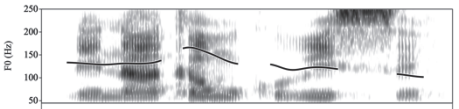
Ni inde adukubise?
Who beat us?
S240-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01363



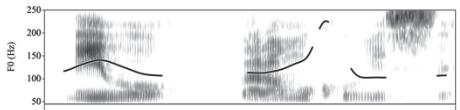
Fara amukubise
Fara beats him.
S241-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01366



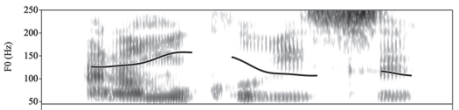
ni fara amukubise
It is Fara who beats him.
S242-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01369



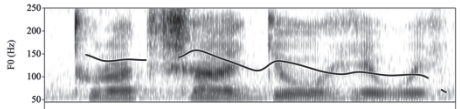
Ni naka amukubise
Someone beats him.
S243-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01372



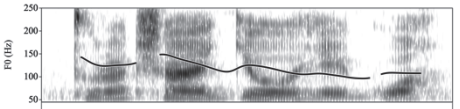
Ni bo baramukubise
It is they who beat him.
S244-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01375



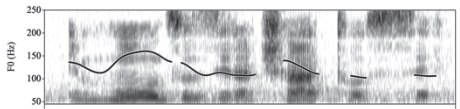
baramukubise
They beat him.
S245-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01378



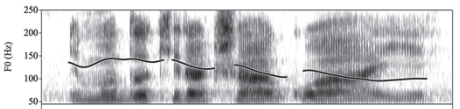
Tura-ca-ryohewe
we are still happy
S246-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01381



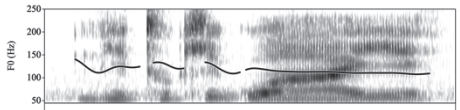
Tura-ca-ryoherya
we are still having fun
S247-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01384



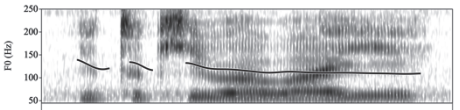
Impuzu zira-ca-tose
The cloth is still wet.
S248-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01387



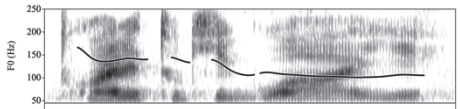
Imodoka ira-ca-rwaye
The car is still broken
S249-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01390



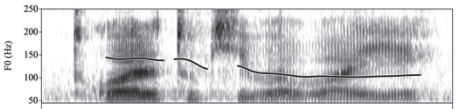
Ntitu-ki-rwaye
we are not sick any more.
S250-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01393



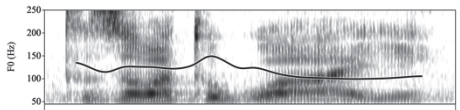
Ntitu-ki-babaye
we are not sad any more.
S251-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01396



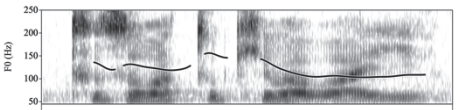
Twari tu-ki-rwaye
we were still sick.
S252-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01399



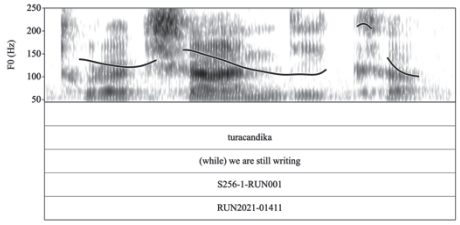
Twari tu-ki-babaye
we were still sad.
S253-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01402



Tuzoba tukirwaye
we will still be sick.
S254-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01405



Tuzoba tukibabaye
we will still be sad.
S255-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01408

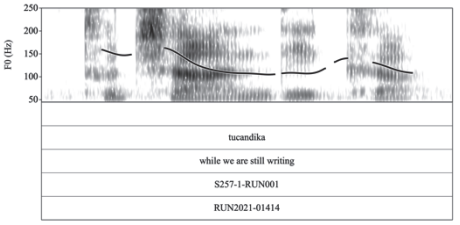


turacandika

(while) we are still writing

S256-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01411

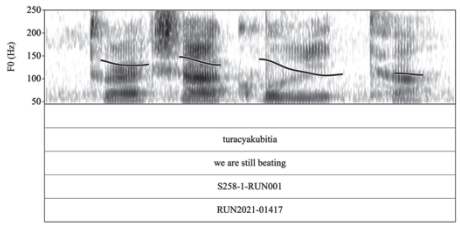


tucandika

while we are still writing

S257-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01414

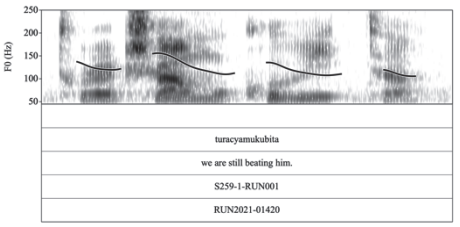


turacyakubitia

we are still beating

S258-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01417

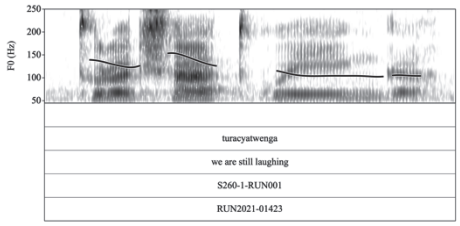


turacyamukubita

we are still beating him.

S259-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01420

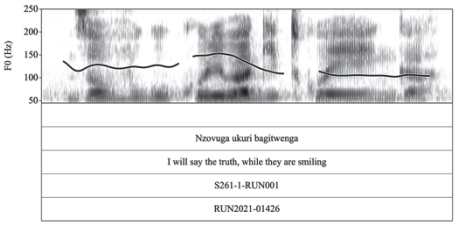


turacyatwenga

we are still laughing

S260-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01423

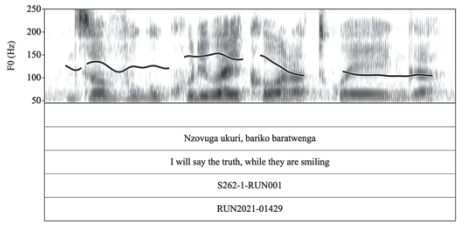


Nzovuga ukuri bagitwenga

I will say the truth, while they are smiling

S261-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01426

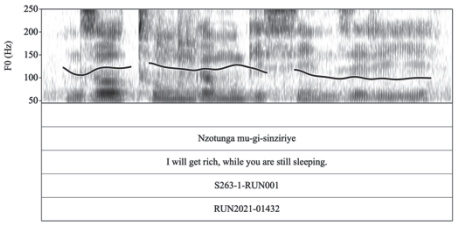


Nzovuga ukuri, bariko baratwenga

I will say the truth, while they are smiling

S262-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01429

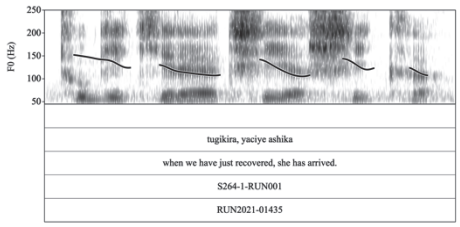


Nzotunga mu-gi-sinziriye

I will get rich, while you are still sleeping.

S263-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01432

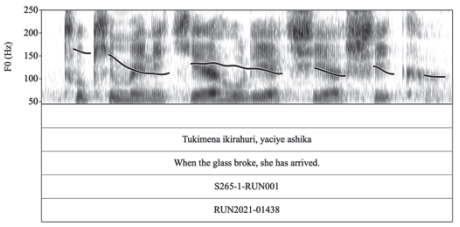


tugikira, yaciye ashika

when we have just recovered, she has arrived.

S264-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01435

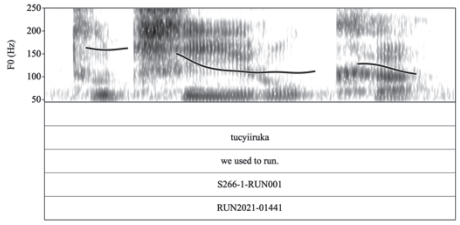


Tukimena ikirahuri, yaciye ashika

When the glass broke, she has arrived.

S265-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01438

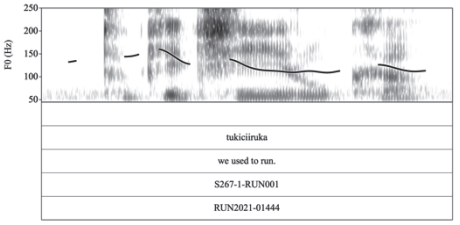


tucyiiruka

we used to run.

S266-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01441

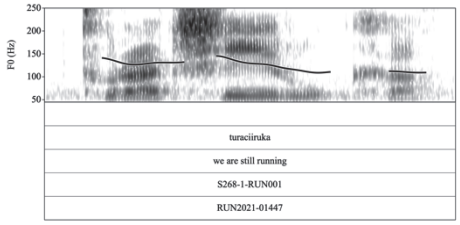


tukiciiruka

we used to run.

S267-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01444

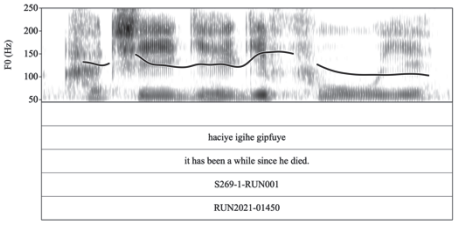


turaciiruka

we are still running

S268-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01447

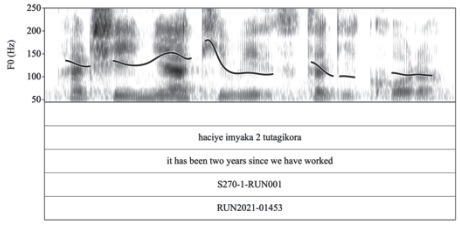


haciye igihe gipfuye

it has been a while since he died.

S269-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01450

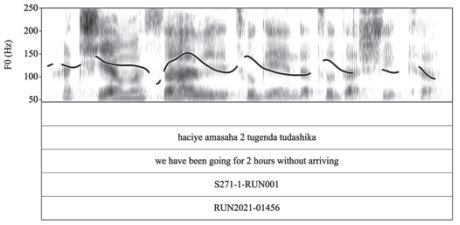


haciye imyaka 2 tutagikora

it has been two years since we have worked

S270-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01453

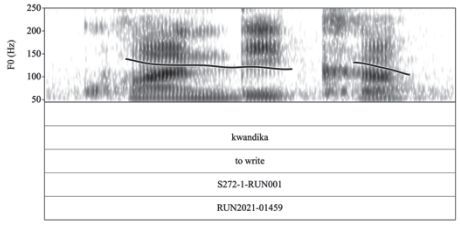


haciye amasaha 2 tugenda tudashika

we have been going for 2 hours without arriving

S271-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01456

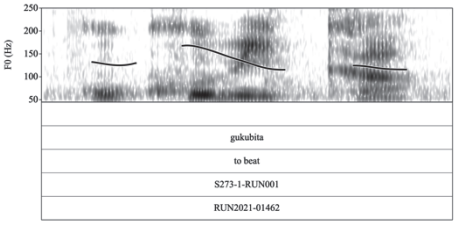


kwandika

to write

S272-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01459

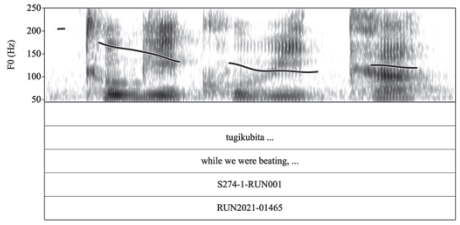


gukubita

to beat

S273-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01462

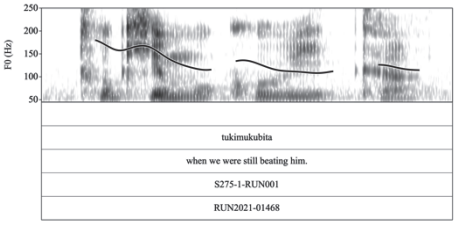


tugikubita ...

while we were beating, ...

S274-1-RUN001

RUN2021-01465

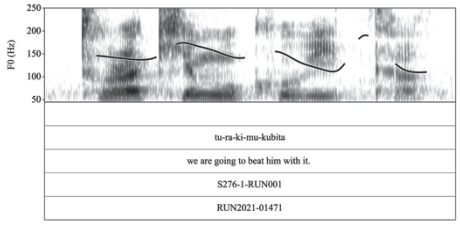


tukimukubita

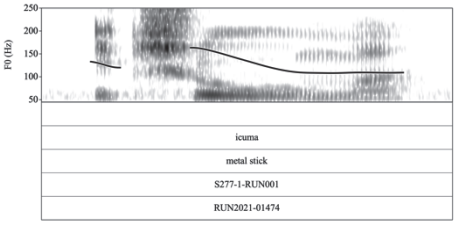
when we were still beating him.

S275-1-RUN001

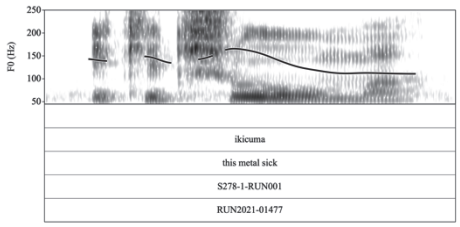
RUN2021-01468



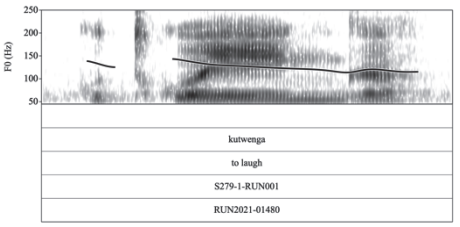
tu-ra-ki-mu-kubita
we are going to beat him with it.
S276-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01471



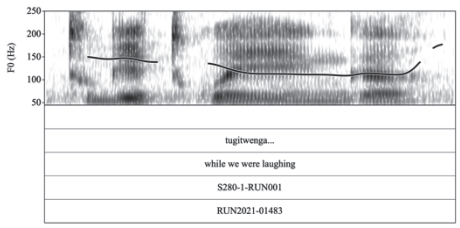
icuma
metal stick
S277-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01474



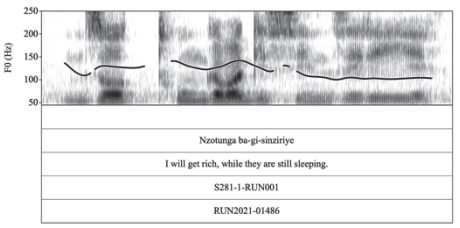
ikicuma
this metal sick
S278-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01477



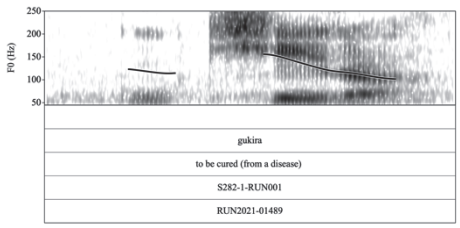
kutwenga
to laugh
S279-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01480



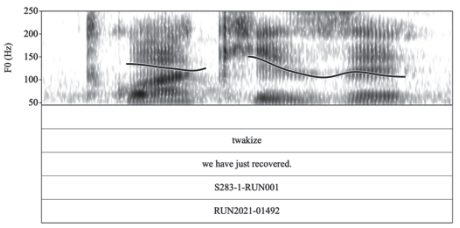
tugitwenga...
while we were laughing
S280-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01483



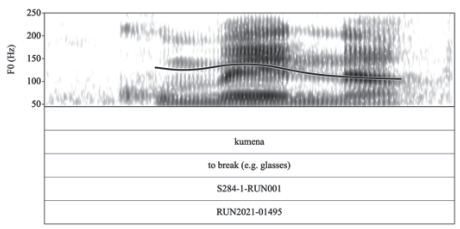
Nzotunga ba-gi-sinziriye
I will get rich, while they are still sleeping.
S281-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01486



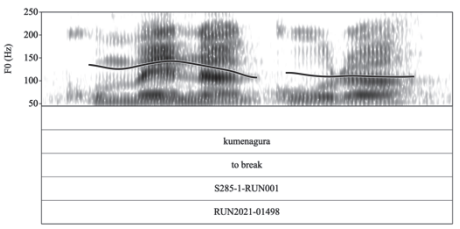
gukira
to be cured (from a disease)
S282-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01489



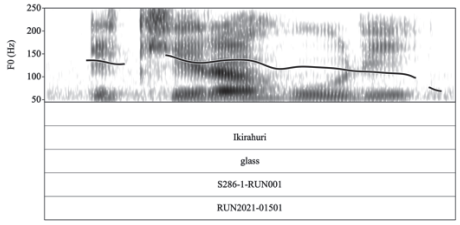
twakize
we have just recovered.
S283-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01492

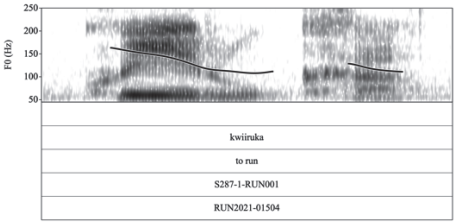


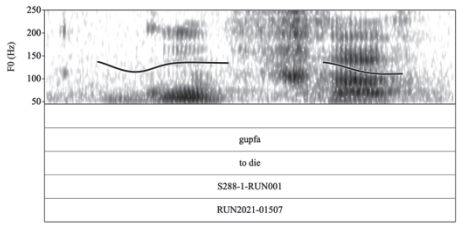
kumena
to break (e.g. glasses)
S284-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01495

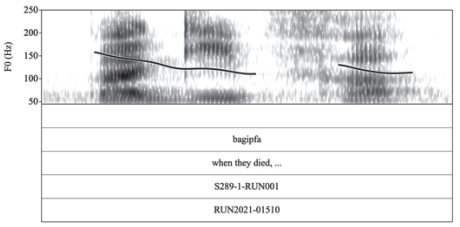


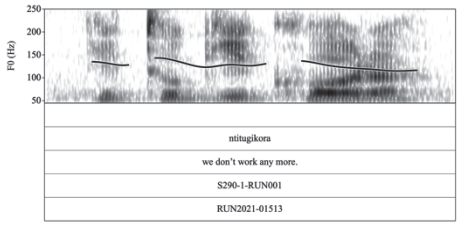
kumenagura
to break
S285-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01498

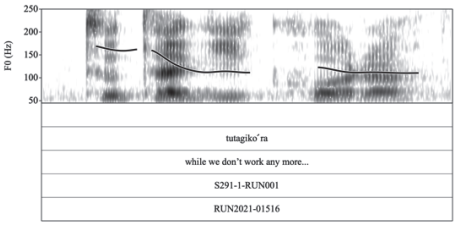

F0 (Hz)
250
200
150
100
50
Ikirahuri
glass
S286-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01501


F0 (Hz)
250
200
150
100
50
kwiiruka
to run
S287-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01504


F0 (Hz)
250
200
150
100
50
gupfa
to die
S288-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01507


F0 (Hz)
250
200
150
100
50
bagipfa
when they died, ...
S289-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01510


F0 (Hz)
250
200
150
100
50
ntitugikora
we don't work any more.
S290-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01513


F0 (Hz)
250
200
150
100
50
tutagiko'ra
while we don't work any more...
S291-1-RUN001
RUN2021-01516

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