

LOANWORD ALLOCATION in KINYARWANDA

by

KAYIGEMA Lwaboshi Jacques

STUDENT NUMBER: 3487-533-6

submitted in accordance with the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the subject

AFRICAN LANGUAGES

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: POF D E MUTASA

CO-SUPERVISOR: PROF P A MULAUDZI

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DECLARATION

I declare that ***Loanword Allocation in Kinyarwanda*** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signature:

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Rakwanda', written over a dotted line.

Date: June 2010

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My highest regard and gratitude are addressed to the Almighty God who has sustained my life and given me good health throughout my MA research programme.

To my beloved wife, Nyirahabimana Athalie, and my dearest children, without whom I could not have achieved this work, I dedicate this long and time consuming work.

May my supervisor, Professor Dave Mutasa, and my co-supervisor, Professor PA Mulaudzi, who advised me in various ways during the writing of my dissertation, find the warmest and everlasting thanks.

Last but not least, may UNISA, which funded my MA studies, accept my sincere gratitude from the bottom of my heart for the financial assistance and books from UNISA library it has provided me.

ABSTRACT

Kinyarwanda, like many other languages in contact, has adapted foreign words to meet the needs of its daily life vocabulary and activity. In addition to the lexical need filling, Kinyarwanda borrowed foreign words not only out of need for foreign words but also for prestige.

This thesis is based on two hypotheses: Kinyarwanda has borrowed foreign words out of need in various areas; loanwords have been allocated to Kinyarwanda noun class system.

This work has discussed and analysed how French and English loanwords have been allocated to key areas of influence and the nominal class system of Kinyarwanda.

The data were collected from various sources, including publications, conversation, newspapers, Bible literature, school text books, commercial posters, hoardings.

The study has analysed loanwords from French/English deceptive cognates in a bilingual context. This is a challenging task for other researchers who will have to deal with the complexity of deceptive cognate loanwords.

Abbreviations and Symbols

DL	:	Donor Language
DL1	:	Donor Language 1
DL2	:	Donor Language 2
L1	:	Language 1
L2	:	Language 2
TL1	:	Target Language 1
TL2	:	Target Language 2
RL1	:	Recipient Language 1
RL2	:	Recipient Language 2
CC	:	Consonant Consonant sequence
CVC	:	Consonant Vowel Consonant sequence
VCV	:	Vowel Consonant Vowel sequence
CI	:	Nominal Class
DRC	:	Democratic Republic of Congo
D61	:	Code for Kinyarwanda (by Malcolm Guthrie)
J61	:	Code for Kinyarwanda (by the Group of Tervuren, Belgium)
JD61	:	Combined Classification (Guthrie and Tervuren)
-	:	used to separate morphemes
→	:	becomes, is realized as
/	:	or (used alternately)
ϕ	:	nothing, zero
vs	:	versus

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

The current study researches on the allocation of foreign words in Kinyarwanda. Kinyarwanda has hosted a wide range of words from foreign languages over many years from the time it came into contact with other languages. French, English, and Kiswahili have lent more words to Kinyarwanda than any other foreign language. This work will entirely deal with loanwords from French and English. The latter has exercised more influence on Kinyarwanda than the former. However, when one looks at the pace English language is taking it is very likely to have more influence than French in the near future. This study examines how loanwords have been allocated to the noun classes of Kinyarwanda, a Bantu language spoken in Rwanda and beyond its borders. The study will essentially focus on morphological and semantic aspects of loanwords from French and English. The research is worth doing because very little has been done so far in the area of loanword adaptation in Kinyarwanda. This sociolinguistic work will be the first of its kind to be conducted in English. In the past, some studies on loanword adaptation were carried out in French only, just because most Rwandan linguist scholars were French-speaking researchers.

Dubois (1973:188) explains that a loanword is the most important socio-linguistic phenomenon in a language contact. "*L'emprunt est le phénomène sociolinguistique le plus important dans tous les contacts de langues (V. Bilinguisme), c'est-à dire d'une manière générale toutes les fois qu'il existe un individu apte à se servir totalement ou partiellement de deux parlars différents.*"¹

A loanword is integrated in any area where the borrowing speaker needs it. Therefore the primary purpose of borrowing is out of need. However, a loanword can be

¹ A loanword is the most important socio-linguistic phenomenon in all language contact. Whenever there is an individual who can totally or partially use two different languages, there is always a sociolinguistic influence, which makes him borrow from either language. Translated from Dubois (1973) *Dictionnaire Linguistique*.

brought into a language because of snobbery. People borrowing a foreign word imitate something from a foreign country because they think it is more appreciated than theirs. A foreign word sounds more scientific or technical. As with many contemporary loans from English in European languages, such loanwords are simply more fashionable than native words. In the case of Kinyarwanda, loanwords are allocated to nominal classes and begin a new life in a new system of language which has hosted them.

Currently, Rwanda has three official languages: Kinyarwanda, French and English. In addition to the three official languages and in view of the cultural, social, commercial, and political ties that exist between Rwanda and East African countries (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda), Kiswahili too has been used in commercial centres as a *lingua franca*, and on the national broadcast radio.

Before Belgians introduced French into primary school in 1929, Kiswahili had been used to serve as a language of communication in the colonial administration. Most Belgian colonial masters and missionaries of all denominations were using Kiswahili.

Article 5 of the current constitution stipulates that “the national language is Kinyarwanda and the official languages are Kinyarwanda, French and English.”²

French is more widely spoken and more predominant than English and Kiswahili. It has been an official language since 1962, during which time the first constitutional law of the Republic of Rwanda was voted on 24 November 1962. Article 69 of the decree of the Ministry of Education of 27 August 1966 stipulates that the language of instruction for primary school education is Kinyarwanda, but that the Minister can authorise the use of another language.

As for languages of instruction in the secondary education, article 80 of the same decree says that Kinyarwanda and French are the official languages, but that the Minister can authorise the use of another language.

² Official Journal, Special N° of 04 June 2003, p.65

English became a third official language just after the 1994 genocide. Its usage in Rwanda has considerably increased for the last two decades. Some schools and establishments use more English than French, while most commercial advertisements use more English than French or Kinyarwanda. Rwanda has been admitted to the Commonwealth countries.

Today it is more prestigious to use English than French in every aspect of daily life: advertising, conferences, telephone conversation, commerce, science, travel, etc. The use of English in advertising (posters, hoardings, signs on commercial house buildings and offices, etc), media, conferences, music, transport, and education is overwhelming. On the other hand the use of French in advertising, seminars, and offices has considerably decreased for the last two decades. It even sounds old-fashioned to use French in some services.

In a recent article entitled "Rwandans Say Adieu to Français: Leaders Promote English as the Language of Learning, Governance and Trade", by Stephanie McCrummen, published in the Washington Post, the reporter clearly highlights Rwanda's current move to English:

In another blow to the language of love, the Rwandan government has decided to change instruction in schools from French to English. All government employees are now required to learn English, and everyone here from lawmakers to taxi drivers to students to businesspeople seems to believe that the usefulness of French, introduced by Belgian colonizers, is coming to an end [...] Most Rwandans speak the local Kinyarwanda language or French. Fewer than 5 percent speak English, although that is set to change. Local English-language schools are filling up with students. It's common to find taxi drivers with French-English dictionaries in their glove compartments. Elected officials are dutifully leading the way, sprinkling their speeches with English words, often blended with Kinyarwanda. The other day, a member of parliament spoke of "gupuromotinga," or promoting, English³.

The importance of a language depends on the position of people who speak it in the international circle of influence. In Kigali city, one may find more English advertisements displayed on various commercial buildings and schools than French

³ By Stephanie McCrummen, Washington Post Foreign Service, Tuesday, October 28, 2008; Page A10

ones. It looks as if it is more prestigious to advertise in English than in French, a language which used to be predominant in official documents before 1994. The examples are overwhelming: Alpha Palace Hotel, American Boys Saloon, Apostles Church, Castle Hotel, Centenary House, City Plaza House, Ebenezer Church Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International, Good Look Optical, Gorilla Hotel, Green Hills Academy, Intercontinental Hotel Kigali Business Center, Kigali English Church, Kigali International Academy, Kigali Junior Academy, Kigali Parents School, Kivu Sun Hotel, *La Bonne Adresse* House, Lutheran World Foundation, MTN RwandaCell, New Texas Saloon, Omega House, Peace House Motel, Preprimary Foundation School, Rubangura House, Isaro Housing Estate, etc.

The coexistence of English and French alongside Kinyarwanda results in various sociolinguistic aspects. One of the sociolinguistic phenomena observed in this coexistence is the influx of French and English loanwords in Kinyarwanda. The latter include deceptive cognates of French and English, which render the use of the three languages more complex. There seems to be a linguistic clash here. The speaker faces a challenge while conversing in either English or French. The understanding of deceptive cognates, false friends or "look-alikes", would enable the speaker to express his ideas correctly and communicate more fluently. French and English pairs of words having a common origin, whereby the homonym suggests the synonym, are hardly mastered.

Some schools have adopted a bilingual education system whereby a teacher lectures or teaches a course in either French or English. Other schools still use French as a language of instruction, while others only use English. Nevertheless, the government has embarked on the use of English as the linguistic educational medium from primary to tertiary level because of the global position of English in the region of the East African Community, of which Rwanda is a member, and in the world. Rwanda is still a member of the *Francophonie*, though.

Kinyarwanda is primarily the language spoken in Rwanda, which is a land-locked country on the African continent, 26,338 sq km in size, and with a population of 8,648,248 people. Rwanda is thus the most populated country in Africa with a population density of 420 people per sq km. The country is often given the title "Land

of a Thousand Hills”, simply because of its fertile and hilly terrain. With an average altitude of 1,600 m above sea level, the country enjoys a temperate climate.

Kinyarwanda is not only spoken in Rwanda, though. It is also widely spoken across politically agreed upon borders in neighbouring countries, such as the eastern Congo: northern Kivu (Rutshuru, Masisi) and southern Kivu (Uvira, Fizi, Mwenga, Moba). In addition it has spread across to western Uganda (where it is spoken by the Bafumbira tribe) and eastern Tanzania (where it is spoken by the Abanyakaragwe and Abaha tribes). In Burundi, the neighbour to the south, it is mutually intelligible with Kirundi; in a similar way Flemish is intelligible to the Dutch-speaking inhabitants of the Netherlands.

Barreteau (1978:533) states that “Kinyarwanda and Kirundi are, in fact, dialects of one and the same language [...] The differences lie in the intonation and semantics of some words.”

Shimamungu (1993:65) corroborates the same idea but adds a third dialect of the same language. He explains that Kinyarwanda is a Bantu language spoken in Central Africa, in Rwanda. With Kirundi, spoken in Burundi, and Kiha, spoken in western Tanzania, it forms one language of which the three variants are just dialects, and with almost entirely mutual intelligibility. [*Le Kinyarwanda est une langue bantu parlée en Afrique centrale, au Rwanda. Elle forme avec le kirundi, parlé au Burundi, et le kiha parlé à l'ouest de la Tanzanie, une seule langue dont les trois variantes ne sont que dialectales, et à intercompréhension quasi totale*]⁴

Commenting on the demographic figures⁵ of the population speaking the two variants (Kinyarwanda and Kirundi), inside and beyond their borders, Lyovin (1997:193) states that Rwanda or Kinyarwanda has 6,205,300 or more speakers, of whom 5 million are in Rwanda, 867,300 in Uganda, 250,000 in Zaire (DRC), and 88,000 in Tanzania. Kirundi has 5 million speakers, mainly in Burundi, some in Tanzania, and

⁴ Translated from the French version.

⁵ Rwanda is the most densely populated country in Africa: 2.43% (2006 est.). The population for July 2008 estimate 10,186,063. Presently, there may be more than 20 million speakers of Kinyarwanda inside and outside of Rwanda.

that it is mutually intelligible with Rwanda and is essentially a variant of the same language.

According to Kimenyi (2009), Kinyarwanda, the national language of Rwanda is probably, after Kiswahili the second largest spoken language in the Bantu group. It is a sister dialect of Kirundi, the national language of Burundi and Giha, another dialect spoken in Tanzania. Despite genocide which took place taking lives of more than one million Tutsi, its speakers are perhaps more than 20 million people. Rwanda has around 9 million people right now, Burundi has around 7 million but besides the Giha speakers there are also ethnic Banyarwanda in Southern Uganda in the Kigezi district known as Bafumbira. Other Kinyarwanda speakers are Banyamulenge in Southern Kivu and ethnic Banyarwanda in Masisi and Rutshuro in Northern Kivu in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Kinyarwanda belongs to the interlacustrine (Great Lakes) Bantu languages.⁶

Kinyarwanda has more than seven dialects inside and outside its borders (DRC and Uganda). Despite minor morphological, semantic, syntactic and phonological peculiarities in Kinyarwanda dialects, there is mutual intelligibility among Kinyarwanda dialect speakers.

Guthrie (1975:12) classifies Kinyarwanda as a Bantu language in the linguistic zone D61 and the Tervuren group (Belgium) as a Bantu language in zone J61 (De Blois, 1970:89). Nurse and Philippson (2003:504) combined both classifications and labeled the language JD61. Kinyarwanda is one of the interlacustrine languages (Great Lakes region languages), currently spoken by more than 8,5 million in the country alone. When foreign words are integrated into Kinyarwanda they partially or totally adopt characteristics of Bantu languages as discussed below:

(a) A system of grammatical genders

Bantu languages have class prefixes, which command the concord. The prefixes or noun markers include nominal, pronominal, verbal, and adjectival morphemes. The nominal morphology of Bantu languages has many noun classes. Their number varies from one language to another, although most of them range from 14 to 24.

⁶ Retrieved 19 July 2009 from www.kimenyi.com/Kinyarwanda.php

(b) A list of common hypothetical roots

It has a great number of words which may be rebuilt on the basis of fixed rules and may be attached to a list of common hypothetical roots of "Proto-Bantu".

Reconstructed nominal stems and verbal roots are based on fixed rules and share common features with the hypothetical roots of "Proto-Bantu".

In *Comparative Bantu* (4 volumes), Guthrie (1975) shows that all Bantu languages share the same roots. For example, the verbal root *-gend-*, "go", is found in almost all Bantu languages, sometimes with variants. Similarly, the nominal stem *-ntu* meaning "man", "place", and "manner" appears in all Bantu languages and has the same meaning in all of them.

(c) Invariable roots of the type -CV-

From these invariable roots most words may be formed by the process of agglutination.

In general, the structure of a Bantu language word is -CV- (consonant-vowel). Prefixes, affixes, suffixes can then be added to it to form other words. Comrie (1989:100) states that "Bantu languages have been long appreciated by scholars for their distinctive morphology, highly agglutinative character and allowing great structural complexity to minimal or even more so to verbal forms."

(d) A well-balanced vowel system

The Bantu vowel system is simple and shows harmony because of the process of assimilation. The vowels of the noun stem or the verbal root influence other vowels within the word. The assimilation is said to be progressive if the vowel which comes after is influenced by the preceding vowel. It is regressive if the vowel which comes first is influenced by the following one. Generally speaking, Bantu languages have five vowels /a e i o u/, with the exception of some languages which have seven. Most

interlacustrine languages, the Great Lakes region languages (including Kinyarwanda), have five vowels.

As for the vowel system of interlacustrine languages Nurse (2003:504) states most interlacustrine languages have five phonological vowels, with the exceptions in the northeastern extremities [...] and in the southeast, where some speakers of Luhya [...] have, as in JE40, seven vowels, for which we have adopted a unique transcription, /i, e, ε, a, o, u/.

The vowel of the nominal prefix influences that of the augment (in the case of augment languages). For example, *u-mu-ntu*, “person”, *a-ba-ntu*, “persons”, *u-mu-ana*, “child”, *a-ba-na*, “children” all have vowels in the nominal prefixes and stems similar to those of the augment vowels.

The topic of this study is loanword allocation in Kinyarwanda. It mainly deals with loanwords from two main source languages: French and English. French loanwords are more predominant than English loanwords. However, there are some other languages in a similar sociolinguistic situation which need to be looked at in order to study how the phenomenon of borrowing is not peculiar to Rwanda, but common to all languages in contact. This comparative study will be limited to some languages which have undergone similar adaptation, namely Fula, Malagasy, and Bemba.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The main focus in this study is to research why, how, and how many loanwords from French and English have been allocated to different domains of the Rwandan’s daily life and have been adapted to fit the nominal class system of Kinyarwanda. A great number of French and English loanwords exist in Kinyarwanda and this clearly indicates the real need to supplement the Kinyarwanda lexicon. Some areas are very likely to absorb more loanwords than others. For example, the area of technology and communication counts more foreign words than any other area. Why are there so many loanwords available in the area of technology and not in agriculture and livestock?

Other scholarly researchers in sociolinguistics have contributed to the study of the language contact between Kinyarwanda and French. Most research studies have been conducted in French so far. However, the current study will also address the contact between Kinyarwanda and English, and unlike the previous publications, this work is written in English in the aim of expanding the scope of readers and researchers in the area of language contact.

Since a loanword results from languages in culture contact, the study of the historical and social background of that sociolinguistic phenomenon is very essential. The study should take into account the source word and its copy in the borrowing language or recipient language. The original word may be modified to such extent that it is almost or completely unidentifiable. The work shall be limited to the morphological and semantic aspects of loanwords.

1.3 AIM OF STUDY

This study aims to research key areas which have hosted foreign words and find out why and how these words fit in the Kinyarwanda noun class system. It will present the coexistence of foreign words with local words, their sociolinguistic and cultural impact. Other languages in a similar sociolinguistic situation in language contact will be addressed to show that Kinyarwanda is not an isolated case but a general sociolinguistic phenomenon.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION

Kinyarwanda has mainly borrowed foreign words out of need of lexicon. Where loanwords have been borrowed because of prestige there exist doublets. Some specific areas have absorbed more French and English words to cope with the reality of culture contact. The distribution of loanwords in Kinyarwanda has obeyed the noun class system. Thus, loanwords have been allocated to nominal classes which range from 1-16. Interestingly enough, some noun classes have been more hospitable than others.

1.5 SCOPE OF STUDY

This study is divided into 6 chapters. The first chapter introduces the background of the research. It presents the aim, hypodissertation, research methodology, justification, scope of research, and the literature review. Chapter two deals with the principles in loanword adaptation. Chapter three presents the allocation of loanwords in the areas of influence which have hosted foreign elements. Chapter four presents the peculiarities of loanwords in Kinyarwanda. Chapter five studies the sociolinguistic situation of Kinyarwanda while chapter six gives the conclusion of this work.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODS

This work discusses and shows that words from French and English have been distributed to various areas of influence and have been allocated to the Kinyarwanda noun class system. The study will use both quantitative and qualitative methods or mixed method.

1.6.1 Quantitative method

This method will be used for collection of data. Corpora with numerical data collected from various sources will be quantified. For example, the number of loanwords per key area will be reflected in a table and appendices.

A corpus of 615 loanwords (of which 570 are French loanwords and 45 English loanwords) in alphabetical order at the end of this work (see appendix A) has been used to classify loanwords in key areas of activities and nominal classes. However, the database is not meant to be exhaustive. In addition, loanwords which fall into the category of French/English deceptive cognates have been added to the list to enable the reader and future researchers to work more thoroughly on these complex cognates.

1.6.2 Qualitative method

Loanwords will be classified in key areas of influence which have absorbed loanwords. Data will be analysed and the questions addressed.

Although there is no interview envisaged, throughout the research participant observation will be used for the collection of data. The researcher will make use of some written documents and oral conversations. Thus, the database includes loanwords collected from various written and oral sources such as books, newspapers, plays, Bible literature, reports, school text books, commercial posters, signs, hoardings, and conversations. Some other loanwords were picked from every day conversation among different groups of people (siblings, students, passengers, colleagues, etc) in contact with the researcher, regardless of whether they were literate or illiterate. Some loanwords indebted from Rose (1995)⁷ shall be used in the chapter of loanword assignment to noun classes in order to use examples from various sources.

Loanwords have been analysed before deciding which one should be considered as a real loanword (fully or partially integrated). The morphological and etymological criteria to determine which words should be considered as loanwords or not have been used. In fact, most loanwords may or may not take an augment. In some cases, loanwords have zero nominal prefix. Working on loanword allocation and adaptation in the context of Kinyarwanda, which has no comprehensive dictionary, is not an easy task, though. Thus, relying on the identification of loanwords from informants, even if they are educated, would compromise a scientific work. Not everybody can distinguish a loanword from a purely native word, especially when the loanword has undergone phonological, morphological and semantic changes. The identification and analysis of loanwords require some metalinguistic competence, mainly in morphology, phonology, semantics, sociolinguistics, and etymology.

In this study the questions that are being addressed aim at finding out where, when, why, and how loanwords were allocated and adopted into Kinyarwanda.

⁷ Yvan Rose studied French loanwords in Kinyarwanda for his MA dissertation. He is currently working at the Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada. He has sent us his corpus and has allowed us to use it in our research. We owe him many thanks.

Morphology, phonology, and semantics are key areas to be used in a study on loanword adaptation. Therefore, they will be referred to in order to explain some of the aspects of borrowing.

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW

A loanword is a word borrowed from another language, usually called donor language. The speaker of the borrowing language, also called recipient/ beneficiary language, partially or totally integrates a foreign word in his or her own language system. This depends on the degree of language competence the speaker has.

Danesi (1985:110-113) states that the whole process of the adoption of a loanword by a native is what some linguists call “nativization”. A study of Canadian Italian has shown that the receiving language (Italian) has nativized the words of the source language (English) in its phonological, syntactic, and morphological system. He comments as follows:

As the loanwords pass into general currency among the members of the immigrant community, they are adjusted unconsciously and systematically to the pronunciation and grammatical patterns of the receiving language. This process is referred to generally as *nativization*. Simply put, the foreign words are not accepted in their original shape, but rather restructured to conform to the articulatory and grammatical features of the receiving language whence they become indistinguishable from native words, often displacing native items with the same referents.

The Webster’s Dictionary defines a loanword as “a word taken from another language and at least partially or completely naturalized.”⁸ It is the most frequent sociolinguistic phenomenon which results from the contact of two languages. A loanword may be adopted in any area where the borrowing speakers need it. However, a loanword can be borrowed because of snobbery or prestige. In this particular case people borrow a foreign word because they want to imitate a word from a foreign country they think that it is more appreciated than theirs, especially when they think that a foreign word sounds more scientific, technical, or up-to-date.

⁸ Retrieved 12 June 2009 from www.cs.chalmers.se/~hallgren.wget.cgi?loanword.

In general a loanword will bear some morphological, phonological, and semantic features of the source word.

Peperkamp (2001) distinguishes two types of loanwords: “historical loanwords, i.e. words that have entered the borrowing language and are commonly used by monolingual speakers, have been studied most often. Monolingual speakers who use these loanwords never hear source forms, and there is thus no reason to postulate an underlying form that differs from the output form in their grammar. The second type of loanwords are on-line adaptation, i.e. foreign words that are borrowed ‘here-and-now’ (Shinohara 1997 a,b, Kenstowicz and Sohn 2001)”⁹

The online adaptation or ongoing adaptation becomes historical when the loanword has been fully adapted. The monolingual speaker or the bilingual -who is unaware of the source form- uses the form as a normal form from his L1. It is a matter of time. Newly borrowed words like *video*, *email*, *internet*, etc., could change their forms to become historical loanwords.

For example, Kinyarwanda loanwords, such as *akabati*, *akaroti*, *ikarita*, *ameza*, can be said to be historical loanwords. This was observed on basis of the questionnaire handed out to some bilinguals. Some of them could not identify whether the words were of foreign origin or not, which implies that some people use foreign words without knowing that they are foreign.

Like other languages Kinyarwanda underwent many phonological changes. This view is shared with Trudgill *et al* (2001:9) when he maintains that loanwords were introduced by bilinguals of varying degrees of bilingualism, who adapted the foreign phonological sequences according to the principle of repair strategies.

Paradis *et al* (2005:383) compared recipient languages and studied 545 French loan words in Fula spoken in Mauritania and Senegal, countries that have been influenced by French for more than a century since initial French colonization. In Fula, these include breaking up French consonant clusters by either cluster simplification or vowel insertion, and the denasalization of French nasal vowels. They found similar

⁹ Retrieved 25 June 2009 from www.ehess.fr/centres/lscp/persons/dupoux/loanwords.pdf.

patterns in French loans in Moroccan Arabic and Kinyarwanda, and English loans in Quebec French.

The terms loanword and borrowing are very often interchangeable. However, the term borrowing is used for the whole process of borrowing a foreign word and concept. Although they are interrelated, they should be clearly understood, especially because both a loanword and a calque are part of the borrowing process. A loanword implies borrowing the form and the meaning of a foreign word, while a calque or a loan translation implies borrowing a foreign semantic concept only, without borrowing the form.

A calque is not a loanword as such because it is a word from L1 and not from L2, but it is enshrined in the borrowing process. For instance, the word “loanword” itself is not a loanword. It is rather a calque of the German word *Lehnwort*. English borrowed the concept of borrowing but not the word *Lehnwort*. The *Die Zeit*, a German newspaper, founded in 1946, is a calque of *The Times* (founded in 1785). The French usage of the word *emprunt* (from *emprunter*, to borrow) in the area of linguistics also reflects the character of calquing the concept of borrowing. Kinyarwanda uses the phrase *amagambo y’amatirano* (from *amagambo*, words; *ya*, “of”; *gutira*, “to borrow” , literally borrowed words, or *amagambo mvamahanga*, “words from abroad”. Normally we borrow money (a loan) from the bank or a book from a library. There is not any bank nor a library where we can borrow words from. By analogy borrowing money from the bank or a book from a library, the idea of *Lehnwort* was born and spread to other languages.

Owino (2003:27) agrees that “the term borrowing is semantically misleading, since it implies that the source language relinquishes a form in lending it to the target language, which is expected to return it later [...] In lexical borrowing, the source language actually loses nothing, and in fact continues to use the form.”

Kemmer (2005) explains that “borrowing is a consequence of cultural contact between two language communities. Borrowing of words can go in both directions between the two languages in contact, but often there is an asymmetry, such that more words go from one side to the other. In this case the source language community has

some advantage of power, prestige and/or wealth that makes the objects and ideas it brings desirable and useful to the borrowing language community. For example, the Germanic tribes in the first few centuries A.D. (Anno Domini) adopted numerous loanwords from Latin as they adopted new products via trade with the Romans. Few Germanic words, on the other hand, passed into Latin.”¹⁰

Trask (1994: 13) defines borrowing as “a practice of taking a word from one language into another.”

Referring to the definition of a loanword as given by Poplack *et al.* (1988), Paradis (1997: 391) says that a loanword is an individual L2 word, or compound functioning as a single word, which

- (a) is incorporated into the discourse of L1, the recipient language;
- (b) has a mental representation in L1 (as opposed to code-switches, Myers-Scotton 1992); and thus
- (c) is made to conform with at least the outermost peripheral phonological constraints of L1, which represent absolute constraints in L1.

Although borrowing and loanword are two words which are interchangeable, when used as nouns, “the abstract noun borrowing refers to the process of speakers adopting words from a source language into their native language. Loan and borrowing are of course metaphors, because there is no literal lending process. There is no transfer from one language to another, and no "returning" words to the source language. They simply come to be used by a speech community that speaks a different language from the one they originated in.” (Poplack *et al.*, 1988).

As for a loanword, it refers to that word from a foreign language which has been lent to another language. That is to say the speaker of the recipient language has adopted that foreign word in his own language system.

For example, Latin was the language of the church and schooling, this made it possible for it to spread very rapidly and influence other languages. It bequeathed to

¹⁰ Retrieved 4 March 2009 from www.ruf.rice.edu/~kemmer/words/loanwords.html.

English every day life vocabulary: food, education, religion, drinks, tools, just to name a few. When the church was established in Great Britain, it brought liturgy terms; for example, *alms, altar, candle, chalice, disciple, Eucharist, mass, organ, priest, rosary, tabernacle, temple*). With the conquest of Great Britain by William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, in 1066, and the invasion of many French words in English, the number of loanwords has tremendously increased today. As a matter of fact, it is not surprising to find loanwords of Latin origin which came to other languages of the world via European languages, like French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and English.

Pooley *et al.* (1963:23) emphasizes the influence of Latin, a language imposed by the then powerful Romans, on other European languages. He says that Latin is the language which has had the greatest influence on most European languages because of the position Romans held in the world over many centuries. He comments this position in the following terms:

During the nearly four hundred years that Britain was part of the Roman Empire the camps of legions dotted the countryside, particularly along the camps of Roman rule. Their presence or influence survives in names of towns ending in *-chester, -cester, and -caster*, from *castra*, the Latin word for *camp*. A map of England today quickly reveals the names *Colchester*, and *Chester*, the latter an important camp on the Welsh [...] *Lancaster, Doncaster*, and *Manchester* in northern England; *Worcester, Gloucester*, and *Leicester* in Central England; and *Dorchester* on the south coast. These are only a few of the many English cities whose names reflect the Roman occupation [...] However, it was in the latter Old English period that the first notable additions of Latin words to English were made.

Borrowing is a process of importing foreign elements in another language. Borrowings or loanwords have been adapted to fit the borrowing language, Target Language 1 (TL1) system. In general, most loanwords take the form of the languages which have hosted and the original meaning may be altered.

Field (1998:242) distinguishes borrowing from codeswitching. He says that “in borrowing, there is no question that only the recipient system is relevant to the utterance. As a consequence, morphological integration may be the only criterion that can be used to distinguish borrowed from switched forms in specific instances (Hill &

Hill, 1986:346), although it is not completely foolproof [...] Borrowing involves the analysis of donor form-meaning sets in the process of complete integration into the recipient system.”

A word is referred to as loanword when the speaker of L1 brings a foreign word into his/her language whereby there is a partial or complete transfer of language to another for both the form and the meaning of the foreign word. The loanword is formed when the borrower adopts the donor’s word, alongside the object or practice.

As for a calque or loan translation, it is “a form of borrowing from one language to another whereby the semantic components of a given term are literally translated into their equivalents in the borrowing language.”¹¹

The form and the meaning are not borrowed from a TL2 foreign word, but only serve as a reference or a model for a TL1 word formation.

For example, calques¹² from some European languages show that they are different from independent formation words in Kinyarwanda.

English	calques from	French
breakfast		déjeuner
free verse		vers libre (in poetry)
Adam’s apple		pomme d’Adam
tin-opener		ouvre-boîtes
door-opener		ouvre-porte
crossword		mot-croisé
		German
loanword		Lehnwort
worldview		Weltanschauung
superman		Übermensch

¹¹ Retrieved 10 May 2009 from www.education.yahoo.com/reference/dictionary/entry/loan%20translation.

¹² Retrieved 24 April 2009 from www.wikinfo.org/index.php/Calque

Sunday
Monday
Milky Way
devil's advocate
wisdom tooth

French

gratte-ciel
essuie-glace
souris
virus

lundi
voie lactée
avocat du diable
dent de sagesse

German

Heisswasserflasche
Ketteneraucher
Erdgeschoss

Flaschenöffner
Türöffner
Büchenöffner

Latin

solis dies
lunae dies
via lactae
advocatus diaboli
dens sapientia

English

skyscraper
windscreen wiper
mouse (of a computer)
virus (of a computer)

Latin

lunae dies
via lactae
advocatus diaboli
dens sapientia

English

hot water bottle
chain smoker
groundfloor

French

ouvre-bouteille
ouvre-porte
ouvre-boîtes

It should be noted here that the modern use of the word “superman” in reference to “American comic hero” is just an independent formation. Likewise the words “superstar”, “superhero”, and *super-villains* in reference to “superman” or *Übermensch* do not calque the meaning. They are just independently new formed idioms.

The difference between a calque and an independent formation lies in the fact that a calque is a literal translation of the foreign concept and a closer imitation of the meaning of the original word, while an independent formation does not literally take into account the original meaning. By analogy to a foreign concept, the borrowing language works out another way of imitating that foreign concept.

For example, in Kinyarwanda there is a closer imitation of the word *umushumba*, which calques from *pasteur* or *pastor*, and originally means a shepherd. The original Latin word *pascere* (*pascui*, *pasturus sum*) means to feed (a flock). On the other hand, the word, *umugozi* (a cord, rope), is a newly formed word to mean an electric cable, a wire, or a computer cable. Therefore, *umugozi* is an independent formation because it does not give the literal translation of a computer cable nor an electric cable.

Another example of an independent formation is the expression “*intambara y’ubutita*”, literally “war of freezing”, to imitate *guerre froide* (cold war). The use of the correct adjective *ikonje* (cold, only applied to physical coldness in Kinyarwanda) to describe such a war (*intambara*), would give a nongrammatical structure, and by this fact, sound awkward, the borrowing language tries to find its own way of forming a new idiom to mean *guerre froide* (cold war), which is a new concept in Kinyarwanda lexicon.

There are always intermediates between complete or full calques, and complete independent formations. In order to avoid the expression *Himmelkratzer*, which would recall the Bible story of the Tower of Babel, thus being too arrogant, German uses *Wolkenkratzer* to calque skyscraper. This is not a full calque. This goes with the French *nuit de miel* by analogy to honeymoon. Kinyarwanda uses *intambara y’ubutita* for cold war, but in reality this would be a calque for “war of freezing”.

The complexity and the conditions of borrowing led Hockett (1958:408) to come up with different terminologies in loanword formation:

Whenever the need-filling motive plays a part, the borrower is being confronted with some new objects or practice for which he needs words. Under these conditions it does not always happen that the borrower imports bodily the words already used by the donor; in fact three rather distinct things may happen, giving rise respectively to loanwords, loanshifts, and loanblends.

The explanations below are also indebted from the same author:

A loanshift consists of the formation of “a new idiom under the impact of another linguistic system. The borrower adapts the existing material in his own language but patterned on the donor’s verbal behaviour. For instance, the Portuguese *livraria* (bookstore), library in a home, has similarly come to be used among the immigrants in the sense of “public library” replacing the usual Portuguese word *biblioteca*, the responsible model is the English word “library.”

A loanblend is “a new idiom developed in the borrowing situation, in which both the loanword and the loanshift mechanisms are involved: the borrower imports part of the model and replaces part of the word by something already in his own language”, e.g. *parebrise* for pocketbook borrows the first word of the phrasal compound but replaces the second part.

With regard to the new idiom, Hockett (1958: 412) adds that

if the borrowing is a phrase of what anthropologists call diffusion, then the acquisition of loanshifts is an instance of the particular kind called stimulus-diffusion; a member of a borrowing community gets the general notion for something from some donor community, but works out the details himself.

Instead of adopting these terminologies, we have opted for simple ways of dealing with the borrowing process. The concern of the study is just loanwords, calques, and newly independent formed idioms.

Calquing a foreign concept presupposes that the bilingual borrower be familiar with the donor language. He has to be linguistically competent and knowledgeable in the foreign language he is borrowing from. This explains the fact that in Kinyarwanda there are fewer calques than in the examples of European languages mentioned above. Most newly formed idioms are just independent formations, which are chiefly created by the process of derivation, a very common morphological process in Bantu languages of using prefixes and suffixes to form words.

The process involves the decoding of the message and the sounds of the foreign word. The speaker understands the word according to the context in which it was said and the manner in which it was pronounced. The communication between the speaker and the hearer determines the way the loanword will change. The message can be badly conveyed and badly decoded. The word may be mispronounced and wrongly perceived.

1.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The process of borrowing triggers the formulation of some theories with regard to calques, loanwords, and independently formed new idioms which are not integrated in the same way as loanwords and calques. The theories are a creativity of the researcher.

1.8.1 The associativeness theory

When L1 and L2 are in contact in time and space, the speaker of L1 associates concepts from L2 with the pre-existing concepts of L1. In other words he/she imitates the model concept from L2 and represents it with a similar concept in L1. The speaker or the hearer of the recipient language receives the message and creates his own word in association with what he already knows. The newly formed concept may be completely or partially similar to the meaning of the borrowed concept.

For example, in Kinyarwanda the word *umushumba* (pastor), used to designate a church pastor or bishop, is not a loanword, but rather an existing word invented by imitating a foreign concept and by translating it into the borrowing language. The

process of borrowing involved here is the association of ideas. The Kinyarwanda word *umushumba*, originally means “shepherd”. As a calque it means a clergyman, one who has care of feeding God’s flock or a congregation. Similarly the French word *pasteur* or the English “pastor” etymologically means “shepherd”. The Latin verb *pascere* (*pascai, pasturus*), from which the word pastor derives, means “to feed’ (the flock). Therefore, *umushumba* and pastor or the French word *pasteur* clearly match, and it is a calque from either French or English.

Most of the words below are what Jouannet (1983:206) calls “partial borrowings” (neologisms and morphological calques) as opposed to “total borrowings” (loanwords). However, these terminologies are misleading Kinyarwanda does not calque from the donor languages on basis of the morphology of the donor language. In addition, neologisms include calques and independent formations. In Kinyarwanda new words can be constructed in one of the following ways:

- (a) By deleting an augment and combining elements of two words together, usually the verb and the noun:

New idiom	Combination	English gloss
<i>ibaruramari</i>	<i>kubarura</i> (count) + <i>imari</i> (treasure)	accounting
<i>icyogajuru</i>	<i>koga</i> (sail) + <i>ijuru</i> (space)	spaceship
<i>iyicarubozo</i>	<i>kwica</i> (kill) + <i>urubozo</i> (torture)	torture
<i>ikoranabuhanga</i>	<i>gukora</i> (make) + <i>ubuhanga</i> (technique)	technology
<i>isakazamajwi</i>	<i>gusakaza</i> (to spread) + <i>amajwi</i> (voices)	broadcasting

- (b) By use of a pre-existing word:

New idiom	French gloss	English
<i>umugozi</i>	<i>corde, cable</i>	wire
<i>umuvuzi</i>	<i>guérisseur, docteur</i>	healer, medical doctor
<i>umuguzi</i>	<i>acheteur</i>	buyer, consumer
<i>inguzanyo</i>	<i>prêt</i>	bank loan

(c) By derivation, usually by use of the infinitive root and the nominal prefix marker:

New idiom	Root	French Verb	English
<i>icyizere</i>	<i>-izer-</i>	<i>croire</i>	credibility
<i>imikorere</i>	<i>-kor-</i>	<i>travailler</i>	working policy
<i>imiturire</i>	<i>-tur-</i>	<i>habiter</i>	shelter
<i>imiyoborere</i>	<i>-yobor-</i>	<i>diriger</i>	administration
<i>imyifatire</i>	<i>-fat-</i>	<i>se tenir</i>	attitude
<i>uburambe</i>	<i>-ramb-</i>	<i>durer</i>	work seniority
<i>ubushakashatsi</i>	<i>-shak-</i>	<i>chercher</i>	research
<i>umuyoboze</i>	<i>-bok-</i>	<i>suivre</i>	follower, member
<i>umwirondoro</i>	<i>-rondor-</i>	<i>détailler</i>	identification
<i>urusengeru</i>	<i>-seng-</i>	<i>prier</i>	church

(d) By use of the determinant according to the nominal class:

New idiom	French gloss	English
<i>ubumenyi bw'isi</i>	<i>géographie</i>	geography
<i>ikibuga cy'indege</i>	<i>aéroport</i>	airport
<i>amagambo y'amatirano</i>	<i>emprunts</i>	loanwords
<i>amateka y'isi</i>	<i>histoire</i>	history
<i>intwara za kirimbuzi</i>	<i>armes destructives</i>	weapons of destruction

(e) By prefixing or suffixing:

New idiom	French gloss	English
<i>ibi-nya-buzima</i>	<i>êtres vivants</i>	living beings
<i>Bene-yozefu</i>	<i>Josephites</i>	Josephites
<i>ibi-nya-mpeke</i>	<i>céréales</i>	cereals
<i>indorerwa-mo</i>	<i>miroir</i>	looking-glass
<i>iya-kure</i>	<i>lointain</i>	distance learning
<i>mu-da-sobwa</i>	<i>infallible</i>	infallible (refers to a computer)
<i>u-mu-ta-menwa</i>	<i>incassable</i>	unbreakable (refers to a safe)
<i>u-mu-ene-gihugu</i>	<i>citoyen</i>	national

1.8.2 The fostering theory

The fostering theory of loanwords consists of adopting the form and the meaning of a foreign word. The fostering may be complete or partial. The addressee (L1) receives the message from the addresser (L2) and interprets it according to his ability to understand. The manner and the context the message was conveyed also play an important role in the decoding of the meaning. The level of fostering a loanword heavily depends on the decoding of the message conveyed to the speaker of L1. Therefore a loanword may retain its original semantic or deviate from its original meaning. It may be restricted or extended. Some loanwords have retained their original meaning:

Loanwords	French gloss	English
<i>amanota</i>	<i>notes</i>	grades
<i>ikaroti</i>	<i>carotte</i>	carotte
<i>ipapayi</i>	<i>papaye</i>	papaya
<i>isheke</i>	<i>chèque</i>	cheque
<i>itomati</i>	<i>tomate</i>	tomato
<i>pariroma</i>	<i>parlement</i>	parliament
<i>umukontabule</i>	<i>comptable</i>	accountant
<i>urupapuro</i>	<i>papier</i>	paper

Some loanwords have deviated from their original meaning. For example, the word *umupagani* comes from the Latin word *paganus* (*pagani* in plural). Originally, the word pagan comes from *pagus* (village), *paganus* (peasant) and was a military slang used by the soldiers of Rome to refer to “civilian” (not military) with a contemptuous connotation. Later on Christians who felt they were soldiers of Christ used the word *paganus* (pagan) pejoratively to refer to non-Christians. Currently the word denotes a non-baptised person or simply a person not converted to the Christian faith, or an ill-mannered person. The word *ruswa* (from the French imperative form, *reçois*) means corruption whereas the French infinitive *recevoir* does not embed any idea of corruption or bribery.

Some loanwords have extended their meaning. For example, the word *ikinini* (from quinine), which originally means both the plant and the tablet made from the medicinal plant, called “quinine”, currently designates all types of tablets. The word *ubunani* (from *Bonne Année*, New Year) may refer to any other festival or birthday party. Some loanwords have restricted or narrowed their meaning. For example, the word *ifarini* (from *farine*, flour) is used to designate wheat flour only and not any other type of flour. The word *ruwiri* (from *l’huile*, oil) designates vegetable cooking oil obtained from peanuts only.

1.8.3 The sifting theory

Since the auditory perception determines what the loanword will become in the recipient language, it is obvious that the brain acts as a sieve (phonological sieve). The brain separates unusual sounds from the ones it is acquainted with. Those which are familiar or almost similar to the pre-existing ones are kept and those which are unusual are rejected. Thus, apart from the bilabial voiceless plosive /p/ which is found in loanwords only, vowels and consonants in loanwords are those which already existed in L1. The acceptance of /p/ as a Kinyarwanda sound may be explained by the fact that it already existed in some ideophones, such as *peee*, *puuu*, *poou*, *paaa*.

Examples:

Loanword	French	English
<i>ruwiri /ruwiri/</i>	<i>l’huile</i> /ujil/	peanut, cooking oil
<i>loni /roni/</i>	<i>l’ONU</i> /bny/	The UN
<i>umuboyi /umuboji/</i>	<i>boy</i> /bɔi/	boy

In the examples above phonological segments from source languages have almost been lost. In loanword adaptation segments are more likely to be preserved than to be lost. They are repaired through ependissertation process.

1.8.4 The allocation theory

The allocation theory consists of distributing loanwords into nominal classes of Kinyarwanda. Not all nominal classes have been allocated words. Loanwords are mostly found in classes 1/2, for animates, classes 9/6 (sometimes class 10), for nouns denoting things, plants, practices, and institutions, and class 15 for infinitives. Class 9 is the noun class for singular nouns, 6 and 10 for plural nouns.

Examples:

Loanword	Source	English	Nominal Class
<i>umwavoka</i>	<i>avocat</i>	lawyer	class 1
<i>umudepite</i>	<i>député</i>	<i>MP</i>	class 1
<i>ubaminisitiri</i>	<i>ministres</i>	ministers	class 2
<i>abasitare</i>	star	stars	class 2
<i>amanota</i>	<i>notes</i>	notes	class 6
<i>ikiringiti</i>	blanket	blanket	class 7
(also: <i>uburingiti</i>)	blanket	blanket	class 14)
<i>ibiringiti</i>	blankets	blankets	class 8
<i>igatigisimu</i>	<i>catéchisme</i>	catechism	class 9
<i>ikashe</i>	<i>cachet</i>	stamp	class 9
<i>ivoka</i>	<i>avocat</i>	avocado	class 9
<i>isizo</i>	<i>ciseaux</i>	scissors	class 10
<i>urupapuro</i>	<i>papier</i>	paper	class 11
<i>akabati</i>	cupboard	cupboard	class 12
<i>utubati</i>	cupboards	cupboards	class 13
<i>kubatiza</i>	<i>baptiso</i>	baptise	class 15
<i>gusinya</i>	<i>signer</i>	to sign	class 15

Hockett (1958:410, 411) gives six reasons for lexical borrowing:

- (1) A bilingual is a special type of speaker. He serves as a model for the monolingual. He is admired by the community. He finds it a privilege to use a foreign word and this motivates a monolingual speaker to use the borrowed word. This can be observed in Christian names, whose meaning already has

an equivalent in Kinyarwanda. People would like to be referred to more by foreign Christian names than indigenous ones. For example, Peter or *Pierre*, Hope or *Espérance*, Betty, *Béata*, or *Béatrice*, *Déogratias*, are corresponding western names for *Kabuye* (Stone), *Byiringiro* (Hope), *Mugisha* (Blessed), and *Ishimwe* (Praise the Lord), respectively.

- (2) Need-filling of objects, persons, places, concepts, institutions. This is a universal cause of lexical innovation. The speaker of L1 borrows a concept because he does not have that reality.

Borrowing occurs when there is a real need of it. Most loanwords denote concepts which the borrowing language and the people speaking it did not originally have in their daily life vocabulary.

For example, *umutamenwa* (the unbreakable, with reference to a safe or a solid building), *ibinyabiziga* (wheeled-vehicles, with reference to automobiles), *mudasobwa* (sharp-minded, with reference to a computer), are newly independent words formed in order to fill the need for the concept safe, wheeled-vehicles, computer, respectively.

However, a loanword may come into a given language just because of snobbery or prestige. For example, *inyundo* (hammer) and *ihama* (hammer), *ingwa* (chalk) and *icaki* (chalk) are doublets but Rwandans prefer loanwords to original ones.

- (3) Pernicious homonyms: Clash of homonyms. Some foreign words of the same lexical field as the native words are used alongside the pre-existing one. For example, foreign words from the neighbouring countries are used alongside Kinyarwanda words but bring confusion. Most of the time such homonyms are deceptive cognates, e.g.; Kirundi: *umwiza*, “darkness” or “beautiful person” vs Kinyarwanda: *umwiza*, “beautiful person”; Haavu: *bidúkwíre*, “they are red” vs Kinyarwanda: *bidukwíre*, “may they be suitable for us”.

- (4) Low frequency of words: use of a foreign word to replace a regional or dialectal form. For example, in Kinyirwanda, some Kiswahili loanwords are used to replace regional forms. For example, *ihama* for *inyundo*, a hammer, *ikaranga* (from *karanga*, Kiswahili) for *ubunyobwa* or *ububemba*, peanut or groundnuts, are doublets used interchangeably.
- (5) Tendency of affective words: need for synonyms in relation to talking, cooking, sleeping, beating. For example, *umuboyi* (houseboy or house-girl) for *umugaragu/umuja* (servant, maidservant) , *umutantine* (aunt) for *umuyaya* (nunny, baby-sitter) are words of foreign origin used affectionately.
- (6) Cacophemisms: need for euphemisms.

In general Rwandans have many euphemisms. Therefore, they hardly need borrowing foreign euphemisms. Some Kinyarwanda euphemisms may include the following:

Yitabye Imana (loan translation for his "soul has responded to God's call") for *yapfuye* (he is dead).

Umukarani (clerk) for *umwikorezi* (carrier).

Rwanda rw'ejo (tomorrow's Rwanda) for *mayibobo* (street children).

Umwami ntarya (*kurya*=eat), *arafungura* (*gufungura*=dine)

The king does not eat, he dines.

Umwami ntabyuka (*kubyuka* = get up), *aribambura* (*kwibambura* = wake up)

Umwami ntiyicara (*kwicara* = to sit down), *arateka* (*guteka* = to cook)

The king does not get up, he wakes up himself The king does not sit down, he cooks.

Umwami ntapfa (*gupfa* = die), *aratanga* (*gutanga* = to give)

The king does not die, he gives.

Umwami ntahambwa (*guhambwa* = to be buried), *aratabazwa* (*gutabaza* = to be requested to come to rescue).

The king is not buried, he is requested to come to the rescue

The king's stomach (*inda*) is referred to as a milk gourd (*igisabo*).

The king's arms (*amaboko*) are referred to as drumsticks (*imirishyo*).

The king's corpse (*umurambo*) is referred to as a big log (*umugogo*).

A euphemism is a type of language figures of style attested in all languages. For example, in Latin, *viverint* (*vivere* = live) is used for *morti sint* (*morior* = die) = they died. In German the expression *Himmelskratzer* “heaven scraper” is a way of avoiding the association with the “Tower of Babel” because it is too arrogant. Instead, Germans use *Wolkenkratzer* (cloud scraper). It is believed that after the flood people were so corrupt that they tried to build a tower to reach heaven. God confused their languages in order to disperse them.

Trask (1999: 175, 176) explains that there are “several motivations for borrowing a word” but he comments on two major ones: need and prestige. He adds that “the simplest is that the word is the name of something totally new to those who borrow. English, for example, has borrowed *whisky* from Scots Gaelic, *yogurt* from Turkish, *tomato* from Nahuatl, *sauna* from Finnish, *ukulele* from Hawaiian and *kangaroo* from Guugu-Yimidhir language of Australia. The reason for this that English-speakers had never seen whisky or yogurt or tomatoes or saunas or ukuleles or kangaroos before encountering these things overseas [...] Another important motivation is prestige. At any given time in any given place, some languages typically enjoy more prestige than others, and speakers of less prestigious languages are often eager to show off their command of a more prestigious language by introducing some of its words into their own speech.”

Loanword adaptation of an African language requires careful study since little has been done in this area of linguistics so far, especially because there has not been any comprehensive dictionary, which gives etymological explanation of a loanword. Some dictionaries may give the original language and the derived form, with no explanation at all of the etymological meaning.

One must admit that tracing or identifying a fully integrated loanword requires high quality of linguistic skills. In Africa, early works on the production of lexicography were done by missionaries who lacked linguistic skills.

In this perspective, we share the same point of view as Hartmann (1989: 11). He points out that “often this (lack of understanding of the phonemic system of the African languages) resulted in a language or related languages acquiring two or more

orthographies. Hartmann (1989: 56) cites an extreme example of this situation where Fang (an important language in Gabon) has acquired three transcriptions [catholic] and two [protestant] for nearly one million speakers, without mentioning morphological differences resulting from catholic calques, on German, French and Spanish, and protestant ones, on American (English). [*trois transcriptions (catholiques) et deux (protestantes) pour environ un million de locuteurs, sans parler des différences morphologiques dues à des des calques catholiques, sur l'allemand, le français et l'espagnol, et protestants, sur l'américain.*"]

Further, the same author adds that “different subdomains of linguistics should be reflected in a dictionary article, ensuring a comprehensive information transfer to guarantee the user access to the most important properties of a specific lexical item. These linguistic properties include, amongst others, semantics, syntax, morphology, phonology and etymology (Hartmann, 1989:56).

Like in the neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo, the work of transcribing Kinyarwanda was the initiative of the first Belgian missionaries. Although their work has to be appreciated, most of these missionaries were not trained in linguistics. They did not know whether they should follow the International Phonetic Alphabet. Protestant missionaries, mainly from the UK and the USA, were trying to find their own spelling and so did Belgian Catholic missionaries. As previously said, the spelling and the transcription of African languages encountered the same problems everywhere. In the Belgian Congo colony, untrained missionaries were trying to find something to help indigenous folks to teach them reading, writing, and arithmetic subjects.

Vinck (1972:93) explains how the spelling of an indigenous language in former Coquilhatville (currently Mbandaka, DRC) was the work of the sole Catholic missionary, Father Gustaaf Hulstaert who did not know much on linguistics. However, this catholic missionary did his best to find an acceptable spelling when he was trying to write a reading manual (*Buku*=book) in Lomongo (C61 under Malcolm Guthrie's classification), a language spoken by the Mongo tribe, living at the estuary of the Congo River.

Whether the Black pronounces **p** or **b** differently, it should not be the reason of using a new letter or new symbols for them. But when there is an **o**, the Black cannot say what it is about. The same applies for **e** [...]. What is more advantageous; to learn a new letter, where there is another sound, or mislead people? [...]. I only favour some changes, i.e. two letters for the two sounds which we represent by **o** and **e**, perhaps also **m** and **n**. I am only concerned with two sounds **ts**, the Black are not mistaken.

Kinyarwanda was not spared from the instability and inconsistency of orthographic transcription. So far it has no comprehensive dictionary which gives phonetic transcription, etymology, and syntax. However, since Kinyarwanda is the only national language in the country, the problem was not as acute as in the neighbouring Belgian Congo, where there are more than 400 local languages. Rwandan linguist pioneers, like the late Father Alex Kagame, did a tremendous work of writing the history of Rwanda, poetry, customs, and practices in the original language. He also tried to give some guidelines concerning the spelling.

Since 1985 there have been some attempts to write a Kinyarwanda comprehensive dictionary, *Inkoranya* (literally, assemblage), following the recommendations of the conference which was organized by ACCT (*Agence de Cooperation Culturelle et Technique*) in Yaoundé in May 1983 to write an African monolingual dictionary. But it has not been finalised so far. The work of writing this dictionary was even interrupted in 1987, when this funding agency suspended the financial assistance. The project of writing the *Inkoranya* resumed in 1990 when the Ministry of Education entrusted IRST (Institute of Scientific and Technological Research of Rwanda) to carry on the project. In this dictionary, explanations of some loanwords are given by simply translating the foreign word literally. For example, the word *ubumenyi bw'isi* (the study of the earth), clearly shows that the meaning was transferred from the etymology of the word "geography" (Greek: *geos*: earth; *graphein*: study, description- more basically "write").

One should say that some efforts have been made to harmonise the spelling of Kinyarwanda. The latest document of guidelines regulating the spelling of Kinyarwanda goes back to 2 July 1985. The document lists 26 articles which govern

the Kinyarwanda spelling, including the spelling of loanwords¹³.

Article 20 stipulates that nouns of foreign origin (loanwords) retain the original graphic form of the lending language, followed by the pronunciation in Kinyarwanda in brackets. For example, Einstein (Ayinshitayini), Schumacher (Shumakeri), Fraipont (Ferepo) have retained their original spelling but are followed by the adapted Kinyarwanda spelling in brackets.

Article 21 says that nouns of countries and regions of foreign origin are written as they are pronounced in Kinyarwanda, and the actual form in the lending language in brackets: Cadi (Tchad), Kameruni (Cameroun), Wagadugu (Ouagadougou).

¹³ Ministerial Guidelines N°13.02/03.2/003 of 2 July 1985 on the Spelling of Kinyarwanda, Ministry of Education, Kigali (translation)

CHAPTER 2

ALLOCATION OF LOANWORDS TO KEY AREAS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with key areas which have hosted foreign words. Obviously, not all the areas of life have integrated foreign words on the same pace. For example, fishing, crafts, and livestock have very few words of foreign origin. The richest areas which attracted more words of foreign origin are technology and religion because of the need of filling the lexical gap.

The high presence of French loanwords testifies that French lent to Kinyarwanda more words than any other language. This is understandable because of the historical ties between Rwanda and two European French-speaking countries: Belgium and France. Rwanda got independence from the colonial master, Belgium, on 1 July 1962, but it continued the ties it had enjoyed during the colonial era. Later on, with the military coup which brought the late President Juvenal Habyarimana to power, France, was in a better shape to exercise its influence over Rwanda.

Loanwords travel long distances. They are passed on from one language to another and one can never be sure whether they will settle down. Trask (1994:13) explains the interlanguage borrowing by giving the example of the word “coffee.”

Many centuries ago, the people of Ethiopia discovered that a delicious hot beverage could be made from the beans of a bush which grew locally. They passed on the beverage and their name for it, to the neighbours, the Arabs. The Arabs in turn passed both on to the Turks, who became famous for the skill at preparing the beverage. The Turks then introduced both the drink and the name to the Europeans, and particularly to the Italians, who also became famous for their distinctive way of preparing the stuff. English visitors to Italy returned home full of enthusiasm for the new beverage, and the ancient Ethiopian name finally passed into English in the form coffee.

The word “coffee” has acquired its name from the word *Kaffa*, a highland region of south-western Ethiopia, where coffee has been cultivated for a long time. Following

the rapid expansion and trade of Arabs, the word passed from Ethiopian onto Arabic under the name *Qah'wa*. Later on it became the Ottoman Turkish, *Kahve*. The Italian word *caffea* has likely been borrowed from the Turkish word *Kahve*. The English word “coffee” comes from *caffea*. The French word *café* was probably borrowed from the Turkish word *Kahve*.

With regard to the above story on “coffee”, the itinerary of translingual borrowing of the word “coffee” may be: Ethiopian→Arabic→Turkish→Italian→English.

2.2 NARRATIVE SURVEY

A loanword is the most important sociolinguistic phenomenon which results from the contact of two languages. It is integrated in any area where the borrowing speaker needs it. However, a loanword can be brought into a language because of snobbery. People borrowing a foreign word imitate something from a foreign country because they think it is more appreciated than theirs. A foreign word sounds more scientific or technical. As with many contemporary loans from English, in European languages, these loanwords are simply more fashionable than native words.

Loanwords which have been allocated to various areas of life have been adapted to fit the nominal class system of Kinyarwanda. They have undergone morphological, phonological, semantic and orthographic changes.

Some Africanists have observed the distribution of foreign words in African languages and came up with some categorization in the allocation of loanwords. For example, Wolf (1971:174) says that “...there is a strong tendency to place loanwords in the human gender.” That is loanwords are distributed into classes 1 and 2. However, this distribution does not take into account the neuter gender, which in the Bantu nominal class system, has also adopted loanwords allocated to the remaining noun classes, of course, with a heavy concentration on specific noun classes. Thus, Wolf’s statement is applicable only to classes 1 and 2 which denote human beings. Loanwords which denote persons have been allocated to classes 1 and 2, while most other nouns denoting things and animals have been allocated to classes 6 and 9. There is a high concentration of loanwords denoting inanimate things in class 9 (with

its plural class counterparts). In this perspective, it is very predictable to know which noun class will host a loanword

2.2.1 Criteria for allocating loanwords to noun classes

Heine (2000:314-315) distinguishes “three different criteria at work for the allocation of loanwords”: automatic, phonological, and semantic allocation.

(1) Automatic allocation

Nominal and verbal loanword forms are allocated to a certain noun class because they share the characteristics of nouns. This is the case for classes 1 and 2, which adopted animates, for example, *umupadiri*, “priest”; *umuboyi*, “houseboy”; *umubikira*, “nun”, *umukirisito*, “christian”. Verbal loanwords are allocated to class 15, for example, *kuvibura*, “to vibrate”; *gusinya*, “to sign”; *gutelefona*, “to telephone”.

(2) Phonological allocation

In Kinyarwanda, like in many other Bantu languages, phonology and morphology are interrelated. The term ‘morphophonology’ is very often applied to show this link. Loanwords are also subject to the phonological allocation to respond to the requirements of Kinyarwanda phonology and morphology.

Resemblance of the initial segment of the loanword to the nominal affix of a given class determines the allocation to that class and to the gender of which that class is a constituent. Some loanwords belong to classes because the initial segment resembles the nominal affix. According to Dahl’s law, the phonological allocation is applicable to the infinitives and the diminutives. For example, in the words *gukilika*, “to click”; *gusinya*, “to sign”; *kwempurima*, “to print”; *kudefuriza*, “to straighten hair”; *akabati*, “cupboard”; *agakote*, “a small coat”, /g/ and /k/ are alternated depending on whether the consonant beginning the verbal root or the stem of the diminutive is voiced or voiceless.

Foreign words have bequeathed to Kinyarwanda the sound /p/. In general, /p/ does not occur in initial position, except in kinship terms like, *papa*, “dad” or “pope”, and other unassimilated loanwords, for example, *parike*, “court”; *polisi*, “police”; *pasware*, “strainer”, *politike*, “politics”, which are still searching for the augment vowel. In the middle position, /p/ occurs between vowels and it is slightly aspirated. It only makes very little noise and lengthens the vowel before it. It is never found in the final position. Originally /p/ is hardly attested in Kinyarwanda sound system, except in very few newly independent formed words such as *gupapapaza*, *gupapira*, *gupyinagaza*, and in combination with other consonants, for example consonant clusters such as /pf/ and /pj/. The following words are loanwords with the sound /p/ in the middle position.

Examples:

Loanword	Source word ¹⁴	English
<i>gupakira</i>	pack	to pack, to load
<i>ipanu</i>	pan	frying pan
<i>ipapayi</i>	<i>papaye</i>	papaya
<i>iparadizo</i>	<i>paradis</i>	paradise
<i>ipasi</i>	<i>fer à repasser</i>	iron
<i>ipasiporo</i>	<i>passeport</i>	passport
<i>ipeyizana</i>	<i>paysanat</i>	settlement
<i>ipiki</i>	pick	pick
<i>ipikipiki</i>	<i>pkpkpk (onomatopoeia)</i>	motorcycle
<i>ipatante</i>	<i>patente</i>	licence
<i>iposho</i>	<i>poche</i>	weekly ratio
<i>umupadiri</i>	<i>padre</i> (Italian)	Catholic priest
<i>umupagani</i>	<i>paganus</i> (Latin)	pagan
<i>umupolisi</i>	<i>police</i>	policeman
<i>urupapuro</i>	<i>papier</i>	paper

¹⁴ The source language for loanwords from French and other languages are written in italics and those from English in normal font.

(3) Semantic allocation

Except for very few cases, one would easily identify nominal classes according to the semantic grouping. Concepts dealing with human beings are grouped in given classes, things, animals, parts of the body to specific ones.

This criterion deals with categorization of concepts: human beings, things, animals, places, actions. In general, nouns denoting human beings are allocated to classes 1 and 2, nouns denoting trees and insects are allocated to classes 3 and 4, 7 and 8, nouns denoting paired parts of human body are allocated to 5 and 6, nouns denoting animals go to classes 9 and 10, those denoting uniqueness or singularity go to classes 11 and 10, diminutives go to classes 12 and 13, abstract nouns are allocated to class 14, infinitives to class 15, and locatives to 16, 17, and 18.

Class 1 <i>umukiliya</i> <i>umudogiteri</i>	Class 2 <i>abakiliya</i> <i>abadogiteri</i>	Source word <i>client</i> <i>docteur</i>	English customer doctor
Class 3 <i>umuderi</i> <i>umuleti</i>	Class 4 <i>imideri</i> <i>imileti</i>	Source word <i>modèle</i> <i>omelette</i>	English model, pattern omelette
Class 5 <i>ikoti</i> <i>ipuruni</i>	Class <i>amakoti</i> <i>amapuruni</i>	Source word coat <i>prune</i>	English coat plum
Class 7 <i>ikinini</i> <i>ikiro</i>	Class 8 <i>ibinini</i> <i>ibiro</i>	Source word <i>quinine</i> <i>kilogramme</i>	English quinine, tablet kilo
Class 9 <i>inote</i> <i>ipine</i>	Class 6 <i>amanote</i> <i>amapine</i>	Source word <i>note</i> <i>pneu</i>	English musical note tyre

Class 9	Class 10		
<i>ibisi</i>	<i>za bisi</i>	<i>bus</i>	bus
<i>iresi</i>	<i>za resi</i>	<i>reçu</i>	receipt
Class 12	Class 13	Source word	English
<i>agakeke</i>	<i>udukeke</i>	cake	small cake
<i>akaresi</i>	<i>uturesi</i>	<i>reçu</i>	small receipt

What is loanword adaptation? How are foreign words adopted and adapted into the recipient language? Who borrows foreign words? Why are they borrowed? How are they borrowed? When are they needed? Where do beneficiary speakers need them? These are questions among others which need to be addressed in this section.

Hockett (1958: 417) defines loanword adaptation as the modification of the form of the borrowed word:

Once a borrowed word has been thoroughly “naturalized”, its subsequent history is like that of any form already in the language [...] Different borrowers will imitate a foreign word in slightly different ways. Monolinguals who receive the word alter its shape even more, though not always in the same direction. This modification of the shape of the incoming word is called adaptation.

In the case of Kinyarwanda as a frequent borrower of French and English both monolinguals and bilinguals have brought foreign words because of the need of filling the gap in the vocabulary. The process, however, has not been done without any alteration of the form and the meaning of the words.

Loanword phonology seeks to model the process by which foreign words are ‘nativised’ or incorporated into the phonological system of the ‘borrowing’ language. The nativization of foreign words can be conceived as the phonetic input provided by the foreign word forms, in accordance with phonological output constraints of the borrowing language. Loanword formation has a two stage process: the first of which yields the phonetic input into segmentally organised phonetic feature bundles, interpretable as segmental targets in the borrowing language. In the second stage of

processing, these segmental targets are passed into phonological structures (syllables, mora, feet) compatible with the word-prosody of the borrowing language.¹⁵

Paradis et al (1997:223-258) state that “borrowed words quite often sound different in a borrowing language (L1) than they do in the language from which they are taken (L2). For instance, the French word *fondue* [fɔ̃dy] is usually pronounced [fandu] in English [...]”

Altenberg (2005:54-55) explains why Spanish adds a vowel before an English word beginning with a consonant cluster:

In the case of Spanish learners’ vowel epenthesis in English while the production errors are attributable to transfer from L1 there are a number of possibilities regarding how and where the transfer occurs. One possibility is that transfer is here due to transfer of L1 knowledge of phonotactic constraints causing incorrect L2 knowledge. Another possibility is that these production errors are due to misperception of L2 targets by learners, under the influence of L1 syllable structure. A third possibility is that the errors are due to motoric output constraints: “motoric output constraints based on permissible syllable types in the L1 may cause Spanish speakers to pronounce the word “school” [esku].

Kinyarwanda speakers are very likely to be influenced by the transfer from L1. However, this will depend on the degree of performance of the bilingual speaker. A well educated bilingual may perceive and produce foreign words as accurately as the donor language speaker.

2.3 AREAS OF INFLUENCE

In this work “areas of influence” mean key activities which have adopted loanwords to fill the gap of the lexical need, which is the primary purpose of borrowing alien words. Interestingly enough, foreign words are found in very specific areas: commerce, technology, transport, agriculture, education, army, politics, administration, clothing, religion, foodstuff, health, sports, just to mention a few.

¹⁵ Retrieved 23 July 2009 from http://www.csse.unimelb.edu.au/~blair/sigphon_loannet.pdf. Blair (1998) *Loanword Formation: A Neural Network Approach*: Department of Computer Science and Electrical Engineering, University of Queensland, Australia.

With regard to borrowing in bilingual contexts of Mexicano (Náhuatl), Field (2002:160) corroborates the researcher's position that Kinyarwanda has extensively borrowed foreign elements because of the need to fill the gap. He explains that

terms were borrowed en masse to represent concepts that were brought into their world having to do with the imposition of social practices, for example, governmental, military, social, and legal organization along Spanish/European lines), religious customs (according to the spread of the Roman Catholic form of Christianity), occupational (including such aspects of business as Spanish/European monetary principles, implementation and methods of farming, and so on), and many other cultural accoutrements (for example, clothing standards in various official and unofficial areas of life).

Although Kinyarwanda has extensively borrowed from French and English, it has not reached the point whereby borrowing of morphology to the extent that the entire systems are replaced has never been attested in an observable case. In fact the grammatical replacement through borrowing occurs only when there is intensive language contact (Thomason 1997:479).

The areas which have adopted loanwords clearly prove that they have been integrated into most of the activities of every day life of Rwandans. However, Kinyarwanda terminologies denoting activities such as livestock, crafts, pottery, fishery, hunting, and navigation, borrowed very few new terms because there was no real need for them. Rwandans had a great deal of rich vocabulary to express these realities. For example, in Kinyarwanda there are more than five ways of denoting the concept "milk" and more than ten words to refer to the concept "cow":

Milk:

1. *inshyushyu*, "fresh milk"
2. *umuhondo*, "fresh yellow milk" (when the cow's calf is between 1-5 days old)
3. *ikivuguto*, "curdled milk with some butter in it"
4. *amacunda*, "beaten sour milk after the removal of butter"
5. *umubanje*, "milk with sugary taste" (that which has spent about 24 hours after milking)

6. *amasitu*, “milk from a cow which has just weaned”.
7. *amirire*, “that which is milked in the morning and consumed in the evening”

Cow:

1. *umutavu*, “a calf between 0-3 months old”
2. *inyana*, “a heifer”.
3. *ikimasa*, “a bullock”
4. *ishashi*, “a heifer which is mature enough to reproduce”
5. *infizi*, “a bull”
6. *inka*, “generic name for cow”
7. *ibuguma*, “an old cow
8. *inkungu*, “a cow without horns”
9. *inyambo*, “a long-horned cow”
11. *imbyeyi*, “a mother cow”
12. *rwirungu*, “a black and white cow”
13. *sine*, “a grey cow”
14. *bihogo*, “a brown cow”
15. *bugondo*, “a spotted cow”
16. *mukara*, “a black cow”
17. *gitare*, “a white cow”

The richness of the vocabulary denoting “milk” and “cow” clearly shows that there was no real need of borrowing foreign words to express such a reality. As far as meat is concerned, Rwandans seldom slaughter the cow for meat. However, they could occasionally slaughter young bulls or sterile cows for meat. They were very reluctant to slaughter an animal for meat. Seafood was almost unknown to the community. Eating fish was a taboo. They believed cows would die if one of the relatives would eat fish. Therefore, meat related vocabulary is not as rich as in other languages. With regard to the sample of loanwords and their assignment to key areas listed below, they did not come from any comprehensive dictionary, since there has not been any finalized version of a comprehensive dictionary in Kinyarwanda. Loanwords listed in this database are mainly old and widely used ones. Even at this juncture, the sample

is not systematically documented. It is rather arbitrary. Loanwords were gathered from various written and spoken sources.

Loanwords in this work database are especially used in daily conversations, media, teaching materials, books, hoardings, sign posts, and transport. The sample is intended to be a guideline in this study in order to help in some conclusions as to how loanwords operate, how they were brought in and adapted, and why they have been adapted. Therefore, it should not be considered as an exhaustive database. Although some of the informants are educated ones, they have no intimate morphological and etymological knowledge.

Most loanwords presented in this sample are nouns. The scarcity of verbal loanwords in the database should find explanation in the fact that there is preference in borrowing foreign elements. Nouns are more concrete than any other parts of speech. According to Beard (2004:90), English is thought to be a “frequent borrower of words, with nouns and adjectives being the most frequent categories, adverbs and pronouns the least”. However, Kinyarwanda is not the least frequent borrower of words from foreign languages. It has also extensively borrowed nouns from foreign languages.

With regard to borrowing more nouns than any other part of speech, the researcher supports Field (2002:35) when he says that there is a link between borrowability and grammaticality. He states that “nouns are borrowed more frequently than verbs and verbs more frequently than adjectives.” As for Romaine (1989:64), “...the tendency to prefer nouns to verbs for borrowing is not, however, valid for all cases of language contact. In the Panjabi/English bilingual community in Britain, verbs were the most frequently borrowed items.”

Even among nouns, words denoting concreteness are likely to be more borrowed than those denoting abstractness. Field (2002:105) indicates that “it is predicted that form-meaning sets whose meanings or referents are concrete will be preferred in borrowing over those that are characterized as abstract.”

In Kinyarwanda, abstract loanwords are generally found in the area of religion, for example, *misa*, “mass”; *kiliziya*, “church”; *penetensiya*, “penitence”; *abusolisiyo*, “absolution”; *isakaramento*, “sacrament”; *Isabato*, “Sabbath”; *paradizo*, “paradise”; *purigatori*, “purgatory”; *gihenomu*, “hell”; *umubatizo*, “baptism”; *ubupagani*, “paganism” (these are personal examples based on the researcher’s religious experience). These abstract loanwords have been integrated into more than one noun class, whereas native abstract nouns are entirely allocated to class 14.

In this study, the researcher has identified seventeen areas of influence which have hosted loanwords. Of course, these identified areas and loanwords are not meant to be exhaustive. Loanwords which are classified under these areas have been taken from the corpus of loanwords collected from various sources (see Appendix). As a native speaker of Kinyarwanda, most loanwords came directly from the researcher’s memory as he was drafting the list. Thus, the examples to illustrate loanwords from a particular area did not come from any publication. The percentage given in the table of occurrence is simply relative to the specific sample presented in the key areas. They do not represent all French and English loanwords in Kinyarwanda.

2.3.1 Agriculture and livestock

Loanwords in this area mainly denote industrial crops, modern agricultural and livestock techniques which have been introduced in Rwanda since the colonial period.

All the loanwords presented below did not exist in Kinyarwanda before the arrival of Arabs and Europeans. With regard to traditional agriculture and livestock, there is a wide range of vocabulary showing various traditional techniques. For example, there is a vast lexical field of words which denote the concept of crops, cow, and milk, because these realities were highly developed in Rwanda. On the other hand, words related to imported plants and modern agricultural tools used in farming and cattle breeding were borrowed from foreign languages.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word*	English
<i>avoka</i>	<i>za voka</i>	<i>avocat</i>	avocado
<i>epinari</i>	<i>za pinari</i>	<i>épinards</i>	spinach
<i>ibireti</i>	<i>ibireti</i>	<i>pyrèthre</i>	pyrethrum
<i>idivayi</i>	<i>za divayi</i>	<i>vin</i>	wine
<i>ilonji</i>	<i>amaronji</i>	<i>orange</i>	orange
<i>ikaroti</i>	<i>amakaroti</i>	<i>carrote</i>	carrot
<i>ikinini</i>	<i>ibinini</i>	<i>quinine</i>	quinine
<i>inanasi</i>	<i>inanasi</i>	<i>ananas</i>	pineapple
<i>intusu</i>	<i>intusu</i>	<i>eucalyptus</i>	eucalyptus
<i>ipapayi</i>	<i>amapapaye</i>	<i>papaye</i>	papaya
<i>ipome</i>	<i>za pome</i>	<i>pomme</i>	apple
<i>ipuruni</i>	<i>amapuruni</i>	<i>prune</i>	plum
<i>ipwavuro</i>	<i>za pwavuro</i>	<i>poivron</i>	pepper
<i>isadara</i>	<i>amasadara</i>	<i>cèdre</i>	cedar
<i>ishu</i>	<i>amashu</i>	<i>chou</i>	cabbage
<i>isipure</i>	<i>amasipure</i>	<i>cyprès</i>	cypress
<i>isizeni</i>	<i>za sizeni</i>	<i>season</i>	season
<i>isoya</i>	<i>isoya</i>	<i>soya</i>	soyabean
<i>itomate</i>	<i>itomate</i>	<i>tomate</i>	tomato
<i>umugoronome</i>	<i>abagoronome</i>	<i>agronome</i>	agr.engineer
<i>umuveterineri</i>	<i>abaveterineri</i>	<i>vétérinaire</i>	veterinary

*Apart from the loanword *isizeni* (from the English ‘season’), all the other loanwords come from French.

Observations:

It is very interesting to observe that most nouns denoting fruit are loanwords from various languages. For example, *ipera* (from Spanish, “pera”), “guyava”; *maracuja* (from Portuguese, “maracujá”), “passion fruit”; *inanasi* (from French, “ ananas”), “pineapple”; *ilonji* (from French, “orange”), “orange”; *ipapayi* (from Portuguese, “papaja”), “papaya”; *imange* (from Portuguese, “manga”), “mango”; *pome* (from

French, “pomme”), “apple”; *avoka* (from Spanish, “aguacate”), “avocado”; *itomati* (from Portuguese, tomato), “tomato”, *ipuruni* (from French, “prune”), “plum”.

The only fruits which existed in Rwanda before colonization are *inkeri* , “strawberries”, and *umuneke* , “ripe banana”.

2.3.2 Building

Loanwords in this area comprise those denoting construction materials, parts of a house, and people involved in a house construction. Major traditional housing materials were made of thatch of sorghum and maize, straw, mud, and branches of trees. With the new techniques of building, many new terms were introduced into the daily vocabulary of Rwandans.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word*	English
<i>anegise</i>	<i>za anegise</i>	<i>annexe</i>	annex
<i>beto</i>	<i>za beto</i>	<i>béton</i>	concrete
<i>bido</i>	<i>za bido</i>	<i>bidon</i>	can
<i>buro</i>	<i>amaburo</i>	<i>bolt</i>	boulon
<i>dushe</i>	<i>za dushe</i>	<i>douche</i>	bath-room
<i>etaje</i>	<i>za yetaje</i>	<i>étage</i>	floor
<i>ifondasiyo</i>	<i>za fondasiyo</i>	<i>fondation</i>	foundation
<i>igaraviye</i>	<i>za garaviye</i>	<i>gravier</i>	gravel
<i>ihama</i>	<i>amahama</i>	hammer	hammer
<i>isalo</i>	<i>amasalo</i>	<i>salon</i>	sitting-room
<i>isharupante</i>	<i>sharupante</i>	<i>charpente</i>	structure
<i>isharupante</i>	<i>za sharupante</i>	<i>charpente</i>	frames
<i>isima</i>	<i>sima</i>	<i>ciment</i>	cement
<i>itibe</i>	<i>amatibe</i>	<i>tube</i>	tube
<i>itiyo</i>	<i>amatiyo</i>	<i>tuyau</i>	pipe/tube
<i>karo</i>	<i>amakaro</i>	<i>carreau</i>	pane, tile
<i>kole</i>	<i>za kole</i>	<i>colle</i>	glue
<i>kole</i>	<i>za kole</i>	<i>colle</i>	glue

<i>konteri</i>	<i>za konteri</i>	<i>compteur</i>	meter (AmE)
<i>kwizine</i>	<i>za kwizine</i>	<i>cuisine</i>	kitchen
<i>lavabo</i>	<i>za lavabo</i>	<i>lavabo</i>	sink
<i>masitike</i>	<i>za masitike</i>	<i>mastic</i>	putty
<i>nivo</i>	<i>za nivo</i>	<i>niveau</i>	level
<i>pulafo</i>	<i>amapulafo</i>	<i>plafond</i>	ceiling
<i>pulanshedolive</i>	<i>pulanshedolive</i>	<i>planche de rive</i>	surf
<i>robine</i>	<i>amarobine</i>	<i>robinet</i>	tap
<i>soke</i>	<i>za soke</i>	socket	socket
<i>sudire</i>	-----	<i>soudure</i>	welding
<i>turunevise</i>	<i>amaturunevise</i>	<i>tournevis</i>	screw
<i>twalete</i>	<i>za twalete</i>	<i>toilette</i>	toilet
<i>umumaso</i>	<i>abamaso</i>	<i>maçon</i>	mason
<i>umumenwiziye</i>	<i>abamenwiziye</i>	<i>menuisier</i>	carpenter
<i>umumenwiziye</i>	<i>abamenwiziye</i>	<i>menuisier</i>	carpenter
<i>vane</i>	<i>za vane</i>	<i>vanne</i>	sluice
<i>verini</i>	<i>za verini</i>	<i>vernis</i>	glaze
<i>visi</i>	<i>amavisi</i>	<i>vis</i>	screw

*The loanwords *ihama* ('hammer') and *isoke* ('socket') come from English. All the other loanwords come from French.

2.3.3 Calendar and telling the time

The area of calendar is composed of words denoting religious festivals and public holidays. Before the colonial period, Rwandans have their own ways of designating the days of the week, the months of the year (lunar system), and the seasons. With the contact of foreigners, there was a quick adoption of the Western/Catholic way of counting the days, the months, and the year.

Examples:

Loanword	Source word*	English
<i>Adiventi</i>	<i>Advent</i>	Advent
<i>Asansiyo</i>	<i>Ascension</i>	Ascension
<i>Asomusiyo</i>	<i>Assomption</i>	Assumption

<i>Bonane</i>	<i>Bonne Année</i>	New Year
<i>dimanshe</i>	<i>dimanche</i>	Sunday
<i>Indepandasi</i>	<i>Independance</i>	Independence
<i>Kareme</i>	<i>Lent</i>	<i>carême</i>
<i>midi</i>	<i>midi</i>	noon
<i>minwi</i>	<i>minuit</i>	midnight
<i>Noheli</i>	<i>Noël</i>	Christmas
<i>Pasika</i>	<i>Pâque</i>	Easter
<i>Pentekosite</i>	<i>Pentecoste</i>	Pententecost

*All the loanwords here come from French.

Observations:

In spite of the existing traditional ways of telling the time, Rwandans also borrowed the concept of telling the time from the external world. The word *saa* means “time” or “hour”, while *isaha* means “watch or “clock”. If one considers how it is used in relation to the traditional way of telling the time, it is very obvious that it is an innovation which came from Arabs, who introduced time telling in East Africa. Rwanda borrowed it via Kiswahili speaking communities. Before any remote foreign contact, traditional Rwandans used to tell the time based on natural phenomena (dawn, sunrise, zenith, twilight, darkness, night), the birds (cranes, sparrows, owls), domestic animals (cows, heifers, roasters, etc). Here are some examples, with some literal translations:

Mu nkoko isaa cyenda z'ijoro: “when cocks crow at three a.m. (03:00 a.m.).

Mu nkoko za kabiri (saa kumi z'ijoro): “when cocks crow for the 2nd time” (03:00-04:00 a.m).

Imisambi ihiga (saa kumi n'imwe): “when the cranes are playing” (05:00 a.m.).

Mu bunyoni (saa kumi n'imwe n'igice): “when the birds are singing” (05:30 a.m.).

Mu museke(mu ma saa kumi n'imwe n'igice): “at dawn time” (05:30 a.m.).

Mu museso (saa kumi n'ebyiri): “the break of the day” (06:00 a.m.).

Izuba rirashe (saa kumi n'ebyiri n'igice): “at sunrise” (06:30 a.m.).

Ku gasusuruko (mu ma saa tatu za mu gitondo): “at morning sunshine” (09:00 a.m.).

Ku manywa y'ihangu (saa tanu kugera saa munani): “when the sun is hot” (11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.).

Ku gicamunsi (saa cyenda kugeza saa kumi z'amanywa): “when the sun starts to set” (3:00 p.m.-4:00 p.m.).

Inyana zisubiye iswa saa kumi n'imwe z'umugoroba: “when heifers go back to graze” (5:00 p.m.).

Izuba rirenze (saa kumi n'ebyiri z'umugoroba): “at sunset” (6:00 p.m.).

Mu mataha y'inka (saa kumi n'ebyiri n'igice z'umugoroba): “when the cattle return home” (6:30 p.m.).

Mu kabwibwi (saa moya z'ijoro): “when the night starts to fall” (7:00 p.m.).

Mu maryama saa mbiri, saa tatu z'ijoro: “when people go to bed” (8:00 p.m. -9:00 p.m.).

Abantu bashyizweyo (saa yine z'ijoro): “when people are in deep sleep” (10:00 p.m.).

Ihindabarozi (saa tanu z'ijoro): “when sorcerers are at work” (11:00 p.m.).

Igicuku kinishye (saa sita z'ijoro kugeza mu ma saa cyenda): “in the darkest night” (0:00-03:00 a.m.).

2.3.4 Clothing

Before the arrival of Arabs and Europeans, traditional Rwandans used to wear fine hides of animals and barks of trees. Men regarded their wives with respect in the matter of clothing. For example, a husband would make a cloth out of fine animal hide (sheep or cow hide) while he himself would cover the nudity with a tree bark. Most loanwords denoting clothing, including foot and head wear, have been fully adapted to morphological and phonological language system of Kinyarwanda.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word*	English
<i>iburuze</i>	<i>amaburuze</i>	<i>blouse</i>	blouse
<i>ifulari</i>	<i>za fulari</i>	<i>foulard</i>	head scarf
<i>ijile</i>	<i>za jile</i>	<i>gilet</i>	waistcoat
<i>ijipo</i>	<i>amajipo</i>	<i>jupon</i>	skirt/petticoat
<i>ikaravati</i>	<i>amakaravati</i>	<i>cravate</i>	tie
<i>ikariso</i>	<i>amakariso</i>	<i>caleçon</i>	underwear
<i>ikositimu</i>	<i>amakositimu</i>	<i>costume</i>	suit
<i>ikoti</i>	<i>amakoti</i>	coat	coat

<i>ilinete</i>	<i>amalinete</i>	<i>lunettes</i>	eye glasses
<i>ipantaro</i>	<i>amapantaro</i>	<i>pantalon</i>	trousers
<i>isengeri</i>	<i>amasengeri</i>	<i>singlet</i>	T-shirt
<i>ishati</i>	<i>amashati</i>	shirt	shirt
<i>ishene</i>	<i>amashene</i>	<i>chaîne</i>	chain
<i>isogisi</i>	<i>amasogisi</i>	socks	socks
<i>ivarisi</i>	<i>amavarisi</i>	<i>valise</i>	suitcase
<i>ubulingiti</i>	<i>ibilingiti</i>	blanket	blanket
<i>umuderi</i>	<i>imideri</i>	<i>modèle</i>	fashion
<i>umutayeri</i>	<i>abatayeri</i>	<i>tailleur</i>	tailor
<i>winga</i>	<i>za winga</i>	wing	wing collar

*The loanwords *ikoti*, *ishati*, *isogisi*, *ubulingiti*, *iwinga* come respectively from the English 'coat', 'shirt', 'socks', 'blanket', 'wing'. Other loanwords come from French.

2.3.5 Commerce and counting

Most loanwords in this area come from French. This shows French seniority and predominance over English in Rwanda. However, today's Kinyarwanda is extensively borrowing from English; posters, commercial advertisements, sign-posts, hoardings, all show the predominance of English over French.

The area of commerce and the modern auxiliaries of trade (banking, advertising, insurance, warehousing, transport, and industry) were non-existent in Rwanda. Before commercial ties with the external world, there existed in Rwanda the system of barter, whereby goods were exchanged against other goods. Therefore loanwords denoting commerce, banking, marketing, and taxation were introduced when the first trading centres started to operate in Rwanda.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word*	English
<i>egisitere</i>	<i>za egisitere</i>	<i>extrait</i>	bank statement
<i>gasutamo</i>	<i>za gasutamo</i>	custom	custom office
<i>gishe</i>	<i>za gishe</i>	<i>guichet</i>	counter/desk
<i>gitanse</i>	<i>za gitanse</i>	<i>quittance</i>	receipt

<i>gutereta</i>	--	<i>traîter</i>	to deal with
<i>ibanki</i>	<i>amabanki</i>	<i>banque</i>	bank
<i>iborudero</i>	<i>za borudero</i>	<i>bordéreau</i>	deposit bank slip
<i>ibutike</i>	<i>amabutike</i>	<i>boutique</i>	shop
<i>iduwane</i>	<i>amaduwane</i>	<i>douane</i>	custom office
<i>iduzeni</i>	<i>amaduzeni</i>	<i>douzaine</i>	dozen
<i>ifagitire</i>	<i>amafagitire</i>	<i>facture</i>	bill
<i>ifaranga</i>	<i>amafaranga</i>	<i>francs</i>	francs, money
<i>ifishi</i>	<i>amafishe</i>	<i>fiche</i>	form
<i>igarama</i>	<i>amagarama</i>	<i>gramme</i>	gramme
<i>igoro</i>	<i>za goro</i>	<i>gros</i>	store
<i>ikiro</i>	<i>ibiro</i>	<i>kilo</i>	kilogramme
<i>inote</i>	<i>inote</i>	<i>note</i>	bank note
<i>ipatante</i>	<i>amapatante</i>	<i>patente</i>	license
<i>iresi</i>	<i>za resi</i>	<i>reçu</i>	receipt
<i>isheke</i>	<i>amasheke</i>	<i>chèque</i>	cheque
<i>itagise</i>	<i>amatagise</i>	<i>taxe</i>	tax
<i>iyaride</i>	<i>amayaride</i>	<i>yard</i>	yard
<i>kese</i>	<i>za kese</i>	<i>caisse</i>	cash desk
<i>komisiyo</i>	<i>za komisiyo</i>	<i>commission</i>	commission
<i>kuverisa</i>	--	<i>verser</i>	to deposit
<i>umikiliya</i>	<i>abakiliya</i>	<i>client</i>	customer
<i>umukesiyeri</i>	<i>abakesiyeri</i>	<i>caissière</i>	cashier
<i>umukontabure</i>	<i>abakontabure</i>	<i>comptable</i>	accountant
<i>umukurutiye</i>	<i>abakurutiye</i>	<i>courtier</i>	broker
<i>verisoma</i>	<i>za verisoma</i>	<i>versement</i>	bank deposit

**Gasutamo*, *inoti*, *iyaride* come from the English words 'custom', 'note', and 'yard'. Other loanwords come French.

2.3.6 Education

This area is the most complex one since it absorbed foreign words directly linked with educational systems from different countries, especially French and English speaking countries. This area counts more false friends than any other area. Kinyarwanda

borrowed loanwords to fill the gap for its vocabulary denoting school materials, documents, school administration, facilities.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word*	English
<i>agarafeze</i>	<i>za garafeze</i>	<i>agrafeuse</i>	stapler
<i>ajenda</i>	<i>za jenda</i>	<i>agenda</i>	diary
<i>atashe</i>	<i>za tashe</i>	<i>attache</i>	clip
<i>dipolome</i>	<i>za dipolome</i>	<i>diplôme</i>	certificate/diploma
<i>foromilere</i>	<i>za foromilere</i>	<i>formulaire</i>	form
<i>ibibuliyoteke</i>	<i>za bibuliyoteke</i>	<i>bibliothèque</i>	library
<i>ibilete</i>	<i>amabilete</i>	<i>bulletin</i>	transcript
<i>ibiro</i>	<i>za biro</i>	<i>bureau</i>	office
<i>iburuse</i>	<i>za buruse</i>	<i>bourse</i>	scholarship
<i>icaki</i>	<i>amacaki</i>	chalk	chalk
<i>ifishe</i>	<i>amafishe</i>	<i>fiche</i>	form
<i>ikaye</i>	<i>amakaye</i>	<i>cahier</i>	notebook
<i>ikereyo</i>	<i>amakereyo</i>	<i>crayon</i>	pencil
<i>iniforume</i>	<i>za iniforome</i>	<i>uniforme</i>	uniform
<i>inimero</i>	<i>amanimero</i>	<i>numéro</i>	number
<i>inota</i>	<i>amanota</i>	<i>note</i>	grade
<i>inote</i>	<i>amanote</i>	<i>note</i>	musical note
<i>irate</i>	<i>amarate</i>	<i>latte</i>	ruler
<i>isakoshe</i>	<i>amasakoshe</i>	<i>sacoche</i>	school bag
<i>pirimere</i>	<i>za pirimere</i>	<i>primaire</i>	primary
<i>segondere</i>	<i>za segondere</i>	<i>secondaire</i>	secondary
<i>tabulo</i>	<i>za tabulo</i>	<i>tableau</i>	board
<i>umubasholiye</i>	<i>ababasholiye</i>	<i>bachelier</i>	1 st degree holder
<i>umudiregiteri</i>	<i>abadiregiteri</i>	<i>directeur</i>	principal
<i>umukandida</i>	<i>abakandida</i>	<i>candidat</i>	applicant
<i>umulisansiyiye</i>	<i>abalisansiyiye</i>	<i>licencié</i>	2 nd degree holder
<i>umumeterese</i>	<i>abameterese</i>	<i>maîtresse</i>	female teacher
<i>umwensipegitere</i>	<i>abayensipegiteri</i>	<i>inspecteur</i>	inspector
<i>urupapuro</i>	<i>impapuro</i>	<i>papier</i>	paper

*The loanword *icaki* comes from the English ‘chalk’, while the others come from French. It has a doublet meaning the same concept, *ingwa*.

2.3.7 Employment and professions

Loanwords in this category denote job positions, salary, allowances, working conditions, employee’s rights and duties, and benefits he is entitled to.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word*	English
<i>asuranse</i>	<i>za suranse</i>	<i>assurance</i>	insurance
<i>averitisoma</i>	<i>za veritisoma</i>	<i>avertissement</i>	warning
<i>diregiteri</i>	<i>abadiregiteri</i>	<i>directeur</i>	director/manager
<i>endamunite</i>	<i>za endamunite</i>	<i>indemnité</i>	allowance
<i>idosiye</i>	<i>amadosiye</i>	<i>dossier</i>	file
<i>ikonje</i>	<i>amakonje</i>	<i>congé</i>	leave, holiday
<i>ikontaro</i>	<i>za kontaro</i>	<i>contrat</i>	contract
<i>ipereyavi</i>	<i>za pereyavi</i>	<i>préavis</i>	notice
<i>iposho</i>	<i>amaposho</i>	<i>poche</i>	weekly ratio*
<i>konjepeye</i>	<i>za konjepeye</i>	<i>congé payé</i>	paid leave
<i>mitiwere</i>	<i>za mitiwere</i>	<i>mutuelle</i>	mutual benefit society
<i>pansiyo</i>	<i>zapansiyo</i>	<i>pension</i>	pension
<i>sendika</i>	<i>za sendika</i>	<i>syndicat</i>	(trade) union
<i>umukarani</i>	<i>abakarani</i>	<i>clerc</i>	clerk
<i>umukesiyeri</i>	<i>abakesiyeri</i>	<i>caissière</i>	cashier
<i>umukontabule</i>	<i>abakontabule</i>	<i>comptable</i>	accountant
<i>umupulanto</i>	<i>abapulanto</i>	<i>planton</i>	office boy
<i>umusekereteri</i>	<i>abasekereteri</i>	<i>secrétaire</i>	secretary
<i>umushomeri</i>	<i>abashomeri</i>	<i>chômeur</i>	unemployed
<i>umususitati</i>	<i>abasusitati</i>	<i>sous-statut</i>	full-time employee
<i>wikende</i>	<i>za wikende</i>	<i>weekend</i>	weekend **

*A worker could get a weekly ratio/salary in cash or in kind from the master and fill in his ‘pocket’ (*poche* in French) with items like salt, soap, rice, sugar.

** Only the loanword *wikende* comes from English ‘weekend’, others come from French.

2.3.7 Foodstuff and cooking

Loanwords classified under this category refer to modern culinary vocabulary for hard and soft food, which were almost non-existent in ancient Rwanda. Traditional staples comprised beans, sweet potatoes, bananas, cassava, sorgum paste, and vegetables. Modern habits of eating were acquired from foreigners who brought in external food stuff such as rice, cakes, jam, sweets, cream, bread, vegetable oil.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word*	English
<i>avoka</i>	<i>za voka</i>	<i>avocat</i>	avocado
<i>ibenye</i>	<i>za benye</i>	<i>beignet</i>	fritter
<i>ibisikwi</i>	<i>ibisikwi</i>	<i>biscuit</i>	biscuit
<i>ibombo</i>	<i>za bombo</i>	<i>bonbon</i>	sweets
<i>ifarine</i>	<i>amafarini</i>	<i>farine</i>	farine
<i>iforomaji</i>	<i>za foromaje</i>	<i>fromage</i>	cheese
<i>igato</i>	<i>za gato</i>	<i>gâteau</i>	cake
<i>ikeke</i>	<i>za keke</i>	<i>cake</i>	cake
<i>iji</i>	<i>za ji</i>	<i>jus</i>	juice
<i>ikeremu</i>	--	<i>crème</i>	cream
<i>ikonfitire</i>	<i>za konfitire</i>	<i>confiture</i>	jam
<i>iporici</i>	<i>za porici</i>	porridge	porridge
<i>isosi</i>	-----	<i>sauce</i>	soup
<i>isupu</i>	--	<i>soupe</i>	soup
<i>ivinegere</i>	--	<i>vinaigre</i>	vinegar
<i>marigarine</i>	-----	<i>margarine</i>	butter
<i>mayoneze</i>	----	<i>mayonnaise</i>	mayonnaise
<i>ruwiri</i>	--	<i>l’huile</i>	cooking oil
<i>shokola</i>	<i>za shokola</i>	<i>chocolat</i>	chocolate
<i>soya</i>	<i>za soya</i>	<i>soya</i>	soya beans
<i>umureti</i>	<i>imireti</i>	<i>omelette</i>	omelette

**Iporice* and *keke* are loanwords from the English words ‘porridge’ and ‘cake’. The other loanwords come from French.

2.3.8 Health

The area of health comprises mainly loanwords denoting hospital facilities, medical equipment, drugs, “modern diseases”, medical personnel.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word*	English
<i>anjine</i>	<i>za njine</i>	<i>angine</i>	sore throat
<i>apeti</i>	--	<i>appétit</i>	appetite
<i>arikoro</i>	<i>arikoro</i>	<i>alcool</i>	alcohol
<i>aside</i>	<i>za side</i>	<i>acide</i>	acid
<i>asima</i>	<i>asima</i>	<i>asthme</i>	asthma
<i>diyabete</i>	<i>za diyabeti</i>	<i>diabète</i>	diabetes
<i>farumasi</i>	<i>za farumasi</i>	<i>pharmacie</i>	pharmacy
<i>ibande</i>	<i>amabande</i>	<i>bande</i>	adhesive tape
<i>ibitaro</i>	<i>ibitaro</i>	<i>hôpital</i>	hospital
<i>ikinini</i>	<i>ibinini</i>	<i>quinine</i>	tablet
<i>iserumu</i>	<i>za serumu</i>	<i>serum</i>	serum
<i>itabuliye</i>	<i>amatabuliye</i>	<i>tablier</i>	nurse dress
<i>kanseri</i>	<i>za kanseri</i>	<i>cancer</i>	cancer
<i>muryamo</i>	---	<i>Miriam</i>	cow disease
<i>paralize</i>	--	<i>paralyisie</i>	paralysis
<i>rimatisime</i>	<i>za rimatisime</i>	<i>rhumatisme</i>	rheumatism
<i>seriviyete</i>	<i>za seriviyete</i>	<i>serviette</i>	towel, napkin (AmE)
<i>sida</i>	--	<i>SIDA</i>	AIDS
<i>sinizite</i>	<i>za sinizite</i>	<i>sinusite</i>	sinusitis
<i>tifoyide</i>	<i>za tifoyide</i>	<i>typhoide</i>	typhoid
<i>umudogiteri</i>	<i>abadogiteri</i>	<i>docteur</i>	doctor
<i>umuforomo</i>	<i>abafaromo</i>	<i>infirmier</i>	nurse
<i>umunase</i>	<i>abanase</i>	nurse	nurse
<i>urushinge</i>	<i>inshinge</i>	<i>séringue</i>	syringe

**Umunase* comes from the English word 'nurse'. Other loanwords come French.

2.3.9 Household

A traditional hut consisted of very rudimentary household furniture and appliances, which sometimes included one or more mats (used as a carpet), sisal or wooden chairs, clay pots, wooden plates. Loanwords under this category denote household appliances, furniture, and cutlery, which were brought in Rwanda by foreigners.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word*	English
<i>akabati</i>	<i>utubati</i>	cupboard	cupboard
<i>ibase</i>	<i>za base</i>	<i>bassin</i>	basin
<i>ifirigo</i>	<i>amafirigo</i>	<i>frigo</i>	fridge
<i>ifoteyi</i>	<i>za foteyi</i>	<i>fauteuil</i>	armchair
<i>ijerikane</i>	<i>amajerikane</i>	jerrycan	water can
<i>ikuse</i>	<i>amakuse</i>	<i>coussin</i>	cushion
<i>ipanu</i>	<i>amapanu</i>	pan	frying pan
<i>ipasi</i>	<i>amapase</i>	<i>fer à repasser</i>	iron
<i>ipulato</i>	<i>amapulato</i>	<i>plateau</i>	tray
<i>iradiyo</i>	<i>amaradiyo</i>	<i>radio</i>	radio
<i>iresho</i>	<i>amaresho</i>	<i>rechaud</i>	stove
<i>irido</i>	<i>za rido</i>	<i>rideau</i>	curtain
<i>ishofo</i>	<i>za shofo</i>	<i>chauffe-eau</i>	water heater
<i>isizo</i>	<i>amasizo</i>	<i>ciseaux</i>	scissors
<i>isutasi</i>	<i>amasutasi</i>	<i>sous-tasse</i>	saucer
<i>itabure</i>	<i>amatabure</i>	<i>tabouret</i>	stool
<i>itapi</i>	<i>amatapi</i>	<i>tapis</i>	carpet
<i>itasi</i>	<i>amatasi</i>	<i>tasse</i>	cup
<i>telefone</i>	<i>za telefone</i>	<i>téléphone</i>	telephone
<i>televiziyo</i>	<i>amateleviziyo</i>	<i>télévision</i>	television

*The loanwords *akabati*, *ipanu*, and *ijerikani* come respectively from the English words 'cupboard', 'pan', and 'jerrycan' while other loanwords come from French.

2.3.10 Military and police

This area comprises all non-civilian related borrowed loanwords denoting the army, the police, military equipment, ranks, ammunition. Traditionally, the king's army had rudimentary armour. The most used weapons consisted of spears, shields, bows, and arrows.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word*	English
<i>anketi</i>	<i>za nketi</i>	<i>enquête</i>	investigation
<i>enterogatware</i>	<i>enterogatware</i>	<i>nterrogatoire</i>	statement
<i>iburigade</i>	<i>za burigade</i>	<i>brigade</i>	police station
<i>ipisitole</i>	<i>za pisitole</i>	<i>pistolet</i>	pistol
<i>irasiyo</i>	<i>amarasiyo</i>	<i>ration</i>	ratio
<i>irevluveri</i>	<i>za revoluveri</i>	<i>revolver</i>	revolver
<i>itanki</i>	<i>amatanki</i>	tank	tank
<i>manda</i>	<i>za manda</i>	<i>mandat</i>	warrant
<i>mashinigani</i>	<i>za mashinigani</i>	machine-gun	machine-gun
<i>mitarayezi</i>	<i>za mitarayezi</i>	<i>mitrailleuse</i>	machine-gun
<i>opeji</i>	<i>abawopeji</i>	<i>OPJ</i>	Judiciary Police Officer
<i>peve</i>	<i>za peve</i>	<i>pv (procès-verbal)</i>	statement
<i>umudemobe</i>	<i>abademobe</i>	<i>démobilisé</i>	war veteran
<i>umukaporari</i>	<i>abakaporali</i>	<i>caporal</i>	corporal
<i>umukoroneri</i>	<i>abakoroneri</i>	<i>colonel</i>	colonel
<i>umuliyetena</i>	<i>abaliyetena</i>	<i>lieutenant</i>	lieutenant
<i>umupolisi</i>	<i>abapolisi</i>	<i>police</i>	policeman
<i>umurikiri</i>	<i>abarikiri</i>	<i>recrue</i>	recruit

**Itanki* and *mashinigani* come from English words 'tank' and 'machine-gun'. The other loanwords come from French.

2.3.11 Music

Besides Rwandan traditional music, liturgy music came alongside Christianity. In the long run, other types of music (classical, reggae, Congolese music) were introduced.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word	English
<i>bafure</i>	<i>za bafure</i>	<i>baffre</i>	amplifier
<i>besi</i>	<i>za besi</i>	<i>bass</i>	bass
<i>igitare</i>	<i>za gitare</i>	<i>guitare</i>	guitar
<i>ikonseri</i>	<i>za konseri</i>	<i>concert</i>	concert
<i>ikorali</i>	<i>amakorali</i>	<i>chorale</i>	choir
<i>inote</i>	<i>amanote</i>	<i>note</i>	musical note
<i>ipiyano</i>	<i>za piyano</i>	<i>piano</i>	piano
<i>isilo</i>	<i>za silo</i>	<i>slow</i>	slow
<i>jaze</i>	<i>za jaze</i>	<i>jazz</i>	jazz
<i>kabule</i>	<i>za kabule</i>	<i>cable</i>	cable
<i>mikoro</i>	<i>za mikoro</i>	<i>micro</i>	microphone
<i>roke</i>	<i>za roke</i>	<i>rock</i>	rock
<i>sentetizeri</i>	<i>za sentetizeri</i>	<i>synthétiseur</i>	syndissertationer
<i>solufeje</i>	<i>za solufeje</i>	<i>sofège</i>	rudiments of music
<i>soporano</i>	<i>za soporano</i>	<i>soprano</i>	soprano
<i>umuzika</i>	<i>za muzika</i>	<i>musique</i>	music

**jaze* and *roke* come from the English words 'jazz' and 'rock'. The other loanwords come from French.

2.3.12 Politics and administration

Loanwords denoting politics and administration were chiefly introduced under the Belgian colonial rule. Words referring to territorial administrative entities have been changed over and over again for the last four decades, as political regimes in Rwanda were unstable.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word*	English
<i>(umu) mere</i>	<i>abamere</i>	<i>maire</i>	mayor
<i>ankete</i>	<i>za nketi</i>	<i>enquête</i>	investigation
<i>guverinoma</i>	<i>za guverinoma</i>	<i>gouvernement</i>	government
<i>ikomini</i>	<i>amakomini</i>	<i>commune</i>	commune
<i>ipasiporo</i>	<i>amapasiporo</i>	<i>passeport</i>	passport
<i>iperefegitura</i>	<i>amaperefegitura</i>	<i>préfecture</i>	prefecture
<i>iporovenshi</i>	<i>za porovenshi</i>	<i>province</i>	province
<i>isegiteri</i>	<i>amasegiteri</i>	<i>segiteri</i>	sector
<i>iserire</i>	<i>amaserire</i>	<i>cellule</i>	cell
<i>isheferi</i>	<i>za sheferi</i>	<i>chefferie</i>	county/district
<i>iteritwari</i>	<i>za teritwari</i>	<i>territoire</i>	territory
<i>imitingi</i>	<i>za mitingi</i>	meeting	meeting
<i>porokireri</i>	<i>baporokireri</i>	<i>procureur</i>	prosecutor
<i>rezida</i>	<i>barezida</i>	<i>résident</i>	resident
<i>umuburugumesiteri</i>	<i>ababurugumesiteri</i>	<i>bourgmestre</i>	mayor
<i>umudepite</i>	<i>abadepite</i>	<i>député</i>	Member of Parliament
<i>umuguverineri</i>	<i>abaguverineri</i>	<i>gouverneur</i>	governor
<i>umumeya</i>	<i>abameya</i>	mayor	mayor
<i>umuminisitiri</i>	<i>abaminisitiri</i>	<i>ministre</i>	minister
<i>umunyapolitiki</i>	<i>abanyapolitiki</i>	<i>politicien</i>	politician
<i>umuperezida</i>	<i>abaperezida</i>	<i>président</i>	president
<i>umuresiponsabure</i>	<i>abaresiponsabure</i>	<i>responsable</i>	responsible
<i>umusenateri</i>	<i>abasenateri</i>	<i>sénateur</i>	senator
<i>umushefu</i>	<i>abashefu</i>	<i>chef</i>	chief
<i>umusivile</i>	<i>abasivile</i>	<i>civil</i>	civil
<i>umusiviliyani</i>	<i>abasiviliyani</i>	civilian	civilian
<i>umusurushefu</i>	<i>abasurushefu</i>	<i>sous-chef</i>	deputy chief

**Imitingi*, *umumeya*, and *umusiviliyani* come from the English words 'meeting', 'mayor', and 'civilian'. The other loanwords come from French.

2.3.13 Religion

This category represents a wide range of loanwords from Christendom as well as the Moslem world. Most of these loanwords have as their primary source, languages such as Latin, Greek, Hebrew or Arabic. They came into Kinyarwanda via French, English, and Kiswahili. Catholic and Protestant missionaries arrived in Rwanda in the 1900s, especially from Europe and later on from the USA. Each religion used the vocabulary which fits its creed, background, and its way of interpreting the Bible, or else the Quoran. Loanwords of this category may help us to understand how, when, and why these missionaries or Moslems came to Rwanda.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word*	English
<i>amina</i>	<i>za amina</i>	<i>amen</i> (Hebrew)	amen
<i>aritari</i>	<i>za ritari</i>	<i>alta</i> (Latin)	altar
<i>Bibiliya</i>	<i>za Bibiliya</i>	<i>Biblos</i> (Greek)	Bible
<i>gatigisimu</i>	<i>za gatigisimu</i>	<i>catéchisme</i> (French)	catechism
<i>gihenomu</i>	--	<i>Gey-Hennom</i> (Hebrew)	hell
<i>gusaliikorowani</i>	<i>za korowani</i>	<i>Qur'ān</i> (Arabic)	Coran
<i>haleluya</i>	<i>za haleluya</i>	<i>Hallelu-Jah</i> (Hebrew)	Praise the Lord
<i>iparadizo</i>	--	<i>paradeios</i> (Greek)	paradise
<i>ipenitensiya</i>	<i>za penitensiya</i>	<i>penitentia</i> (Latin)	penance
<i>Isabato</i>	<i>amasabato</i>	<i>Chabbat</i> (Hebrew)	rest
<i>ishapule</i>	<i>amashapule</i>	<i>chapelet</i> (French)	rosary
<i>itaranto</i>	<i>itaranto</i>	<i>talent</i> (French)	talent
<i>ivanjiri</i>	<i>ivanjiri</i>	<i>evangelos</i> (Greek)	gospel
<i>kiriziya</i>	<i>za kiliziya</i>	<i>ecclesia</i> (Greek)	church
<i>misa</i>	<i>za misa</i>	<i>misus</i> (Latin)	mass
<i>ukarisitiya</i>	-----	<i>eucharistie</i> (Greek)	eucharist
<i>umubatizo</i>	<i>imibatizo</i>	<i>baptizo</i> (Greek)	baptism
<i>umudari</i>	<i>imidari</i>	<i>médaille</i> (French)	medal
<i>umudiyakoni</i>	<i>abadiyakoni</i>	<i>diakonos</i> (Greek)	deacon
<i>umufuratiri</i>	<i>abafuratiri</i>	<i>frater</i> (Latin)	friar, brother

<i>umukerubi</i>	<i>abakerubi</i>	<i>cherub</i> (Hebrew)	cherub
<i>umukiristo</i>	<i>abakirisito</i>	<i>Kristos</i> (Greek)	Christian
<i>umupadiri</i>	<i>abapadiri</i>	<i>padre</i> (Italian)	priest
<i>umupagani</i>	<i>abapapagani</i>	<i>paganus</i> (Latin)	pagan
<i>umupasitoro</i>	<i>abapasitoro</i>	<i>pasteur</i> (French)	pastor
<i>umusaseridoti</i>	<i>abasaseridoti</i>	<i>sacerdote</i> (French)	priest
<i>umuserafi</i>	<i>abaserafi</i>	<i>saraf</i> (Hebrew)	seraph
<i>umusigiti</i>	<i>imisigiti</i>	<i>mosq</i> (Arabic)	mosque
<i>umusilimu</i>	<i>abasilimu</i>	<i>muslim</i> (Arabic)	muslim

*Loanwords in this field came alongside the language of influence for a specific religion. The language of influence for Catholicism have been Greek and Latin. Many Latin and Greek words came into Kinyarwanda via French. The same applies for Islam with its language Arabic and Judaism with Hebrew.

2.3.14 Sports and games

Most loanwords denoting sports generally come from English. This is understandable because game related terms (football, basketball, volleyball, handball) are English words, and most sports originated from Great Britain. With regard to sports and games, French borrowed extensively from English vocabulary.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word*	English
<i>antereneri</i>	<i>bantereneri</i>	<i>entraîneur</i>	coach
<i>igori</i>	<i>amagori</i>	goal	goal
<i>ikarita</i>	<i>amakarita</i>	<i>carte</i>	card
<i>ikorone</i>	<i>amakorone</i>	corner	corner
<i>ishoti</i>	<i>amashoti</i>	shoot	shoot
<i>itike</i>	<i>amatike</i>	ticket	ticket
<i>rali</i>	<i>za rali</i>	rallye	rally
<i>rugibi</i>	--	rugby	rugby
<i>siporo</i>	<i>amasiporo</i>	sports	sports
<i>umwarubitire</i>	<i>abarubitire</i>	<i>arbitre</i>	refree

**Antereneri* and *umwarubitire* come from the French words 'entrepreneur' and 'arbitre'. The other loanwords come from English.

2.3.15 Technology

This area counts more loanwords than any other area. They refer to modern means of transport, automobile industry, mechanics, electricity, plumbing, office supplies, stationery, computer science, broadcasting, telecommunication, etc., which did not exist in the country before the contact with the external world. Before any external contact, Rwandans used to carry people, goods and some domestic animals on their head, the shoulders, or the back. On rivers and waterways, they especially used canoes for transport. Therefore, from the time they came into contact with Arabs and Europeans a wide range of foreign words denoting technology and transport were introduced.

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Source word*	English
<i>amburiyaje</i>	<i>za mburiyaje</i>	<i>embrayage</i>	gear
<i>ampule</i>	<i>za mpule</i>	<i>ampoule</i>	bulb
<i>asanseri</i>	<i>za sanseri</i>	<i>ascenseur</i>	elevator
<i>ekara</i>	<i>za ekara</i>	<i>écran</i>	screen
<i>empurimante</i>	<i>za empurimante</i>	<i>imprimante</i>	printer
<i>purinta</i>	<i>za purinta</i>	printer	printer
<i>fotokopi</i>	<i>za fotokopi</i>	<i>photocopie</i>	copy
<i>ibuji</i>	<i>amabuji</i>	<i>bougie</i>	candle
<i>iferi</i>	<i>za ferri</i>	<i>frein</i>	brake
<i>ifizibule</i>	<i>za fizibule</i>	<i>fusible</i>	fuse
<i>ifoto</i>	<i>amafoto</i>	<i>photo</i>	photograph
<i>ihoni</i>	<i>amahoni</i>	horn	horn
<i>ikabule</i>	<i>za kabule</i>	<i>cable</i>	cable
<i>ikamiyo</i>	<i>amakamiyo</i>	<i>camion</i>	lorry
<i>ikaro</i>	<i>za karo</i>	<i>carreau</i>	pane
<i>ikarosori</i>	<i>za karosori</i>	<i>carrosserie</i>	body work
<i>ikilometero</i>	<i>za kilometero</i>	<i>kilomètre</i>	kilometre

<i>ikonteri</i>	<i>za konteri</i>	<i>compteur</i>	meter
<i>imashini</i>	<i>imashini</i>	<i>machine</i>	machine
<i>imetero</i>	<i>za metero</i>	<i>mètre</i>	metre
<i>imodoka</i>	<i>imodoka</i>	<i>car</i>	motor-car
<i>imoteri</i>	<i>za moteri</i>	<i>moteur</i>	engine
<i>ipiki</i>	<i>amapiki</i>	<i>pick</i>	pick
<i>ipiyese</i>	<i>amapiyese</i>	<i>pièce</i>	spare parts
<i>ipune</i>	<i>amapune</i>	<i>pneu</i>	wheel/tyre
<i>ipurize</i>	<i>za purize</i>	<i>prise</i>	plug
<i>iserire</i>	<i>amaserire</i>	<i>serrure</i>	lock
<i>ishamburayeri</i>	<i>za shamburayeri</i>	<i>chambre à air</i>	air chamber
<i>isitimu</i>	<i>amasitimu</i>	<i>steam</i>	torch
<i>itiyo</i>	<i>amatiyo</i>	<i>tuyau</i>	pipe
<i>itoroshi</i>	<i>amatoroshi</i>	<i>torche</i>	torch
<i>ivitese</i>	<i>za vitese</i>	<i>vitesse</i>	speed
<i>ivola</i>	<i>za vola</i>	<i>volant</i>	steering-wheel
<i>kasike</i>	<i>za kasike</i>	<i>casque</i>	helmet
<i>kateripalari</i>	<i>za kateripilari</i>	<i>caterpillar</i>	caterpillar tractor
<i>moto</i>	<i>za moto</i>	<i>moto</i>	motorcycle
<i>orudinateri</i>	<i>za orudinateri</i>	<i>ordinateur</i>	computer
<i>paraburize</i>	<i>za paraburize</i>	<i>pare-brise</i>	wind-screen
<i>remoruke</i>	<i>za remoruke</i>	<i>remorque</i>	trailer
<i>tibe</i>	<i>za tibe</i>	<i>tube</i>	tube
<i>umushoferi</i>	<i>abashoferi</i>	<i>chauffeur</i>	driver

*The loanwords *purinta*, *ihoni*, *ipiki*, *isitimu*, *imodoka*, *kateripilari* come from the English words 'printer', 'horn', 'pick', 'steam', 'motor-car', 'caterpillar'. The other loanwords come from French.

2.3.16 Toponyms and anthroponyms

Loanwords in this category include proper nouns denoting persons and places. Most borrowed personal proper names (especially given names) come from the Bible or the Quoran heritage. They unveil that both Christianity and Islam have heavily influenced the Rwandan culture. People bore foreign personal names because they

were forced to take them or because they felt proud of them. It was just a matter of snobbery, prestige, or conformity. Most Rwandans from the two creeds thought that bearing these foreign names would make them look more modern, spiritual, civilized, and cultured. Most of these names came from the Middle East and Europe. They were primarily borrowed from Christian proper names in French. Proper names denoting places were introduced in Kinyarwanda during the colonial period.

Examples:

Loanword	Source word	English
<i>Venusiti</i>	<i>Venus (Latin)</i>	--
<i>Aforodise</i>	<i>Aphrodyse (Greek)</i>	--
<i>Silivesiteri</i>	<i>Sylvestre (Latin)</i>	--
<i>Virijiniya</i>	<i>Virginie (Latin)</i>	--
<i>Beyatirise</i>	<i>Béatrice (Latin)</i>	--
<i>Petero</i>	<i>Petras (Greek)</i>	Peter
<i>Yohana</i>	<i>Yohannah (Hebrew)</i>	John
<i>Yohana Umubatiza/Batisita</i>	<i>Jean Baptiste (Hebrew)</i>	John the Baptist
<i>Yakobo</i>	<i>Yacobus (Hebrew)</i>	James
<i>Sitefano</i>	<i>Stephen (English)</i>	Stephen
<i>Aburahamu</i>	<i>Abraham (Hebrew)</i>	Abraham
<i>Danyeli</i>	<i>Daniel (Hebrew)</i>	Daniel
<i>Ludoviko</i>	<i>Ludovik (German)</i>	Louis
<i>Mariya</i>	<i>Maria (Hebrew)</i>	Mary
<i>Miriyamu</i>	<i>Myriam (Hebrew)</i>	Myriam
<i>Kirisitiyana</i>	<i>Christiana (Greek)</i>	Christine
<i>Yusitini</i>	<i>Justinus (Latin)</i>	Justine
<i>Samweli</i>	<i>Samuel (Hebrew)</i>	Samuel
<i>Dawidi</i>	<i>David (Hebrew)</i>	David
<i>Ewuneke</i>	<i>Eunice (Greek)</i>	Eunice
<i>Ewujene</i>	<i>Eugène (Greek)</i>	Eugene
<i>Simisi</i>	<i>Smith (English)</i>	Smith
<i>Garase</i>	<i>Gratia (Latin)</i>	Grace
<i>Sikorositika</i>	<i>Scolastica (Latin)</i>	Scholastic
<i>Karoli</i>	<i>Charles (German)</i>	Charles

<i>Yerusalemu</i>	<i>Jérusalem (Hebrew)</i>	Jerusalem
<i>u Burusiya</i>	<i>Russie (French)</i>	Russia
<i>u Busuwisi</i>	<i>Suisse (French)</i>	Switzerland
<i>u Bufaransa</i>	<i>France (French)</i>	France
<i>u Bwongereza</i>	<i>Angleterre (French)</i>	England
<i>u Bubiligi</i>	<i>Belgique (French)</i>	Belgium
<i>i Roma</i>	<i>Roma (Latin)</i>	in Rome
<i>i Kayiro</i>	Cairo (English)	in Cairo
<i>mu Buholandi</i>	<i>Hollande (French)</i>	in the Netherlands
<i>mu Buturukiya</i>	<i>Turquie (French)</i>	in Turkey
<i>mu Bushinwa</i>	<i>Chine (French)</i>	in China

The frequency of the above listed loanwords can be illustrated in the table below. Following the allocation of loanwords in various areas, the table below shows the figures and percentages of loanword occurrence for each source language and the areas which have hosted the loanwords.

Table 2.1 Loanword Occurrence

Areas	<i>French</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Others</i>	Total	% of loanwords as per area
Agriculture and livestock	20	1	0	21	5.07
Building	36	0	0	36	8.69
Calendar and telling the time	12	0	0	12	2.89
Clothing	14	4	0	18	4.34
Commerce and counting	31	3	0	34	8.21
Education	30	1	0	31	7.48
Employment and professions	21	1	0	22	5.31
Food stuff and cooking	17	2	0	19	4.58
Health	23	1	0	24	5.79
Household	17	2	0	19	4.58
Military and police	16	2	0	18	4.34
Music	14	2	0	16	3.86
Politics and administration	24	3	0	27	6.52
Religion	8	0	23	31	7.48
Sports and games	3	7	0	10	4.14
Technology	37	4	0	41	9.90
Toponyms and anthroponyms	26	3	6	35	8.45
Total	349	36	29	414	100
% of loanwords as per donor language	84.29	8.69	7.00	100	

2.4 CONCLUSION

Given this particular database, apart from the frequency of foreign personal names and place names borrowed from various languages, the area of technology and transport has the highest rate of occurrence of loanwords. This can be explained by the fact that modern technology realities were not developed in Rwanda before it came into contact with other countries. Therefore, technology terminologies were borrowed from major European languages to cope with the new realities in Rwanda.

Most religious terminologies originally came from Hebrew (a Semitic language which was spoken by the early Christians) through some European languages. French and English also borrowed those words from Hebrew via Greek and Latin. Many Christian names originated from Palestine, spread over Europe, the new world (America), Oceania, Africa, and other parts of Asia.

The influx of English words and the way English has increased its influence for the last ten years in Rwanda allows the researcher's to predict that Kinyarwanda will borrow more English words for its vocabulary, if English continues to hold the highest position in the world. Today's trend in advertising, commerce, science, and technology is an indication that English is taking the lead over French. There is more motivation for English than French.

CHAPTER 3

ALLOCATION OF LOANWORDS TO THE NOUN CLASS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As usual in all language contact situation, words of foreign origin are allocated to the borrowing language system. Loanwords have been adapted to fit Kinyarwanda noun class system. This implies that a loanword may have an augment, a nominal prefix, a stem and suffixes (especially for verbals). In general, most loanwords take the form of the words of the languages which have hosted them, but with alterations of the original form and meaning of the word.

Loanwords should be distinguished from calques and independent formations, which are newly formed Kinyarwanda words through the mental process of representation, analogy or imitation of foreign concepts. Calquing a foreign concept presupposes that the bilingual borrower be familiar with the donor language. He/She has to be linguistically competent and knowledgeable in the foreign language he/she is borrowing from. This explains the fact that Kinyarwanda has fewer calques than European languages. Most newly formed idioms are just independent formations, which are chiefly created by the process of derivation, a very common morphological process in Bantu languages of using prefixes and suffixes to form words.

3.2 SOME ASPECTS OF NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY IN KINYARWANDA

This subsection addresses the aspects of morphology of Kinyarwanda. It aims at presenting the type of the language structure and concordial noun prefixes that have adopted loanwords. Nominal classes dominate the morphology of Kinyarwanda. The concordial or agreement prefixes determine which class a noun belongs to. A noun can be a noun, a verb in its infinitive form, an adjective, or a locative. Some linguists have studied the morphology of Kinyarwanda and have come to the conclusion that Kinyarwanda is one of the most complex languages in the world.

As remarked by Jouannet (1983:12), “the special complexity of Kinyarwanda is due to a number of factors. Most evident of these are the multiplicity of morphological combinations and the accumulative sequences of morphophonemic rules. There is, in addition to these quantitative factors, a qualitative phenomenon, namely a peculiar aspect of morphologic and morphophonemic rules. There are many neutralizations which do not simply reflect the suppression of a trait distinguishing marked from unmarked terms, but also imply a kind of trap in so far as a form merges with another, the former acquiring traits identical with the ones specific to the latter.”

Without using much the hyperbole of Jouannet, Kinyarwanda offers a multiplicity of morphemes like those found in other Bantu languages. Of course, each Bantu language has its own idiosyncrasies. The section below examines some of the particularities of the morphology of Kinyarwanda

3.2.1 The Noun

The morphological order of a noun in Kinyirwanda is: (Augment) + Nominal Prefix + Stem. Most nouns begin with an augment. But some other nouns don't have any augment at all. An augment is any element other than a concord prefix that stands before a stem. The stem is that part of a nominal which remains after the removal of any concord prefix. A stem can also be defined as the common feature in a series of nominals with commutable prefixes. A concord prefix is any prefixed element that serves to operate the system of grammatical agreement that is characteristic of every Bantu language. As for a noun class or nominal class, it is each distinct type of agreement. The number of classes varies from language to language, but is rarely fewer than ten or more than eighteen (Guthrie, 1975:14).

Table 3.1 Nominal Classes and Concord Prefixes

Class	Augment	Nomina I Prefix	Numerical Prefix	Pronominal Prefix	Verbal Prefix	Infix
1a	u-	-mu-	u-	u-	a-	-mu-
1b	ϕ-	-ϕ-	u-	-mu-	u-	-mu-
2a	a-	-ba-	Ba-	ba-	ba	-ba-
2b	ϕ-	-ba-	-ba-	-ba-	-ba-	-ba-
3	u-	-mu-	u-	u-	u-	-wu-
4	i-	-mi-	i-	i-	i-	-yi-
5a	i-	-ϕ-	ri-	ri-	ri-	-ri-
5b	i-	-ji-	ri-	ri-	ri-	-ri-
6	a-	-ma-	a-	a-	a-	-ya-
7a	i-	-gi-	cy-/ki-	cy-/ki-	cy-/ki-	-ki-/gi-/ cy-
7b	i-	-ki-/cy-	cy-/ki-	cy-/ki-	cy-/ki-	-ki-/gi-/ cy-
8	i-	-bi-	by-/bi-	by-/bi-	by-/bi-	-bi-/by-
9	i-	-N-	i-	i-	i-/yi-	-yi-
10	i-	-N-	e-	zi-	zi-	-zi-
11	u-	-ru-	ru-	ru-	ru-	-ru-
12a	a-	-ga-	ka-	ka-	ka-	-ga-/ka-
12b	a-	-ka-	ka-	ka-	ka-	-ga-/ka-
13a	u-	-du-	tu-	tu-	tu-	-du-/tu-
13b	u-	-tu-	tu-	tu-	tu-	-du-/tu-
14	u-	-bu-	bu-	bu-	bu-	-bu-
15a	u-	-ku-	ku-	ku-	ku-	-ku-
15b	u-	-gu-	ku-	ku-	ku-	-ku-
16	a-	-ha-	ha-	ha-	ha-	-ha-
17	ϕ-	-ku-	-ϕ-	ha-	ha-	-ha-
18	ϕ-	-mu-	-ϕ-	ha-	ha-	-ha-

3.2.2 The Augment

A lot of discussions have been going on concerning the definition of an augment. Some linguists take it as a syllable in ancient languages, others think it is a mere vowel, while some others consider it as an article.

The Wikipedia encyclopedia defines an augment as a syllable added to the beginning of the word in certain Indo-European languages, most notably Greek (the augment survives and has been generalised in Modern Greek), Armenian, and the Indo-Iranian languages such as Sanskrit, to form the perfect, preterite, or aorist tenses. For example, in classical Greek, the verb λέγω *légō*, “I speak”, forms its imperfect tense ελεγον (*elegon*), “I was speaking”. The initial ε represents the augment.

Philologists are uncertain whether the augment is a feature that was added to these branches of Indo-European, or whether the augment was present in the parent language and lost by all other branches¹⁶.

Some philologists define the augment as “a prefixed vowel or a lengthening of the initial vowel that characterizes certain forms in the nonpresent inflection of verbs in Greek, Sanskrit, Armenian, and Phrygian.”¹⁷

De Blois (1970:92) states that “some writers describe the augment as the initial vowel of nominal and pronominal prefixes. Others compare the augment the “article found in European languages”.

Generally speaking, in some Bantu languages, an augment is an element preceding a nominal prefix. It is totally different from the syllable which was added to the beginning of a word like in the Greek verb *elegon*.

Jouannet (1983:11) summarizes the augment as follows:

Does the pre-prefixial augment have a meaning in Kinyarwanda? The monophonic vowel preceding a prefix and nominal stem (called augment by some scholars) does not exist in all Bantu languages. It does exist in Kinyarwanda, but disappears in some environments. An

¹⁶ Retrieved from 2 February 2010 from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Augment>

¹⁷ Retrieved from 2 February 2010 <http://www.infoplease.com/dictionary/augment>

examination of such cases leads to a tentative hypodissertation whereby the augment is present in non-marked occurrences, while its absence is often co-current with the particularity or notoriety index of the nominal stem. It can thus be treated in a similar way to the French article as already noticed by some scholars.¹⁸

With regard to the article in European languages, an article is meaningful and defines a noun. Some grammarians classify it in the same category as adjectives. Eckersley (1960:13) classifies the English article under the chapter of adjectives. Under the heading of chapter III: The Adjective, he discusses the “The Articles”, just after the “Kinds of Adjectives”, which would imply that articles are included in the adjectives. One would think that he assimilates adjectives to articles, especially demonstratives, probably because they are nearly governed by the same rule and historical facts:

- “The” has been developed from the demonstrative adjective “that”:

Example:

1. I was absent at that moment (at the moment).
2. The vice-president or something of that (the) kind.

- “An” has been developed from the Old English numeral adjective **ān** and today it has given two articles: **a** and **an**

It should be noted that the augment in the languages of the Great Lakes region is grammatically meaningless, unlike the English and French articles. It cannot stand alone nor be split from the word, and means nothing in itself. It rather agrees with the rule of vowel harmony.

3.2.2.1 Kinds of augment:

Augments are mostly attested in the Great Lakes Region languages. For example, in Hunde D51, Haavu D52, Tembo D53, Bembe D54, Ruanda D61, Burundi D62, Fuliro D63, Herero 31, Kunde M31, Bemba M42, Xhosa S41, Zulu S42 the augments are u-

¹⁸As translated by the editor himself in the summary of Nkusi's article: “L'augment a-t-il une signification en kinyarwanda?”. *In le kinyarwanda, langue bantu du Rwanda: études linguistiques* (p.11), Paris: SELAF

, o-, e-, i-, and a-. Augments vary from one language to another. They have the following characteristics:

- (1) a homorganic vowel like that of the nominal prefix. For example, Rwanda D61 has **u-mu-hungu**, **a-ba-hungu**: “a boy”, “boys”, respectively.
- (2) a vowel with a degree of aperture larger than that of the prefix vowel. For example in Haavu D52 there is **o-mu-lume**, **a-ba-lume**: “a man”, “men”; Ganda D51: **o-mu-ti**, **e-mi-ti**: a “tree”, “trees”, respectively.
- (3) an invariable vowel before all the nouns. For example, in Herero R31 (South-West Africa): **o-mu-ndu**, **o-va-ndu**: “a man”, “men”
- (4) a form -CV-which is the same as the nominal prefix. For example in Gisu E31 (Eastern Uganda and Western Kenya) there is **ba-ba-ndu**: “men”.

In Kinyarwanda there are three kinds of augments preceding nouns in various nominal classes:

a-: class 2, 6, 12, 16: **a-ba-gore**, “women”, “wives”; **a-ma-tama**, “cheeks”; **a-ga-hogo**, “small throat”; **a-ha-ntu**, “location”.

i-: class 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10: **i-mi-rima**, “farms”; **i-jisho**, “eye”; **i-ki-gori**, “maize”, **i-bi-gori**, “maize”, **i-fi**, “fish”.

u-: class 1, 3, 11, 14, 15: **u-mu-gore**, “woman”, “wife”; **u-mu-tsimu**, “paste”; **u-ru-go**, “home”, “fence”, “cowshed”; **u-bu-nebwe**, “idleness”; **u-ku-boko**, “an arm”.

Nouns with augment

Nouns of this category include all common nouns, both concrete and abstract nouns. These are nouns denoting the family, farming, wielding, craftsmanship, fishery, livestock, human body, army, liquids and materials.

Concrete nouns

Family:

<i>umugabo</i>	:	a man, a husband
<i>umugore</i>	:	a woman, a wife
<i>umusaza</i>	:	an old man
<i>umukobwa</i>	:	a girl, a daughter

umuhungu : a boy, a son
umwana : a child

Farming:

ibishyimbo : beans
imyumbati : cassava
isuka : a hoe
umuhoro : a sickle
umurima : a farm, a field
umuhinzi : a farmer

Livestock:

umushumba : a shepherd
urugo : a fence, a cowshed
inyana : a heifer
ikimasa : a bullock

Parts of the body:

umutwe : a head
ukuboko : an arm
intoki : fingers
igituza : a chest
ijisho : an eye
ugutwi : an ear

Army:

icumu : a spear
intwaro : weapons
inkota : a sword
umuheto : a bow
umwambi : an arrow
ingabo : a shield

Liquids and masses:

<i>amazi</i>	:	water
<i>amata</i>	:	milk
<i>amacandwe</i>	:	saliva
<i>amavuta</i>	:	oil
<i>amaraso</i>	:	blood
<i>icyondo</i>	:	mud
<i>umukungugu</i>	:	dust
<i>izahabu</i>	:	gold
<i>ubutare</i>	:	iron

Abstract nouns:

Most abstract nouns derive from verbs, adjectives or other nouns. They express size, quality, faculty, and state.

Examples:

<i>ubugabo</i>	:	manhood, virility
<i>urukundo</i>	:	love
<i>ubushobozi</i>	:	ability, power, skills
<i>ubwiza</i>	:	beauty, goodness
<i>ubuzima</i>	:	life, health
<i>ubwenge</i>	:	intelligence, wisdom
<i>agahinda</i>	:	sorrow

Nouns without augment:

Nouns without augment include proper nouns denoting persons, kinship, places, rivers, lakes, mountains, volcanoes, some diseases, cows (when personified).

Proper names of persons: Kalisa, Sibomana, Ngabo, Mwera, Ngarambe, Munyangabe.

Kinship terms: *mama*, “my mother”; *data*, “my father”; *nyogokuru*, “my grandmother”; *sogokuru*, “my grandfather”; *marume*, “my maternal uncle”; *masenge*, “my paternal aunt”.

Places	:	<i>Kigali, Kibuye, Butare</i>
Rivers	:	<i>Rusizi, Nyabarongo, Sebeya</i>
Lakes	:	<i>Kivu, Cyohoha, Muhazi</i>
Mountains	:	<i>Kizenga, Jali, Juru</i>
Volcanoes	:	<i>Nyiragongo, Muhabura, Karisimbi</i>
Diseases	:	<i>mugiga</i> , “meningitis”; <i>macinya</i> , “dysentery”; <i>mburugu</i> , “syphilis”; <i>gakonko</i> , “whooping cough”; <i>sida</i> , “AIDS”
Cows	:	<i>Bihogo, Gaju, Sine, Gitare, Inyamarere</i> .

Nominal classes:

- (1) Nominal classes are determined on the basis of concord prefixes within a sentence structure. In other words, sentence words change according to the class the prefix belongs to.

Concerning the noun class agreement, Lyovin (1997: 231) says that “noun modifiers, adjectives, demonstratives, numbers, and so forth, must show noun class agreement with the noun they modify. In addition, in most cases, verb forms are inflected to show agreement with the noun class of the object noun.”

- (2) Classes 1 and 2 denote human beings. Class 2 is the plural of class 1.

Singular (class 1): *U-mu-ntu u-ku-nda inka a-giye ku-zi-ragira; nda-mu-kunda*:
“The man who likes cows is going to make them graze; I like him”.

Plural (class 2): *A-ba-ntu ba-kunda inka ba-giye ku-zi-ragira; nda-ba-kunda*:
“Men who like cows are going to make them graze; I like them”.

Singular (class 1): *U-mu-ntu a-kunda kurya*: “Man likes eating”.

Plural: (class 2): *A-ba-ntu ba-kunda kurya*: “Men like eating”.

- (3) Classes 3 and 4 generally denote trees, ditches, natural phenomena (fire, wind, rainbow, lightning), rivers, bundles, farms, and some parts of the human body (hair, heart, liver, head, back, navel).

Singular (class 3): *U-mu-serebanya u-rota izuba*: “A lizard is taking a sunbath”.

Plural (class 4): *I-mi-serebanya i-rota izuba*: “Lizards are taking a sunbath”.

- (4) Classes 5 and 6 refer to some pairing parts of the human body.
Most nouns of class 5 have no nominal prefix, but have it in class 6, often the plural of class 5.

Singular (class 5): *I-ji-sho rya-njye ri-reba neza*: “My eye looks/sees very well”.

Plural (class 6): *A-ma-so ya-njye a-reba neza*: “My eyes look/see very well”.

Class 6 also refers to uncountable nouns, especially liquids and masses.

A-ma-zi a-tetse ni meza ku buzima bwawe: “Boiled water is good for your health”.

- (5) Classes 7 and 8 refer to plants, languages, insects, augmentatives, instruments, utensils, and some parts of the body.

Singular (class 7): *I-gi-ti ki-rekire cy-aguye*: “A long tree has fallen down”.

Plural (class 8): *I-bi-ti bi-rebi-re byaguye*: “Long trees have fallen down”.

- (6) Classes 9 and 10 include nouns denoting most animals, household effects and natural phenomena. Morphologically speaking both classes look alike. Only through nominal prefix agreement one can tell whether the word belongs to class 9 or 10. In fact, in order to distinguish the singular from the plural, one has to look at the context or consider the whole sentence structure.

Singular (class 9): *I-n-gwe yi-she umuntu*: “A leopard has killed a person”.

Plural (class 10): *I-n-gwe zi-she umuntu*: “Leopards have killed a person”.

The word *ingwe* is the same in both singular and plural. But the difference is shown by the pronominal prefixes: *yi-*, “it”; *zi-*, “they”.

- (7) Class 11 denotes thin and long entities, some languages, body parts, augmentatives, depreciation and pejorative items.

Singular (class 11): *U-ru-toke rw-e rwa-komeretse*: “His finger has been injured”.

Plural (class 10): *I-n-toke z-e za-komeretse*: “His fingers have been injured”.

- (8) Classes 12 and 13 denote diminutives expressing both contempt and appreciation.

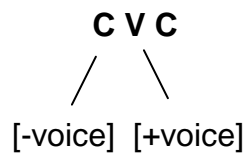
The message conveyed in the two classes depends on the speaker’s mood, tone, and gestures. The distinctive feature of a diminutive is the nominal prefix **-ka-/-ga-** for the singular and **-tu-/-du-** for the plural. The augment is **a-** in the singular and **u-** in the plural.

A phonological rule governs the use of diminutives: When the first consonant of the stem is a voiced sound, the consonant of the nominal prefix will always be voiceless. When the first consonant of the stem is a voiceless sound, the consonant of the nominal prefix will always be voiced. This follows what Bantu linguists have called “Dahl’s Law”¹⁹.

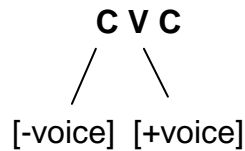
Singular (class 12): *A-ka-gabo ga-shaje ka-kubise abana*: “A small old man has beaten children”.

/k/ of the nominal prefix is a voiceless sound before a stem beginning with a voiced sound **/g/**. The rule can be represented as follows:

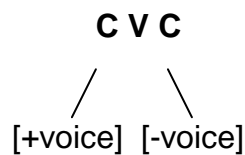
¹⁹ Dahl’s Law: a phonetic law observed by the missionary Dahl in Nyamwezi (East Africa) according to which, in certain Eastern Africa Bantu languages (e.g. Gikuyu, Kinyarwanda) a voiceless plosive /ptk/ is followed by a voiced plosive /bdg/.



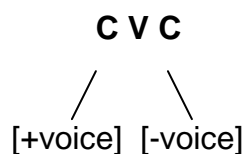
Plural (class 13): *U-tu-gabo du-shaje twa-kubise abana*: “Small old men have beaten children”. /t/ of the nominal prefix is voiceless and comes before the voiced sound /g/ of the nominal stem and can be represented as follows:



Singular (class12): *Agacuma kabi kamenetse*: “A bad small calabash has been broken”. /g/ of the nominal prefix is voiced and comes before the voiceless sound /t/ of the nominal stem and can be represented as follows:



Plural (class 13): *Uducuma tubi twa-menetse*: “Bad small calabashes have been broken”. /d/ of the nominal prefix is voiced and comes before the voiceless sound /t/ of the nominal stem and can be represented as follows:



- (9) Class 14 generally denotes abstract nouns expressing the idea of state, faculty, ability and quality.

U-bu-shake bu-gomba gu-tozwa: “Will must be exercised”.

U-bu-enge bw-e bu-rashaje: “His intelligence is old”.

U-bu-sore bu-rashukana: “Youth age deceives”.

U-bu-tatu bu-tagatifu ni amayobera: “Trinity is a mystery”.

- (10) Class 15 mainly denotes all the infinitives, some parts of the human body, the last three months of the year, and some abstract nouns.

Examples:

<i>kugura</i>	:	to buy
<i>gusokoza</i>	:	to comb
<i>ukuguru</i>	:	a leg
<i>ukuboko</i>	:	an arm
<i>Ukwakira</i>	:	October
<i>Ugushyingo</i>	:	November
<i>Ukuboza</i>	:	December
<i>ukuri</i>	:	truth
<i>ukuntu</i>	:	manner

- (11) Classes 16, 17 and 18 denote locations.

<i>Ahantu</i> (class 16)	:	a place, somewhere
<i>ku nzu</i> (class 17)	:	on the house
<i>ku Ibereshi</i> (class 17)	:	on the Belgian Street/Avenue
<i>mu nzu</i> (class 18)	:	in the house
<i>i Burundi</i>	:	to/in Burundi

3.2.3 Nominal derivation

Nominal derivation can be studied on basis of morphophonology, since both morphology and phonology rules are involved in the formation of derived forms. Derivation deals with inflectional affixes. In Kinyarwanda most words are formed by affixing, generally by adding a suffix to the stem. Gasana (1981:215) points out that suffixation is the most productive mechanism in all derivation:

*La dérivation suffixale est de tous les mécanismes de dérivation le plus productif. Elle est essentiellement verbale. Mais elle contribue également à la formation des nominaux.*²⁰

²⁰ Derivation by suffixing is one of the most productive mechanisms in derivation. It is mainly verbal. But it also contributes to the formation of nominals. Translated from Gasana, A. (1981) *Dérivation*

According to Bybee (1985:33), "it is often observed that derivational morphemes occur closer to the root to which they attach than inflectional morphemes do." Most derived forms are denominatives, deverbatives and deadjectives.

Examples:

u-bu-gabo, "manhood", "virility", comes from *umugabo*, "a man", "a husband".

gu-sek-esh-a, "to make laugh", comes from *gu-sek-a*, "to laugh".

u-mu-remyi, "a Creator", comes from *kurema*, "to create", "to make".

u-bu-re-bu-re, "length", "height", comes from the adjectival stem *-re* meaning "tall", "long".

In Kinyarwanda a lot of nouns are derived forms, which are generally formed by adding nominal prefixes or suffixes to the stem. These are denominatives, deverbatives, and deadjectives.

Denominatives:

They are generally nouns formed from other nouns and fall into 5 categories:

- (1) Abstract nouns are formed by replacing nominal prefixes of some nominals with the nominal prefix *-bu-* added to the stem: *u-bu-gabo*, "manhood"; *u-bu-cucu* "stupidity"; *u-bu-twari*, "courage".
- (2) Augmentative or depreciative nouns express the idea of depreciation: *u-ru-twe* "bad head"; *u-ru-da*, "big belly"; *i-bi-toke*, "bad fingers".
- (3) Diminutive nouns express the idea of contempt: *akagi*, "a very little egg"; *akaboko*, "a very little arm".
- (4) Singulative nouns denote single objects: *urubuto*, "one seed"; *uruvi*, "one white hair".
- (5) Collective nouns denote collective objects: *ubushyo*, "cattle"; *imbaga*, "crowd".

Deverbatives

Most nouns are derived from verbs. They express particular ideas:

- (1) instrument, place, action: nouns ending in -o:
u-mu-kubuz-o , “broom”, comes from the verb *gu-kubur-a*, “to sweep”.
u-mu-pfundikiz-o , “lid”, comes from *gu-pfund-ik-ir-a* , “to cover”.
u-bu-tur-o, “tomb”, comes from *gu-tur-a* , “to dwell”.
i-hurir-o , “meeting place”, comes from *gu-hur-a*, “to meet”.
u-mu-hig-o, “prey”, comes from *gu-hig-a* , “to hunt”.
u-mu-sor-o, “tax”, comes from *gu-sor-a* , “to pay a tax”.

- (2) state, condition: nouns ending in -e or -u
u-bu-ken-e, “poverty”, comes from *gu-ken-a*, “to become poor”.
u-bu-konj-e, “coldness, comes from *gu-konj-a*, “to get cold”.
u-mu-tuk-u, “redness”, comes from *gu-tuk-ur-a* , “to get red”.
u-ru-pf-u, “death”, comes from *gu-pf-a*, “to die”.

- (3) manner: nouns ending in -re
u-bu-re-re , “education”, comes from *ku-rer-a*, “to educate”.
i-mi-ifati-re, “attitude”, comes from *ku-ifat-a*, “to behave”.

- (4) agent: nouns ending in -i
u-mu-saz-i, “mad person”, comes from *gu-sar-a*, “to become mad”.
u-mu-genz-i, “traveller”, comes from *ku-gend-a* , “to go”.

There are five phonological rules which govern deverbatives expressing agent:

- (1) Nominal stems ending in **byi**, **myi**, **nyyi** are derived from verbal roots ending in /β/, /m/, /n/ .
u-mu-robyi, “fisherman”, is derived from *ku-rob-a*, “to fish”.
u-mu-remyi , “Creator”, is derived from *ku-rem-a* , “to create”.
u-mu-byinnyi, “dancer”, is derived from *ku-byin-a*, “to dance”.

- (2) Nominal stems ending in **zi**, **nzi** are derived from verbal roots ending in **/g/**, **/ng/**, **/d/**, **/r/**.
u-mu-rezi, “accuser”, is derived from *ku-reg-a*, “to accuse”.
u-mu-hinzi, “farmer”, is derived from *gu-hing-a*, “to plough”.
u-mu-dozi, “tailor”, is derived from *ku-dod-a*, “to make a dress”, “to sew”.
u-mu-orozi, “cattle keeper”, is derived from *ko-ror-a*, “to breed”, “to raise”.
- (3) Nominal stems ending in **tsi** are derived from verbal roots ending in **/k/**.
u-mu-tegetsi, “administrator”, is derived from *gu-tegek-a*, “to govern”.
u-mu-tetsi, “cook”, is derived from *gu-tek-a*, “to cook”.
- (4) Nominal stems ending in **si** are derived from verbal roots ending in **/t/**.
u-mu-irasī, “boastful person”, is derived from *ku-i-rat-a*, “to boast”.
u-mu-tasi, “spy”, is derived from *gu-tat-a*, “to spy”.
- (5) Nominal stems ending in **shi**, **-ji** are derived from verbal roots ending in **/s/**.
u-mu-rashi, “shooter” is derived from *ku-ras-a*, “to shoot”.
u-mu-baji, “carpenter”, is derived from *ku-baz-a*, “to plane”.

Deadjectives

Deadjectives are derived from adjectival stems. Their distinctive feature is the adjectival stem. Stems of qualifying adjectives are preceded by a nominal prefix.

Contextualisation:

- (1) *-bi*: bad, wicked, ugly
*Abagabo **babi** bakubita abagore babo*: “Wicked men beat their wives”.
- (2) *-iza*: nice, beautiful, pretty, handsome, kind, good
*Abana **beza** bubaha ababyeyi babo*: “Good children respect their parents”.
- (3) *-re*: tall, high, deep, long
*Umuntu **muremure** amanura itunda*: “A tall person can bring down a fruit. The nominal prefix and stem are reduplicated”.

- (4) -*gufi*: short, small
*Insina **ngufi** niyo bacaho urukoma* (proverb): “We cut leaves from a short banana tree”.
- (5) -*to*: small, thin, little
*Umwana **muto** arira kenshi*: “A little child often cries”.
- (6) -*gari*: large, wide, vast, broad
*Mugongo **mugari** mpekera abana* (riddle): “Wide back, carry my children”.
- (7) -*kuru*: mature, old
*Umuhungu **mukuru** agomba gushaka*: “A mature youngboy must get married”.
- (8) -*nini*: big, fat, great, huge
*Igiti **kinini** cyaguye*: “A big tree has collapsed”.
- (9) -*shaje*: old
*Urukwavu **rushaje** rwonka abana barwo* (proverb): “An old rabbit feeds on its young ones”.
- (10) -*konje*: cold
*Yamuhaye amazi **akonje** yo kunnywa*: “He has given him cold water to drink”.
- (11) -*shyushye*: hot
*Ibuye **rishyushye** ryamwokeje*: “A hot stone has burnt him”.

Notes:

- (1) Colour adjectives are expressed by using an antecedent, a relative clause with a copular verb or a possessive case.
Umugabo wirabura: “A man who is black” (a black man).
Igiti cy’icyatsi kibisi: “A tree which has the colour of a green grass” (a green tree) .

- (2) Nouns formed from the imitation in word of sound or vivid representation of an idea in sound denote action, insects, or objects making that sound. These onomatopoeias and ideophones.

iduru, “noise”, comes from **ruuuuuu**

isazi, “fly”, comes from **ziiii**

inzuki, “bees”, comes from **zuuuuu**

ikivumvuri, “cock chafer”, comes from **vuuuuu**

gutogota, “to boil”, comes from **togotogotogoto**

kwitsamura, “to sneeze”, comes from **tsaa**.

guceceka, “to keep quiet”, comes from **ceeeeee**.

kwayura, “to yawn”, comes from **aaaaaa**.

ipikipiki, “motorcycle”, comes from **pikipikipikipiki**.

kwiruhutsa, “to express tiredness”, comes from **ahuuuuuu**.

kuboroga, “to scream”, “to yell”, “to moan”, comes **oooooooo/orororororooo**.

3.2.4 Morphology versus syntax

In general the sentence structure of Kinyarwanda is: Subject-Verb-(Object/Locative). Syntax and morphology are interdependent. The subject triggers the grammatical concord or agreement on the verb. Kimenyi (1976: 45) explains that “the agreement is obtained by prefixing the class marker of the head noun to the verb.” However, the copular verb *ni*, “be”, does not follow this agreement.

Contextualisation:

- (1) *Umushumba* (S) **yakubise** (V) *inka* (DO); *ndamurega* (V + O Infix): “A shepherd has hit the cow; I will accuse him”.
- (2) *Abashumba* (S) **bakubise** (V) *inka* (DO); *ndabarega* (V+ O Infix): “Shepherds have hit the cows; I will accuse them”.
- (3) *Umugore* (S) **yikoreye** (V) *ikibindi* (DO) *ku mutwe* (Locative); *ndamufasha* (V+ O Infix): “A woman is carrying a jug on her head; I will help her”.
- (4) *Abagore* (S) **bikoreye** (V) *ibibindi* (DO) *ku mutwe* (Locative); *ndabafasha* (V+ O Infix): “A woman is carrying a jug on her head; I will help her”.

- (5) **Uyu** (demonstrative) **muhungu** (S) **ni** (copular verb) **mu-iza** (adjective): “This boy is good/nice/handsome”.
- (6) **Aba** (demonstrative) **bahungu** (S) **ni** (copular verb) **be-eza** (adjective): “These boys are good/nice/handsome”.

In Kinyarwanda morphology and syntax are closely related. However, phonology also plays a very important part in the formation of morphemes. Therefore, morphophonological approach would be the best way of dealing with Kinyarwanda language. The role of phonology and morphology is observed especially in the infinitive and diminutive agreement, whereby the nominal prefix of the infinitive (gu-/ku-) or the diminutive (-ga-/ka-; -du-/tu-) is fully commanded by the consonant beginning the verbal root. When the infinitive is the subject of the verb, it acts as the English gerund. In this case, the consonant of the verbal root triggers the nominal prefix.

Similarly, with diminutives, the consonant sound beginning the stem (-ga-/ka-, -du-/tu-) commands the sound which begins the nominal prefix.

Examples:

- (1) *Gu-teka ibishyimbo ku-raruhije*: “Cooking beans is hard”.
- (2) *Gu-kora umurimo neza gu-saba ubushake*: “Working well requires some will”.
- (3) *Ku-nesha umwanzu gu-tera ishema*: “Defeating an enemy brings pride”.
- (4) *A-ga-koko ka-bi ka-rarya imyaka*: “A harmful insect is eating crops”.
- (5) *U-du-koko tu-bi tu-rarya imyaka*: “Harmful insects are eating crops”.

Rule: When the first consonant of the stem is a voiced sound, the consonant of the nominal prefix will always be voiceless. When the first consonant of the stem is a voiceless sound, the consonant of the nominal prefix will always be voiced.

The recipient language hardly borrows the structure of a donor language. In a discussion about Thomason and Kaufman (1988:14) suggesting that “any linguistic feature may be transferred from any language to any other language”, King (2000:43) explains that “in theory, members of any category may be borrowed, given sufficient intensity of contact.”

In fact, it is rarely observed that there is direct grammatical structure importation from donor language into Kinyarwanda. However, with “sufficient intensity of contact”, it is possible to borrow members of any category of the donor languages. So far, only very few French loanwords with their grammatical components have been imported, especially with article + noun, e.g., *Leta*, from *l’Etat*, “the State”, “the Government”; *loni*, from *l’ONU*, “the UN”; *ruwiri*, from *l’huile*, “vegetable cooking oil”; *divayi*, from the French *du vin*, “wine”.

3.3 PECULIARITIES OF LOANWORD ALLOCATION TO THE NOUN CLASS

3.3.1 Assignment of Loanwords to Nominal Classes

Kinyarwanda hosted a wide range of foreign words. The loanwords were accommodated in a different linguistic system of noun classes. The criteria for allocating a loanword to a noun class are frequently debatable. Some classes seem to be more hospitable than others. Some loanwords enter the noun class system before the others, and these are said to be established loans and nonce borrowings. The latter are “lexical items from another language that have not (yet) been used with sufficient frequency to be regarded as established loans” (cf. Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller 1988).

Like other Bantu languages, loanwords in Kinyarwanda are allocated to the nominal classes in various ways. They may be allocated to noun classes according to semantic characteristics (animates or inanimates) or morphophonological ones (initial syllable, stem, and consonants beginning the stem).

Katamba (1993: 235) indicates that “nouns are assigned to different classes, often on a minimally semantic basis, depending on whether they refer to a human/animate, or on the basis of salient properties of the entity denoted by a noun such as its shape or size [...]”

With reference to Kiswahili, Zawawi (1979: 59) finds out that there are two major ways a loanword may be assimilated to a noun class:

Frequently, if the first syllable of the word is reminiscent of a native class prefix the noun is treated as belonging to the corresponding class [...] When there is no similarity between prefixes and initial syllables, or where certain semantic features override such similarities, a common technique of assimilation in Swahili is to assign loan nouns to N-Class (Classes 5 and 9), the invariable class where the class prefix is normally zero before polysyllabic stems beginning with a voiceless consonant [...]

In Kinyarwanda classes 1 and 9 (plus their plural counterparts) have hosted more loanwords than any other nominal class. Loanwords denoting animates are allocated to classes 1/2, while classes 9/6 accommodate most loanwords denoting inanimates.

Prefix markers play a very important role in this process. Most linguists agree that loanwords which have an initial syllable which resemble a recognizable class prefix are allocated to classes other than 9 and 5. Those which have no identifiable prefixes generally go to classes 9 and 5 because they have zero noun prefix.

According to Contini (1995) most loanwords denoting inanimates (with no recognizable class prefix) are allocated to classes 5 and 9 in Kiswahili:

The fact that Classes 5 and 9 most commonly have a zero prefix might lead one to expect that these classes would be especially hospitable to loanwords, particularly words whose initial syllable does not resemble a recognizable class prefix, a point that has been made by several Swahili scholars. Zawawi (1979:127) suggests that such nouns may first be incorporated into Class 9, and may later be recategorized as Class 5 (the latter has the advantage of distinguishing singular from plural).

Unlike loanwords in Kiswahili, loanwords in Kinyarwanda with a non recognizable noun prefix are mainly allocated to class 9 and rarely to class 5. Other loanwords denoting inanimates with non recognizable noun prefix may go to classes 3 /4, 7/8, 11/10, and 14. The allocation does not always follow the general protocol of noun classification. For example, class 14 generally denotes abstract concepts. However, some loanwords which express concrete reality or locations may be allocated to this class, for example, *u-bu-ringiti*, "blanket"; *u Bu-suwisi*, "Switzerland". Class 9, whose

counterpart is generally class 10, couples with class 6 for English and French loanwords, the most predominant augment in loanwords being i-.

Apart from loanwords denoting animates which are allocated to classes 1 and 2, the allocation of loanwords does not usually follow the semantic groupings but rather the phonological characteristics of the nominal prefix.

In this regard, the researcher supports Ngorosho (1979:6) when she says that “loanwords are generally placed in the noun class that fits their phonological form rather than the class that might fit their semantic characteristics.”.

The same view is shared by Demuth (2000:220). He states that “loanwords can be incorporated into the noun class system on a phonological basis if both the consonant and the vowel of the first syllable (of the noun class prefix) correspond to a possible noun class prefix.”

Thus, there may be a loanword which shows irregular pairing, for example, class 5: *i-koti*, “coat” pairs with class 6: *a-ma-koti*, “coats”; while concrete loanwords, nouns of class 14: *u-bu-ringiti*, “blanket” has no pairing. Class 14 is generally a class denoting abstract nouns. Class 11: *u-ru-papuro*, “paper” pairs with class 10, *i-m-papuro*, “papers”. Classes 12 and 13 which denote diminutives may host loanwords like *a-ka-bati*, “cupboard”, and *u-tu-bati*, “cupboard”, whereas they do not express any idea of smallness, contempt, or appreciation.

The loanword *u-bu-ringiti* is incorporated into class 14 because of the vowel insertion (epithentic vowel) requirements. *U-ru-papuro* and *i-m-papuro* are allocated to classes 11 and 10 because of the assimilation rules, while *a-ka-bati* and *u-tu-bati* follow Dahl’s phonological law (a nominal stem beginning with a voiced consonant sound, /β/, has a noun prefix beginning with a voiceless consonant sound, /k/ in singular and /t/ in plural).

Table 3.2 Allocation of loanwords to noun classes

Class	Augment	Noun prefix	Stem/root	Source word	English
1	<i>u-</i>	<i>-mu-</i>	<i>-shoferi</i>	<i>chauffeur</i>	driver
2	<i>a-</i>	<i>-ba-</i>	<i>-shoferi</i>	<i>chauffeurs</i>	drivers
3	<i>u-</i>	<i>-mu-</i>	<i>-dari</i>	<i>médaille</i>	medal
4	<i>i-</i>	<i>-mi-</i>	<i>-dari</i>	<i>médailles</i>	medals
5	<i>i-</i>	<i>-k-/ -ri-</i>	<i>-koti</i>	coat	coat
6	<i>a-</i>	<i>-ma-</i>	<i>-koti</i>	coats	coats
7	<i>i-</i>	<i>-ki-</i>	<i>-nini</i>	<i>quinine</i>	quinine, tablet
8	<i>i-</i>	<i>-bi-</i>	<i>-nini</i>	<i>quinines</i>	quinines, tablets
9	<i>i-</i>	<i>-k-</i>	<i>-kipe</i>	<i>équipe</i>	team
10	<i>i-</i>	<i>-N-</i>	<i>-papuro</i>	<i>papiers</i>	sheets of paper
11	<i>u-</i>	<i>-ru-</i>	<i>-papuro</i>	<i>papier</i>	sheet of paper
12	<i>a-</i> <i>a-</i>	<i>-ka-</i> <i>-ga-</i>	<i>-bati</i> <i>-sashe</i>	cupboard <i>sachet</i>	cupboard shopping bag
13	<i>a-</i> <i>u-</i>	<i>-tu-</i> <i>-du-</i>	<i>-bati</i> <i>-sashe</i>	cupboards sachet	cupboards shopping bags
14	<i>u-</i>	<i>-bu-</i>	<i>-nani</i>	<i>Bonne Année</i>	New Year Day
15	---	<i>gu-</i>	<i>-kilika</i>	click (verb)	click (verb)
	---	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-verisa</i>	<i>verser</i>	deposit (verb)
16	---	---	---	---	---
17	---	<i>Mu</i>	<i>Burusiya</i>	<i>en Russie</i>	in Russia
18	---	<i>Ku</i>	<i>ibanki</i>	<i>à la banque</i>	to the bank

The allocation of loanwords as shown in the table above could be expanded as follows²¹:

- (1) Class 1/2 denotes animates (terms related to human beings: kinship, titles, professions, etc). In general the agreement nominal prefix markers are *-mu-* in singular (cl 1) and *-ba-* in plural (cl 2). Many French loanwords have been allocated to this class of animates.

²¹ Some examples given in the details, especially nonce borrowings, are indebted from Rose (1995): 4.1 Liste générale français-kinyarwanda.

Loanword	French	English
<i>u-mu-ny-afurika</i>	<i>africain</i>	African
<i>a-ba-ny-afurika</i>	<i>africains</i>	Africans
<i>u-mu-goronome</i>	<i>agronome</i>	agriculture engineer
<i>a-ba-goronome</i>	<i>agronomes</i>	agriculture engineers
<i>(u-mu)-ambasaderi</i>	<i>ambassadeur</i>	ambassador
<i>(a)-ba-mbasaderi</i>	<i>ambassadeurs</i>	ambassadors
<i>u-mu-divantisiti</i>	<i>adventiste</i>	Adventist
<i>a-ba-divantisiti</i>	<i>adventistes</i>	Adventists
<i>(u-mu)-konseye</i>	<i>conseiller</i>	advisor
<i>(a)-ba-konseye</i>	<i>conseillers</i>	advisors
<i>u-mu-arabu</i>	<i>arabe</i>	Arab
<i>a-ba-arabu</i>	<i>arabes</i>	Arabs
<i>u-mu-seribateri</i>	<i>célibataire</i>	single, bachelor, spinster
<i>a-ba-seribateri</i>	<i>célibataires</i>	single, bachelors, spinsters
<i>u-mu-fiyanse</i>	<i>fiancé/e</i>	fiancé/e
<i>a-ba-fiyanse</i>	<i>fiancés</i>	fiancés
<i>u-mu-polisi</i>	<i>policier</i>	policeman
<i>a-ba-polisi</i>	<i>policier</i>	policemen
<i>u-mu-suruveya</i>	<i>surveillant</i>	supervisor
<i>a-ba-suruveya</i>	<i>surveillants</i>	supervisors

- (2) Class 3/4 generally denotes plants, ditches, natural phenomena (fire, wind, light, darkness, rainbow, lightning), rivers, bundles, farms, and some parts of the body (hair, heart, liver, head, back, temple, navel). However, some loanwords (including some abstract nouns) which do not fall into this semantic group, may be found in this class. The agreement nominal prefix markers are *-mu-* in singular (class 3) and *-mi-* in plural (class 4).

Loanword	French	English
<i>u-mu-batizo</i>	<i>baptême</i>	baptism
<i>i-mi-batizo</i>	<i>baptêmes</i>	baptisms
<i>u-mu-dari</i>	<i>médaille</i>	medal
<i>i-mi-dari</i>	<i>médailles</i>	medals

<i>u-mu-deri</i>	<i>modèle</i>	model, fashion
<i>i-mi-deri</i>	<i>modèles</i>	models, fashions
<i>u-mu-leti</i>	<i>omelette</i>	omelette
<i>i-mi-leti</i>	<i>omelettes</i>	omelettes
<i>u-mu-nota</i>	<i>minute</i>	minute
<i>i-mi-nota</i>	<i>minutes</i>	minutes
<i>u-mu-sigiti</i>	<i>mosquée</i>	mosque
<i>i-mi-sigiti</i>	<i>mosquée</i>	mosques
<i>u-mu-vino</i>	<i>vin</i>	wine
<i>i-mi-vino</i>	<i>vins</i>	wines
<i>u-mu-zika</i>	<i>musique</i>	music
<i>i-mi-zika</i>	<i>musique</i>	kinds of music

- (3) Class 5/6 denotes paired parts of the body such as eye, ear, breast, cheek, nose/nostrils. With loanwords, there is no fixed rule as such. The agreement nominal prefix markers in singular (class 5) are -ri- or -κ- and -ma- in plural (class 6). Few French and English loanwords have been allocated to class 5, simply because there was no need of borrowing words denoting parts of the body. Loanwords allocated to class 5 refer to other realities.

Loanword	French	English
<i>i-φ-koti</i>	<i>veste</i>	coat
<i>a-ma-koti</i>	<i>vestes</i>	coats
<i>i-φ-rimbi</i>	<i>limbe</i>	limbo, graveyard
<i>a-ma-rimbi</i>	<i>limbes</i>	graveyards
<i>i-φ-lonji</i>	<i>orange</i>	orange
<i>a-ma-ronji</i>	<i>oranges</i>	oranges
<i>i-φ-nota</i>	<i>note</i>	school grade
<i>a-ma-nota</i>	<i>notes</i>	school grades
<i>i-φ-note</i>	<i>note</i>	musical note
<i>a-ma-note</i>	<i>notes</i>	musical notes

- (4) Class 7/8 generally denotes things, plants, trees, languages, and pejoratives. However, some loanwords which do not fall into this semantic grouping may also be found in this class. For example, the word *ibitaro*, “hospital”, which has the same singular and plural form, falls into class 8 (the plural of class 7). The agreement nominal prefix markers are *-gi-/-ki-/-ci-* in singular (class 7) and generally *-bi-* in plural (class 8).

Loanword	French	English
<i>i-gi-tansi</i>	<i>quittance</i>	receipt
<i>i-bi-tansi</i>	<i>quittances</i>	receipts
<i>i-gi-tari</i>	<i>hectare</i>	hectare
<i>i-bi-tari</i>	<i>hectares</i>	hectars
<i>i-ki-nini</i>	<i>quinine</i>	quinine, tablet
<i>i-bi-nini</i>	<i>quinines</i>	quinines, tables
<i>i-ki-ringiti</i>	<i>couverture</i>	blanket
<i>i-bi-ringiti</i>	<i>couverture</i>	blankets
<i>i-ki-nyoteri</i>	<i>clignoteur</i>	indicator
<i>i-bi-nyoteri</i>	<i>clignoteur</i>	indicators
<i>i-ki-zamini</i>	<i>examen</i>	exam
<i>i-bi-zamini</i>	<i>examens</i>	exam
<i>i-ki-lometero</i>	<i>kilomètre</i>	kilometre
<i>i-bi-lometero</i>	<i>kilomètres</i>	kilometres
<i>i-cy-arabu</i>	<i>arabe</i>	Arabic
<i>i-cy-esipanyole</i>	<i>espagnol</i>	Spanish
<i>i-cy-ongereza</i>	<i>anglais</i>	English
<i>i-gi-faransa</i>	<i>français</i>	French
<i>i-gi-heburayo</i>	<i>hébreu</i>	Hebrew
<i>i-gi-porutigali</i>	<i>portugais</i>	Portuguese
<i>i-gi-shinwa</i>	<i>chinois</i>	Chinese
<i>i-gi-taliyani</i>	<i>italien</i>	Italian
<i>i-ki-latini</i>	<i>latin</i>	<i>Latin</i>
<i>i-ki-giriki</i>	<i>grec</i>	<i>Greek</i>

- (5) Class 9/6 or 9/10 is the most hospitable class. All non-identifiable nominal prefixes with the first syllable of the source word are assigned to this class. In general, class 9 includes nouns denoting most animals, some household effects and natural phenomena. Loanwords denoting things, plants, and some animals which were not known before the colonial period, have been integrated into class 9.

Uncountable nouns denoting mass and liquids, which normally fall in class 6, have also been hosted in class 9.

Loanword	French	English
<i>i-kaye</i> (class 9)	<i>cahier</i>	notebook
<i>a-ma-kaye</i> (class 6)	<i>cahiers</i>	notebooks
<i>i-karoti</i> (class 9)	<i>carotte</i>	carrot
<i>za karoti</i> (class 10)	<i>carottes</i>	carrots
<i>i-sarubeti</i> (class 9)	<i>salopette</i>	dungarees
<i>a-ma-sarubeti</i> (class 6)	<i>salopettes</i>	dungarees
<i>i-bayoneti</i> (class 9)	<i>baïllonnette</i>	bayonet
<i>a-ma-bayoneti</i> (class 6)	<i>baïllonnette</i>	bayonet
<i>i-baro</i> (class 9/6)	<i>ballot</i>	bundle
<i>a-ma-balo</i> (class 6)	<i>ballots</i>	bundles
<i>dovi</i> (class 9)	<i>devis</i>	estimate
<i>za dovi</i> (class 10)	<i>devis</i>	estimate
<i>i-dendo</i> (class 9)	<i>dindon</i>	turkey cock
<i>za dendo</i> (class 10)	<i>dindons</i>	turkey cocks
<i>i-tabuliye</i> (class 9)	<i>tablier</i>	apron
<i>a-ma-tabuliye</i> (class 6)	<i>tabliers</i>	aprons
<i>gare</i> (class 9)	<i>gare</i>	bus station
<i>za gare</i> (class 10)	<i>gares</i>	bus stations
<i>pureyavi</i> (class 9)	<i>préavis</i>	notice
<i>za pureyavi</i> (class 10)	<i>préavis</i>	notice
<i>segiteri</i> (class 9)	<i>secteur</i>	sector
<i>a-ma-segiteri</i> (cl 6)	<i>secteurs</i>	sectors
<i>peteroli</i> (class 9)	<i>pétrole</i>	oil

- (6) Class 11 denotes thin and long entities, some languages, some body parts, augmentatives, depreciation and pejorative items. It usually pairs with class 10, and exceptionally with class 6. Apart from augmentative and pejorative items, which may be formed by adding the prefix marker -ru-, only three fully integrated French loanwords which have been hosted by class 11 have been identified:

Loanword	French	English
<i>u-ru-papuro</i> (class 11)	<i>papier</i>	sheet of paper
<i>i-m-papuro</i> (class 10)	<i>papiers</i>	sheets of paper
<i>u-ru-faranga</i> (class 11)	<i>franc</i>	franc
<i>a-ma-faranga</i> (class 6)	<i>francs</i>	<i>francs</i>
<i>u-ru-shinge</i> (class 11)	<i>seringue</i>	needle
<i>i-n-shinge</i> (class 10)	<i>seringues</i>	needles

- (7) Classes 12 and 13 denote diminutives with the idea of contempt, smallness, and appreciation. The prefix marker of the diminutive -ka-/-ga- (class 12) in singular and -tu-/-du- (class 13) in plural. The augment preceding the diminutive prefix marker is generally a- in singular and u- in plural. However, some loanwords behave very strangely. For example, the word *akabati*, “cupboard”, agrees with the diminutive concord nominal prefixes whereas the concept is not that of a diminutive. Morphologically speaking, the loanword *akabati* behaves like a diminutive, but semantically it is not. The word *akabare*, from *cabaret*, “pub”, has also morphological features of a diminutive, but in the real sense it is not. Let us consider the word *akabati* in the following sentences:

Class 12: *A-ka-bati ka-anjye ka-nini ka-mwe ga-pima ibiro mirongwitanu*: “My big cupboard weighs 50 kilos”.

Class 13: *U-tu-bati tu-anjye tu-nini tu-biri du-pima ibiro ijana*: “My two big cupboards weigh 100 kilos”.

In the above sentences, there is no idea of smallness, contempt, nor appreciation. The loanword has been integrated into cl 12 simply because the initial syllable of the source word “cupboard” /'kʌbəd/ resembles an identifiable diminutive prefix marker -ka- (usually preceded by the augment a-). However, loanwords whose initial syllable does not resemble the noun prefix marker will be allocated to class 9 (zero prefix noun marker). As for the word *ikaroti*, *carotte* /karɔt/, “carrot” /'kærət/, although the initial syllable resembles the noun prefix marker of the diminutive, it has not been integrated into class 12.

Class 9: *I-φ-karoti ya-anjye nini ya-guzwe neza cyane*: “My big carrot has sold very well”.

Class 10: *Za karoti za-anjye za-guzwe neza cyane*: “My big carrots have sold very well”.

Class 9: *I-φ-kaye* (from the French *cahier*) *ya-anjye nini ya-guzwe neza cyane*: “My big note book has sold very well”.

Class 6: *A-ma-kaye* (from the French *cahiers*) *ya-anjye ma-nini ya-guzwe neza cyane*: “My big note books have sold very well”.

In order to decide whether the loanword belongs to a given nominal class, the agreement of nominal prefix markers have been considered. Although the loanwords, *akabati*, “cupboard, and *akabare*, *cabaret*, “pub”, do not embody any idea of smallness or depreciation, they are to be classified into class 12 because of their concord morphemes. On the other hand, any borrowable concrete noun may be used as a diminutive.

Loanword	French	English
<i>a-ga-shantiye</i>	<i>petit chantier</i>	small building site
<i>u-du-shantiye</i>	<i>petits chantiers</i>	small building sites
<i>a-ga-shapule</i>	<i>petit chapelet</i>	small rosary
<i>u-du-shapule</i>	<i>petits chapelets</i>	small rosaries
<i>a-ga-kanifu</i>	<i>petit canif</i>	small penknife
<i>u-du-kanifu</i>	<i>petits canifs</i>	small penknives
<i>a-ga-kabutura</i>	<i>petite culotte</i>	small shorts
<i>u-du-kabutura</i>	<i>petites culottes</i>	small shorts
<i>a-ga-kasho</i>	<i>petit cachot</i>	small jail

<i>u-du-kasho</i>	<i>petits cachots</i>	small jails
<i>a-ka-base</i>	<i>petit bassin</i>	small basin
<i>u-tu-base</i>	<i>petits bassins</i>	small basins
<i>a-ka-butike</i>	<i>petite boutique</i>	small shop
<i>a-ka-butike</i>	<i>petites boutiques</i>	small shops
<i>a-ka-gato</i>	<i>petit gâteau</i>	small cake
<i>u-tu-gato</i>	<i>petits gâteaux</i>	small cakes
<i>a-ka-mangazine</i>	<i>petit magasin</i>	small store/warehouse
<i>u-tu-mangazine</i>	<i>petits magasins</i>	small stores/warehouses
<i>a-ka-valize</i>	<i>petite valise</i>	small suitcase
<i>u-tu-valize</i>	<i>petites valises</i>	small suitcases

The above diminutives come from the following loanwords: *i-shantiye*, “building site”; *i-shapule*, “rosary”; *i-kanifu*, “knife”; *i-kabutura*, “shorts”; *i-kasho*, “jail”; *i-base*, “basin”; *i-butike*, “shop”; *i-gato*, “cake”; *i-mangazine*, “store”; *ivalize*, “suitcase”.

- (8) Class 14 generally denotes abstract nouns. As previously said, abstract items are hardly borrowable. Not many abstract loanwords have been integrated in this class, except those denoting religious concepts. Curiously enough, concrete nouns of foreign origin can be found in this class. Most foreign words denoting countries are also found in class 14.

Loanword	French	English
<i>u-bu-kirisito</i>	<i>chrétienté</i>	Christianity
<i>u-bu-nani</i>	<i>Bonne Année</i>	New Year Day
<i>u-bu-padiri</i>	<i>prêtrise</i>	priesthood
<i>u-bu-pagani</i>	<i>paganisme</i>	paganism
<i>u-bu-ringiti</i>	<i>couverture</i>	blanket
<i>(i-bi-ringiti, class 8)</i>	<i>couvertures</i>	blankets
<i>u-bu-saseridoti</i>	<i>sacerdoce</i>	priesthood
<i>u-bu-roso</i>	<i>brosse</i>	brush
<i>u Bu-holandi</i>	<i>Hollande</i>	The Netherlands
<i>u Bu-suwisi</i>	<i>Suisse</i>	Switzerland
<i>u Bu-taliyani</i>	<i>Italie</i>	Italy

<i>u Burusiya</i>	<i>Russie</i>	Russia
<i>u Bubiligi</i>	<i>Belgique</i>	Belgium
<i>u Bufaransa</i>	<i>France</i>	France

- (9) Class 15 denotes nouns of some parts of the body, months of the year, and all infinitives. Loanwords of recent integration in this class are French verbal forms. The distinctive nominal prefix marker is *gu-/ku-*

Loanword	French	English
<i>gu-fotora</i>	<i>photocopier</i>	to photocopy
<i>gu-fotora</i>	<i>photographier</i>	to take a picture
<i>gu-kaveringa</i>	<i>couvrir</i>	to cover
<i>gu-kilika</i>	<i>faire un dé clic</i>	to click
<i>gu-kilinyota</i>	<i>clignoter</i>	to blink
<i>gu-koloriya</i>	<i>colorier</i>	to colour
<i>gu-kopera</i>	<i>copier</i>	to cheat (an exam)
<i>gu-sabota</i>	<i>saboter</i>	to botch
<i>gu-sharija</i>	<i>charger</i>	to charge (a battery)
<i>gu-sinya</i>	<i>signer</i>	to sign
<i>gu-sona</i>	<i>sonner</i>	to ring
<i>gu-tirisha</i>	<i>tricher</i>	to cheat
<i>ku-batiza</i>	<i>baptizer</i>	to baptize
<i>ku-buransha</i>	<i>brancher</i>	to plug
<i>ku-defila</i>	<i>défiler</i>	to march
<i>ku-defuriza</i>	<i>défriser</i>	to straighten (hair)
<i>ku-depoza</i>	<i>déposer</i>	to deposit
<i>ku-nota</i>	<i>noter</i>	to take notes
<i>ku-verisa</i>	<i>verser</i>	to deposit on one's bank account
<i>ku-vibura</i>	<i>vibrer</i>	to vibrate

- (10) As for locatives, there are no loanwords in class 16 (the distinctive prefix marker, *-ha-*, indicates a location). But classes 17 and 18 have hosted toponyms of foreign origins. They are preceded by the prepositions *mu* (*muri*,

generally before a location beginning with a vowel), “in”/ “to” for countries, and *i*, “in”/ “to” for cities.

Loanword	French	English
<i>mu Buholandi</i>	<i>en Hollande</i>	in/to The Netherlands
<i>mu Bwongereza</i>	<i>en Anglettere</i>	in/to England
<i>mu Bufaransa</i>	<i>en France</i>	in/to France
<i>mu Busuwisi</i>	<i>en Suisse</i>	in/to Switzerland
<i>mu Butaliyani</i>	<i>en Italie</i>	in/to Italy
<i>muri Amerika</i>	<i>en Amérique</i>	in/to America
<i>muri Afurika y’Epfo</i>	<i>en Afrique du Sud</i>	in South Africa
<i>muri Hongiriya</i>	<i>en Hongrie</i>	in/to Hungary
<i>muri Egiputa</i>	<i>en Egypte</i>	in’to Egypt
<i>i Kayiro</i>	<i>au Caire</i>	in/to Cairo
<i>i Londere</i>	<i>à Londres</i>	in/to London
<i>i Buruseli</i>	<i>à Bruxelles</i>	in/to Brussels
<i>i Nyuyoke</i>	<i>à New York</i>	in/to New York
<i>i Roma</i>	<i>à Rome</i>	in/to Rome
<i>i Liyo</i>	<i>à Lyon</i>	in/to Lyon

3.3.2 Morphological aspects of loanwords

The morphological adaptation of loanwords is generally operated in one of the four ways: addition, deletion, derivation, and reduplication. Loanwords take Kinyarwanda morphological features when they are allocated to noun classes.

3.3.2.1 Addition

In general, a loanword adds an augment and an affix (usually by prefixing or/and suffixing) to the stem of a word. This is the most frequent method of integration. Although a loanword may be integrated into the borrowing language, it does not always find full acceptance in the host language system. Thus, it can preserve or lose original segments and create new ones. This is the case observed in loanwords having the nominal prefix *-ma-* of class 6 or *za* attested in plural nouns of class 10.

The morpheme *za-* is usually an adjectival or pronominal prefix. The nominal prefixes **-ma-** and **za** are good cases to illustrate the addition process in loanword adaptation in Kinyarwanda. The two morphemes are used alternatively, but with fully assimilated loanwords, *-ma-* (always preceded by an augment, *-a*) tends to predominate over *za* (no augment before it).

Examples:

The following sentences consider one agreement from the native words of class 10 and class 6.

I-nka za-njye za-rishije: “My cows have grazed”.

A-ma-tama ma-nini a-maze ku-byimb-uk-a: “Big cheeks are no longer swollen”.

The agreement in two loanwords (*avoka/ivoka*: avocado; *bisi*: bus) in the same noun class introduces an alternative morpheme. Thus, two options are observed:

1. *Za voka zireze*: “Avocadoes are ripe”.

2. *A-ma-voka areze*: “Avocadoes are ripe”.

1. *Za bisi zatinze*: “Buses have delayed”.

2. *A-ma-bisi yatinze*: “Buses have delayed”.

The word *ivoka*, “an avocado”, will be *amavoka* or *za voka* in plural. The plural word *za voka* has no augment, which should normally be *i-*, if class markers of noun class 10 are taken into account. This shows that some loanwords have ambivalent forms when they haven’t yet been fully adopted by the nominal class system.

However, the plural forms below show that some loanwords have found full acceptance in the host language:

Kinyarwanda	French	English
<i>a-ba-voka</i>	<i>avocats</i>	lawyers
<i>a-ba-biligi</i>	<i>belges</i>	Belgians
<i>a-ba-faransa</i>	<i>français</i> (people)	French
<i>a-ma-foto</i>	<i>photos</i>	photos/pictures
<i>gu-foto-ra</i>	<i>photocopier</i>	photocopy
<i>gu-foto-ra</i>	<i>photographier</i>	take a picture

<i>gu-sabota</i>	<i>saboter</i>	to botch
<i>i-foto</i>	<i>photo</i>	photo/picture
<i>i-gi-faransa</i>	<i>français</i> (language)	French
<i>i-m-papuro</i>	<i>papiers</i>	papers
<i>ku-defiriza</i>	<i>défriser</i>	straighten (hair)
<i>ku-depoza</i>	<i>deposer</i>	deposit/ hand out
<i>u-mu-avoka</i>	<i>avocat</i>	lawyer
<i>u-mu-biligi</i>	<i>belge</i>	Belgian
<i>u-mu-faransa</i>	<i>français</i> (people)	French
<i>u-ru-papuro</i>	<i>papier</i>	paper

3.3.2.2 Deletion

One element of the source word is omitted to simplify the spelling or the pronunciation, especially when the original form is hard to pronounce or to write to fit the host language system.

Examples:

Kinyarwanda	French	English
<i>gu-fotora</i>	<i>photocopier, photographier</i>	photocopy/take a picture
<i>u-mu-fana</i>	<i>fanatique</i>	fanatic
<i>ruwiri</i>	<i>l'huile</i>	cooking oil
<i>Leta</i>	<i>l'Etat</i>	the State
<i>isinya</i>	<i>signature</i>	signature
<i>ku-iy-aranja</i>	<i>s'arranger</i>	to manage
<i>Loni</i>	<i>l'ONU</i>	The UN

Observations:

Loanwords which have not been fully adopted are written and pronounced with or without initial nominal morphemes: augment or nominal prefix. However, in the long run they will definitely take a stand and get one. This explains the fact that loanwords are still searching for adoption in the nominal class of the host language before being totally integrated.

In the section above, there has been deletion of the apostrophe and the elided article (*article élidé l'*) has resulted in the formation of the segments *ru, le, lo*, in *ruwiri, leta, loni*, respectively. The article and the apostrophe have been merged.

The structure of a loanword does not often conform to the original Kinyarwanda. Some omit the augment, while others keep it, or simply use it alternatively.

- (1) Some loanwords omit the augment:

Examples:

Kinyarwanda	French	English
<i>moto</i>	<i>motocyclette</i>	motorcycle
<i>radio</i>	<i>radio</i>	radio
<i>madame</i>	<i>madame</i>	madam
<i>mazutu</i>	<i>mazout</i>	diesel
<i>telefone</i>	<i>téléphone</i>	telephone
<i>kashe</i>	<i>cachet</i>	seal, stamp
<i>gasutamo</i>	<i>douane</i>	custom
<i>kokelisha</i>	<i>coqueluche</i>	whooping-cough
<i>kiliziliya</i>	<i>église</i>	Church
<i>politiki</i>	<i>politique</i>	politics, political, policy
<i>ruwiri</i>	<i>l'huile</i>	cooking oil, especially peanut oil
<i>ruswa</i>	<i>reçois</i>	bribe, corruption
<i>sinya</i>	<i>signature</i>	signature

- (2) Some loanwords delete the nominal prefix in singular. Plural forms take the alternative intrusive morpheme *za-* or *-ma-*

Examples:

Kinyarwanda	French	English
<i>(i)-ϕ-feri</i>	<i>frein</i>	brake
<i>(i)-ϕ-radiyo</i>	<i>radio</i>	radio
<i>(i)-ϕ-bariyeri</i>	<i>barrière</i>	barrier, road-block
<i>(umu)-ϕ-muzika</i>	<i>musique</i>	music
<i>(umu)-ϕ-diregiteri</i>	<i>directeur</i>	director
<i>(i)-ϕ-kote</i>	<i>veste</i>	coat

(i)- φ -winga	raie	wing, hair ray/stripe
(i)- φ -kiliziya	église	Church (from the Greek <i>ecclesia</i>)

3.3.2.3 Derivation

According to Hockett (1958: 417), derivation is the part of morphology which “deals with the structure of the stems”.

Some verbal loanwords are formed by derivational suffixes (verbal extensions). These are to be distinguished from formal suffixes which have no meaning in themselves. Verbal extensions whereby derivational suffixes are added to the verbal root help to form many other verbs. In Kinyarwanda, there are 7 types of derivational suffixes, which help in the formation of verbs. Integrated verbal loanwords have accepted this process of derivation. To form a verb, you need a nominal prefix showing the infinitive *gu-* or *ku-*, followed by a verbal root beginning by a consonant. Thus, the structure will be: Nominal Prefix + Verbal Root + (Extensions) + Final Vowel.

For example the verbal loanword *gu-fotor-a* originates from the French *photographier*, “to take a picture/photograph”, or *photocopier*, “to make a photocopy”. Verbal loanwords accept the process of derivation by adding a suffix to the verbal root.

- (1) *-ir-/-er-*: a suffix indicating application (to do something for somebody), for example, *gu-fotor-era*, “to take a photograph for somebody”/ “photocopy for somebody”
- (2) *-an-*: a suffix indicating reciprocity, for example, *gu-fotor-an-a*, “to take a picture each other”.
- (3) *-ish-/-esh-*: causative suffix (to have something done by somebody else, to cause to do, to make somebody do something), for example, *gu-fotor-esh-a*: “to have a document photocopied”, “to have a photograph taken”.
- (4) *-ik-/-ek-*: a suffix expressing ability: to be able to, for example, *gu-fotor-ek-a*, “easy/able to be photographed or photocopied”.

- (5) *-u-*: a suffix indicating the passive voice, for example, *gu-fotor-w-a*, “to be taken a photograph”.
- (6) *-ur-*: a suffix indicating a reversive action, for example, *gu-pakur-ur-a*, “to unload”.
- (7) *-agur-*: a suffix indicating a repetitive action, for example, *gu-siny-agur-a*, “to sign several times”.

The way derivation operates in Kinyarwanda nominal morphology is entirely based on prefixing and suffixing. In English or French, derivation is more complex. Derivation, compounding and deletion, are sometimes related.

Scalise (1986:11) states that “words can be found that have undergone derivation and then compounding, but not compounding then derivation” [...] and that deletion operation can eliminate only a dummy element, or a formative explicitly mentioned in the structure index (for examples, *you* in imperatives), or the designated representative of a category [...]

3.3.2.4 Reduplication

The stem or the part of the loanword is repeated in the same way Kinyarwanda adjectival or nominal stems are reduplicated, for example, in the word *ki-re-ki-re*, “a tall thing”; *u-ru-ntu-ru-ntu*, “human intrigue”. The stem is reduplicated to show the action of signing a document several times, respectively.

Nurse and Philippson (2003: 88) explain that “in all kinds of non-verbal words, reduplication is particularly frequent with monosyllabic stems, which indicates a rhythmic preference for polysyllabic stems. Semantically, reduplication often appears to indicate smallness and/or repetition or intention.”

For example, the colour adjective *buru-ru* comes from the French word “*bleu*” (blue). The last syllable of the stem is reduplicated. Interestingly enough, Rwandans borrowed only the word *bururu* to denote the blue colour, unlike other colours which existed before the contact with the external world. This would imply that originally the word to denote the “blue” reality did not exist, and that it was neither strongly

perceived nor known. Such a reality was not exploited. However, according to the conversation I had had with old Rwandan people, they would use the word *juru*, “sky”, to denote the blue colour, especially the light-blue colour.

With verbal loanwords, some morphemes are reduplicated. For example, the repetitive action *gu-sinya-siny-a*, “to sign several times”, comes from the loanword *gu-siny-a*, *signer*, meaning “to sign”. The newly borrowed verb *gu-kilik-a*, “to click”, is often reduplicated to show the repetitive action of clicking several times on a computer, *gu-kilika-kilika*, in a way which may lead to defective functioning.

3.3.2.5 Morphological changes of French loanwords

Most French loanwords have undergone deep morphological changes in Kinyarwanda. This explains their seniority or the chronology of these loans. The common nominal structure of a Kinyarwanda word is: augment-nominal prefix-stem. The verb and other parts of speech do not have any augment. The infinitive has a nominal prefix, a root, a suffix (optional), and a final vowel (always -a). Most loanwords comply with this structure. Here are just a few examples below to indicate some morphological changes. The adaptation from the lending language to the borrowing one is a long process. It does not happen haphazardly. It makes its way in the daily conversation, the media, and the print.

Examples:

- (1) *calendrier* → *kalendari* (plural: *za kalendari*), “calendar”

The loanword (*i*)- ϕ -*kalendari* follows the structure CVC. It is sometimes written with an augment. The nominal prefix is - ϕ -.

- (2) *francs* → *a-ma-faranga* (singular: *i-faranga*), “francs”

The word has fully been integrated. It has taken the augment a-, which usually precedes class 6 prefix marker -ma-, the identifying mark of nouns denoting masses and liquids, and plural nouns denoting some parts of the human body. The stem is -*faranga*. The singular is *i- ϕ -faranga* or *u-ru-faranga*.

- (3) *essuie-mains* → *esuwime* (plural: *a-ma-esuwime*), “hand towel”
 This compound word has lost most of its morphological features. The word *essuie* has become *esu-*, and *mains*, *-me*. It has the augment *i-*, the nominal prefix ϕ -. The stem becomes *-swime*.
- (4) *belge* → *u-mu-biligi* (plural: *a-ba-biligi*), “Belgians”
 The word has fully been adapted into the Kinyarwanda structure. It has the augment *u-* in singular and *a-* in plural, the nominal prefix *-mu-* for noun class 1 (*-ba-* for the plural), and the stem *-biligi*.
- (5) *carte* → *i-karita* (plural: *a-ma-karita*), “maps”
 This word has been fully integrated. It has the augment *i-*, the nominal prefix ϕ - of the noun class 9, the stem *-karita*. The plural takes the nominal prefix marker *-ma-* of class 6.
- (6) *reçois* → *ruswa* (plural: *zaruswa*), “bribe”, “corruption”
 The word has totally changed its original form *reç-ois*, “take”, but it has not fully been integrated. It has been hosted by class 9. Unlike most loanwords, which have fully been integrated, it has no augment nor a nominal prefix. It means tip, bribe, or corruption.
- (7) *papier* → *u-ru-papuro* (plural: *i-m-papuro*), “sheet of paper”
 The word has fully been integrated. It has the augment *u-*, the nominal prefix *-ru-* of class 11. The stem *-papuro* still retains the features of the source word, *papier*, “paper”.
- (8) *cahier* → *i-kaye* (plural: *a-ma-kaye*), “notebooks”
 This word has also been fully integrated. It has the augment *i-*, the nominal prefix ϕ - of noun class 9, the stem *-kaye*. The plural takes *-ma-* of the noun class 6.
- (9) *sucre* → *i-sukari* (uncountable), “sugar”
 The word has fully been integrated. It has the augment of class 9. The nominal prefix is ϕ -. The stem is *-sukari*.

- (10) *fraudeur* → *u-mu-foroderi* (plural: *a-ba-foroderi*), “smuggler”

The word has taken all the forms of a Kinyarwanda word. It has the augment *u-*, the nominal prefix *-mu-*, and the stem *-foroderi*.

3.3.2.6 Morphological changes of English loanwords

English loanwords are the most recent borrowed words (nonce borrowings) in Kinyarwanda. This is due to the influence English has had as an international language for the last three centuries. Early English loanwords came into Kinyarwanda via Kiswahili.

Examples:

- (1) lift → *i-rifuti* (plural: *a-ma-rifuti*)

The word has been integrated into class 9, which usually couples with class 10. The plural for *irifuti* is *amarifuti* (class 6). In general class 5, which denotes pairing nouns (*i-ϕ-bere*, *a-ma-bere*, “a breast”, “breasts”; *i-ji-sho*, *a-ma-so*, “eye”, “eyes”, couples with class 6. But with loanwords class 9 very often couples with class 6. The word has the augment *i-*, the nominal prefix *-ϕ-*, the stem *-rifuti*.

- (2) boy → *u-mu-boyi* (plural: *a-ba-boyi*)

The word has fully been adapted to Kinyarwanda morphology. The augment *u-* in singular (plural *-a-*) denotes common nouns of persons. The nominal prefix is *-mu-* in singular and *-ba-* in plural. The stem *-boyi-* has retained the original form of the source language.

- (3) cake → *i-keke* (plural: *za keke*)

The word has been integrated into class 9. The plural is either *a-ma-kek-e* (class 6) or *zakeke* (class 10). The nominal prefix morpheme *za* is an intrusive segment because it is attested in loanwords only. The word “cake”/keik/ is mispronounced /keke/. Thus, the spelling *ikeke* (influenced by the pronounced). The diphthong /ei/ is reduced to a single vowel sound /e/ in the stem *-keke*. Words such as paper /peipə/, later /leitə/, maker /meikə/, tape

/teip/, lake/leik/, are also mispronounced */pepa/, */leta/, */mekal/, */teke/, */tepe/, */leke/.

- (4) star → *u-mu-sitare* (plural: *a-ba-sitare*)

This word may be confused with *umusitari* from Kiswahili (*mustari*, plural: *mistari*) meaning a “geometrical line”. The loanword *umusitare* has fully been integrated. It has the augment *u-* and the nominal prefix *-mu-* which marks common names of persons. The stem is *-sitare*.

- (5) casualty → *u-mu-kajoliti* (plural *a-ba-kajoliti*)

The loanword *umukajoliti* has taken all the morphemes of the Kinyarwanda noun class system. The augment *u-* and the nominal prefix *-mu-* designate common names of persons. Long stems such as *as-kajuwaliti* are very rare in Kinyarwanda. You hardly find a stem of more than three syllables.

- (6) goal → *i-gori* (plural: *a-ma-gori*)

The loanword *igori*, “football match score”, has been hosted by class 5 (singular) and class 6 (plural). It has the augment *i-*, the nominal prefix *-ϕ-*, the stem *-gori*. Usually most loanwords denoting things are hosted in class 9 (singular) and class 6 or 10 (plural).

- (7) note → *i-note* (plural: *i-note*, *a-ma-note*)

The word *inote* may denote a bank note or a musical instrument. Apart from the augment *i-*, the whole word has been preserved. *i-note* belongs to class 9 (singular) and 10 (plural). When cl 9 couples with class 6, the word becomes *amanote* and means “musical notes”.

- (8) steam → *i-sitimu* (plural: *a-ma-sitimu*)

The word *i-sitimu* which came into Kinyarwanda via Kiswahili has been fully integrated into class 9 (singular). The plural *a-ma-sitimu* belongs to class 6.

- (9) bucket → *i-m-begeti* (plural: *i-m-begeti*)

The word bucket which lent its form to *i-(m)-begeti* has completely changed its form in Kinyarwanda. The word *indobo* is used alongside *imbegeti* and they

are both doublets. It is hardly identifiable as a loanword from English. It has been hosted by classes 9/10.

Some loanwords change their original form completely and they are hardly identifiable with their source.

Examples:

- (1) *Kunyuzura*: a verb from the adjective “new”, which means to initiate a new comer in a learning institution, especially in a secondary school, university, or in the army. It has totally adapted to the nominal morphological derivation of Kinyarwanda.
- (2) *Icyongereza*: “English language”.
- (3) *Umwongereza*: “an English person”.
- (4) *Abongereza*: “English persons”.

3.3.2.7 Translingual borrowings

Some loanwords from Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew came into Kinyarwanda via French, English, Kiswahili. However, their spelling has not been much affected in Kinyarwanda. Thus, a translingual borrowing phenomenon is presented as follows: L1→L2→L3→L4. Kinyarwanda is the last recipient language L4 (or L3).

Example 1: *Kristos* (Greek word for Christ) → *Christiana* (Latin) → *Christiane* (French) → *Kirisitiyana*

Example 2: *pater* (Latin) → *padre* (Italian) → *padiri* (Kiswahili) → *umupadiri*

Example 3: *baptizo* (Greek word for baptise) → *baptiser/baptise* → *kubatiza*

Example 4: *kitaab* (Arabic word for book) → *kitabu* (Kiswahili) → *igitabo*

Example 5: *scola* → *Schule* (German word for school) → *shule* (Kiswahili) → *ishuri*

Most predominant loanwords which passed through other languages before they could be adopted in Kinyarwanda, are loanwords of Latin origin. Latin was the language of the Roman Catholic Church used worldwide for many centuries ago. In Rwanda, it was used in church services and schools, especially in Roman Catholic seminaries and high schools. The majority of the Rwandan elite spoke a bit of Latin

and were proud of it. Therefore, it is not surprising to find some Latin words in Kinyarwanda language, mostly in the Roman Catholic Church. They are words denoting mass liturgy, relics, sacred objects, personal names of saints, realm of the dead, seminaries, clergy.

Examples:

Loanword	Latin	English
<i>umupagani</i>	<i>paganus, pagani</i>	pagan, heathen
<i>alitari</i>	<i>altare, altaris</i>	altar
<i>misa</i>	<i>missa, missae</i>	mass
<i>hositiya</i>	<i>hostia, hostia</i>	eucharist
<i>lejiyo</i>	<i>legio, legionis</i>	army of 1000 men
<i>asensiyo</i>	<i>ascensio, ascensionis</i>	Jesus' Ascent to heaven
<i>asomusiyo</i>	<i>absumptio, absumptionis</i>	Mary's Ascent to heaven
<i>penitensiya</i>	<i>paenitentia, paenitentiae</i>	repentance, regret, guilt
<i>rosariya</i>	<i>rosalis, rosale</i>	rosary
<i>umusaseridoti</i>	<i>sacerdos, sacerdotis</i>	priest
<i>novisiya</i>	<i>novicius, novicia</i>	new
<i>umufuratiri</i>	<i>frater, fratris</i>	friar, brother
<i>Kalvari</i>	<i>Calvaria, calvariae</i>	Calvary (skull) ²²
<i>ikaramu</i>	<i>calamus, calami</i>	pen, stick, reed
<i>abusolisiyo</i>	<i>absolutio, absolutionis</i>	sin forgiveness
<i>umukarisimatike</i>	<i>charisma, charismatis</i>	charismatic
<i>ikalisa</i>	<i>calix, calicis</i>	chalice
<i>ikorale</i>	<i>chorus, chori</i>	choir
<i>umukirisito</i>	<i>christianus, christiani</i>	christian
<i>umupapa</i>	<i>papa</i>	pope

Loanwords of Greek origin were brought into Kinyarwanda by the clergy because there was a real need of using them to designate religious services, objects, church leaders, etc. The New Testament was written in Greek before being translated into Latin, which kept some Greek terms. It was then translated into English, German, and French. Still, a few Greek words remained as such in these languages. This is

²² The corresponding word for Calvary is Golgotha (from Aramaic).

why some Greek words came into Kinyarwanda and adapted to the new language system which had hosted them. Thus, the translingual borrowing formula is: L1→L2→L3 (→L4)

Examples:

Loanword	Greek	English
<i>umubatizo</i>	<i>baptizo</i>	immersion
<i>Bibiliya</i>	<i>Biblos</i>	Bible, papyrus
<i>Pentekosite</i>	<i>pentekostin</i>	Pentecost, 50th day ²³
<i>kiriziya</i>	<i>ecclesia</i>	church
<i>paradizo</i>	<i>paradeisos</i>	paradise, garden ²⁴
<i>umudiyakoni</i>	<i>diakonos</i>	deacon, deaconess, servant
<i>ivanjiri</i>	<i>euangelion</i>	gospel, good news
<i>Kirisito</i>	<i>Kristos</i>	the Anointed, Christ ²⁵
<i>Bibiliyoteke</i>	<i>Biblios,</i>	<i>theka</i> library

Words of Hebrew origin have also been brought into Kinyarwanda by Christians. Since Christianity originated from Israel, some Biblical terms still exist in today's Bible versions and other Christian literature.

Examples:

Loanword	Hebrew	English
<i>umukerubi</i>	<i>cherub</i>	cherub (a two winged angel)
<i>umuserafi</i>	<i>saraf</i>	seraph (a six winged angel)
<i>Halleluya</i>	<i>Hallelu-Jah</i>	Praise the Lord
<i>Isabato</i>	<i>Chabbat (Hebrew)</i>	Sabbath, rest

²³ In the Jewish tradition, Pentecost is the 50th day after the Passover, at the beginning of the summer or the Harvest Festival or Week Festival. However, some Christians understand it as the pouring of the Holy Spirit. They justify this by the fact that the Holy Spirit descended on the apostles like flames of fire on the 50th day after the Passover.

²⁴ Originally the word "paradise" comes from Persian and means "garden".

²⁵ The word "Christ" comes from *Kristos* and means the Anointed One. It corresponds to Messiah in Hebrew. In the Jewish tradition, kings were anointed at their intronisation. According to the Bible, Jesus Christ is the King of kings, the Son of David. He is the prophesied Messiah (Daniel 9:25) because he was anointed by His Father in the year 27 AD when he was baptised by John the Baptist.

<i>gihenomu</i>	<i>Gey-Hennom</i>	valley of Hennom, hell ²⁶
<i>amen</i>	<i>amen</i>	truth, verily, may be so
<i>Betesida</i>	<i>Bethsaida</i>	house of mercy
<i>rabi</i>	<i>rabbouni</i>	teacher, master

Arabic words came into Kinyarwanda since the time of the triangle trade, during the time of slavery and the expansion of Islam in Africa. It is the language of Islam as Latin is to the Roman Catholic Church or Hebrew to Judaism. Most Moslems in Rwanda are proud of speaking Arabic as Latin was used among the educated class during the Roman colonization. They use it (or some code-switching) for mosque services, rites, prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, jihad, greetings.

Examples:

Loanword	Arabic	English
<i>Ikorowani</i>	<i>Qur'ān</i>	Quoran ²⁷
<i>umusilimu</i>	<i>muslim</i>	civilised (muslim, moslem)
<i>umubikira</i>	<i>bikr</i>	virgin, young heifer
<i>umukafiri</i>	<i>kaffir</i>	uncircumcised, unfaithful
<i>umusigiti</i>	<i>mosq</i>	mosque
<i>salamalekumu</i>	<i>a salam lecum</i>	peace be with you
<i>igitabo</i>	<i>kita:b</i>	book
<i>gusali</i>	<i>saala</i>	to ask, interrogate, demand, pray
<i>imbata</i>	<i>batta</i>	to disperse, duck
<i>sitare</i>	<i>starih</i>	to relax
<i>ibahati</i>	<i>baxt(i)</i>	luck

²⁶ *Gey-Hennom* is the name given to a ravine in the south-west of Jerusalem, used as a location for dumping waste from the city in order to burn them. The word has taken the meaning of the location of curse where God will cast the wicked at the judgement day.

²⁷ Sometimes Moslems use the expression *Ikorowani Ntagatifu* (the Holy Quoran) by analogy to the Christians' "Bibiliya Ntagatifu" (the Holy Bible). Etymologically, the word Qur'ān is derived from the root QR which is connected with the idea "to collect, gather, be pregnant" .

Kiswahili is widely used by Moslem community in Rwanda. Therefore, a great deal of number of loanwords from Arabic came into Kinyarwanda through Kiswahili, for example, *baxt* → *bahati* → *ibahati*, where *x* → *h*.

Semantic deviation is very common with translingual borrowing. The more widely a loanword is used, the greater the deviation will be, for example, *umupagani* (from *paganus*, originally means “villager”, but now it means a non-Christian believer), *umusilimu* (from muslim, but now it means civilised), *umubatizo* (from the Greek *baptizo*, meaning “immerse”, but now it means any form of baptism).

Stockwell (2002: 137) illustrates the change in meaning with English borrowings of eastern influence as follows:

alcohol (Arabic al-koh'l): powdered antimony, then any quintessence, for example, 'alcohol of wine' via distillation, then just the intoxicating ingredient.

Algebra (Arabic al-jabr); the reuniting of broken parts, first used in English to refer to the setting of bones.

Assassin (hash-shashin): hashish-eaters, a sect who killed under the influence of cannabis.

Buckram: first meant a high-quality fabric from Bokhara then, later, coarse cloth.

Eunuch (Greek eunoukhos): 'bed-guard

Gazette (Italian gazeta or gazetta): name of a small Venetian copper coin.

Onyx (Greek onux): 'claw, fingernail' (pink, with white streaks).

Punch (Hindi panch, Sanskrit panchan): 'five' (i.e., the five basic ingredients: wine/spirit, water/milk, sugar, lemon and spice).

Tabby: from Al-'at-tabiya, a suburb of Bagdad named for Prince Attab where a cloth was made known as *attabi*; this was usually striped. The word was later applied to cats.

3.3.3 Semantic aspects of loanwords

Loanword adaptation does not take place without any semantic sliding for a number of adopted loanwords. This raises a very important question whether one should

apply with reservations the terms nativization or naturalization both used in loanword adaptation. The use of the term nativization is too strong and emphatic for a loanword. A loanword does not enjoy all the rights a “native” word is entitled to, id est, it does not keep its original meaning and in some cases it does not have a fixed morphological and phonological status. However, the terms fostering and naturalisation could apply to loanword adaptation because they help us understand that the acceptance of a loanword depends on the perception and the attitude of the speaker of L1. The speaker does not totally accept a foreign word without conditions. Loanwords undergo strenuous changes. The speaker can fully adopt the loanword. He can broaden the meaning of a loanword, distort it, or narrow it.

3.3.3.1 Extension

Loanword	Source word	English	Meaning extension
<i>ikinini</i>	<i>quinine</i>	quinine	quinine, tablet
<i>umushomeri</i>	<i>chômeur</i>	unemployed	delinquent/idle person
<i>imodoka</i>	motor-car	automobile	all vehicles
<i>tagisi</i>	<i>taxi</i>	taxi	all transport vehicles
<i>umubatizo</i>	<i>baptiso (Greek)</i>	baptism	all kinds of baptism
<i>umunyeshuli</i>	<i>Schule (German)</i>	school	pupil, student
<i>politiki</i>	<i>politique</i>	politics	deceit, intrigues
<i>ibuku</i>	book	book	identity booklet
<i>kunyuzura</i>	new	to make new	to initiate a new comer
<i>ubunani</i>	<i>Bonne Année</i>	New Year	any other feast

3.3.3.2 Deviation

Loanword	Source word	English	Meaning deviation
<i>ruswa</i>	<i>reçois</i>	receive, take	bribe, corruption, tip
<i>mitingi</i>	<i>meeting</i>	meeting	political rallye
<i>umupagani</i>	<i>paganus (Latin)</i>	pagan	non-Christian, evildoer
<i>umusilimu</i>	<i>muslim</i>	muslim	smart, civilised, literate
<i>gukopera</i>	<i>copier</i>	to copy	to cheat an exam
<i>goromisheli</i>	<i>C'est gros mon cher!</i>	It is big, my dear!	variety of banana

3.3.3.3 Restriction

Loanword	Source word	English	Meaning restriction
<i>basheliye</i>	<i>bachelier</i>	bachelor	a 2-3 year degree holder
<i>lisansiye</i>	<i>licencié</i>	licence	a 4-5 year degree holder
<i>odiyanse</i>	<i>audience</i>	audience	appointment
<i>umudogiteri</i>	<i>docteur</i>	doctor	medical doctor only
<i>kiriziya</i>	<i>ecclesia (Greek)</i>	church	Roman Catholic Church
<i>iferu</i>	<i>fer</i>	iron	iron (for ironing clothes)
<i>ruwiri</i>	<i>l'huile</i>	oil	peanut cooking oil
<i>ifarine</i>	<i>farine</i>	flour	wheat flour only
<i>isizeni</i>	<i>season</i>	season	coffee harvest only

Observations:

Some loanwords from French have not only lost morphological and phonological segments but also their original meaning. The theory of fostering based on how the message is semantically perceived and decoded during communication between the speaker and hearer, clearly shows that some loanwords have broadened the meaning, others have restricted the meaning, while some others have distorted it or deviated from the original meaning.

Jouannet (1983:12) stresses that there have been many changes in Kinyarwanda due to the influx of French loanwords:

French influence upon Kinyarwanda speeds up the process of lexical innovation (either spontaneous or deliberate) through neologisms (semantic and/or formal) and borrowing (either partial or total). An examination of the semantic distance between a French word and the same word as borrowed into Kinyarwanda attests on the one hand semantic equivalence, extension or restriction, and on the other hand “resemanticisation” through metonymy, melioration or pejoration²⁸.

²⁸ As translated by the editor himself in the summary of Twilingiyimana's article: “Lexical and semantic integration of French loanwords into Kinyarwanda. In *le Kinyarwanda, langue bantu du Rwanda: études linguistiques* (p.11), Paris: SELAF

Here a couple of loanwords which reflect these semantic changes (extension, deviation, restriction) can be examined. Some loanwords have partially or totally lost their original French meaning.

(1) *ruswa* (from *reçois*), “receive”, “take”

The word means bribe, tip, corruption. How come that a word, which originally meant “take”, “receive”, now means “bribe”? The Belgian employer, with insistence and exaggeration, used to thank his employee by giving him some tips, some rewards, saying *reçois*, “take”. Because the local employee could not perceive the correct pronunciation, he mispronounced the word /rəswa/ as /ruskwa/. Gradually, it meant any gift given to a good worker in recognition for an accomplished task, a rendered service. Today, the word has totally deviated from its original meaning. It even shifted from one part of speech (the verb *recevoir* in French, the donor language) and moved to another part of speech (*ruswa* as a noun in the recipient language).

(2) *mitingi* (from *meeting*), “meeting”

Originally the word is an English word which came into Kinyarwanda via French. It refers to political rallies or intrigues. It does not mean “meeting” with the idea of gathering to discuss important matters other than political. The plural is: *za mitingi*.

(3) *itagisi* (from *taxi*), “taxi”

The meaning has been extended to all transport vehicles carrying passengers. A hired car and minibus for passenger transport are referred to as *itagisi*.

(4) *gukopera* (from *copier*), “to copy”

The word means any type of cheating in an examination. It mainly implies the action of looking at another person’s question or answer sheet with the intent of cheating.

- (5) *ruwiri* (from *l'huile*), "oil"
 The meaning is restricted to some vegetable cooking oil, especially peanut, cotton, sunflower, and soyabean oil. For other types of oil (palm-oil, kerosene, gasoline, lotion), the word *amavuta*, "oil", is applied.
- (6) *umuderi* (from *modèle*), "model", "pattern"
 The word *umuderi* (plural, *imideri*) comes from *modèle*, "model". It means "fashion". It has been integrated by class 3/4.
- (7) *ifarini* (from *farine*), "flour"
 The word denotes wheat flour only used in baking. For other types of flour the word *ifu* is used. The meaning is restricted to flour for bakery because it is used for a particular purpose, that of making bread.
- (8) *isukari* (from *sucre*), "sugar"
 In many cases the word has kept its original meaning. However, it can denote any sugared stuff. Most of the time the word *isukari* is also referred to to denote diabetes.
- (9) *umupagani* (from Latin *paganus*), "heathen", "pagan"
 The Latin word *paganus* means "villager". Originally, most Christians lived in the city of Rome, although primarily composed of lower social class of slaves. They were quite different from the rural population which worshiped many gods/idols. Villagers were less cultured than urban Christians. The latter were baptised people and they were believed to be "good mannered" and "cultured" people. By extension, the word *paganus* meant "an idolater", "a non-baptised" or "non-converted" person to the Christian faith. In Rwanda, the word has often been used by Catholics and Protestants to designate any person who does not belong to any religion, especially Christianity. In a broader sense, it means "a sinful person", "a rude person".

Due to the strategic position English language has enjoyed in the world as an international language from the 20th century, Rwanda has felt the need of using English in various areas, especially in commerce, technology, and science. It has

been very compulsory to learn it by all cost in order to travel, study, and communicate with nationals of English speaking countries.

After the 1994 genocide, with the influx of returnees from exile in English speaking countries, the use of English became an urgent need, if not a must, in Rwanda. Currently, as asserted by Jenkins (2003:2), more than 24,000 Rwandans speak English²⁹. Rwanda is one of the territories where English is spoken as an “official (institutionalized) second language (L2) in the fields such as government, law and education”. English seems to be gaining more influence over French. The motivation of using a prestigious language like English is not proper to Rwanda only. The success of English has very often upset the French because their language is losing (internally and externally) the monopoly it used to enjoy in the past.

Trask (1994: 13) comments very plainly with a bit of sense of humour:

English has become the most prestigious language on earth, and speakers of Spanish, Italian, German, Japanese and even French (which was a more prestigious language than English for a long time) eagerly borrow English words and phrases into their own languages [...] This fondness for English words has particularly upset the linguistic conservatives in France, where the authorities are constantly making efforts to stamp out the use of English borrowings. At intervals, the French government issues lists of English words which people are forbidden to use, with matching lists of ‘genuine’ French words which they are supposed to use instead. Government employees, including teachers, are actually obliged to follow these guidelines, but, of course, most people in France ignore them and go on using any English words that take their fancy [...] It seems we are now paying back the French with interest for all the words we’ve borrowed from them over the years.

The high rate of the presence of English in Rwanda speaks of its strength. Actually, it is more prestigious to use English than French in everyday life: advertising, conference, telephone conversation, commerce, science, travel. The use of English in advertising (posters, hoardings, signs on commercial house buildings and offices, etc), media, conferences, music, transport, and education is overwhelming. On the other hand French usage in advertising, seminars, and offices has considerably decreased for the last decade. It even sounds old-fashioned to use French in some

²⁹ Source: Table A1.1. English-speaking territories Jenkins, J. 2003. World Englishes.

services. The importance of a language depends on the position of people who speak it in the international circle of influence. In Kigali City alone, one may find the following advertising notices displayed on various buildings, sometimes with a mixture of a bit of French and Kinyarwanda:

Alpha Palace Hotel

American Boys Saloon

Apostles Church

Castle Hotel

Centenary House

City Plaza House

Ebenezer Church Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International

Good Look Optical

Gorilla Hotel

Green Hills Academy

Intercontinental Hotel

Kigali Business Center

Kigali English Church

Kigali International Academy

Kigali Junior Academy

Kigali Parents School

Kivu Sun Hotel

La Bonne Adresse House

Lutheran World Foundation

MTN RwandaCell

New Texas Saloon

Omega House

Peace House Motel

Preprimary Foundation School

Prince House

Pyramid House

Restoration Church

Rugigana House

Rwanda Color

Rwanda Revenue Authority
Rwand Air Express
Sigma Coats Paints
Smart Saloon
Source du Nil Pure Drinking Water Tested Tasted Trusted
Sun City Hotel
Telecom House
The American English School
The Vogue Beauty Center Saloon
Tourist Information Services
Union Trade Center
Zion Temple

The increasing influence of English in Rwanda and in many other parts of the world makes people think that English is very likely to be a dominant language over other languages of the world for many years to come. With some reservations, Abdulla (2005:3, 10) supports this view when he points out that English is a global language:

While English has become the Latin of the contemporary world, such a position, one can say in the light of historical experience, has always been precarious. Whether English will be unanimously accepted as the one unifying international language of the globe, whether it will share this role with one or more other languages or whether an artificial language will be adopted for that purpose is the question that sooner or later we will all be facing [...] Still, one may well conclude, as a result of what has been discussed so far, and in spite of all the reservations expressed, that English is now *ipso facto* the uncontested international language. Without any prior agreement, or officially imposed policy, it has *practically* that status-in trade, science, tourism, and most importantly, in the educational system, through the world. The possibility of any other language, whether natural (Spanish) or Chinese or artificial (Esperanto) replacing it in the near future seems remote.

Although there has been an influx of loanwords in Kinyarwanda, in Rwanda, there has never been any public or official aggressiveness as to the 'contamination' of the mother language by elements of foreign words. Of course, the idea of language contamination has been put forward by Ngugi wa Thiong'o a few years after Kenya became independent. He thought that the influence of English over African

languages was a kind of mental colonization. Erling (2004: 38) points out that “some, like Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong’o, have gone so far as to advocate the expulsion of English in favour of local languages. Ngugi has only written in his native language, Gikuyu, as he considers English in Africa to be a ‘cultural bomb’ that erases memories of precolonial cultures and history.

Coulmas (1989:187) thinks that such an idea is just linguistic xenophobia:

Loanwords are perceived as contaminating the purity of the language, which in turn is regarded as a threat to cultural identity. Once such an ideal gains public recognition, a purification movement is born, and this is the other side of the coin of language civilization.

English loanwords have not undergone as many semantic changes as the French loanwords, at least for the present time. This may be explained by the fact that they are more recent than the French ones. However, the same changes (extension, deviation, and restriction) French loanwords have gone through can still be noticed in a few loanwords of English origin.

(1) *irifuti*, “lift”

The word simply means to give a ride to somebody, whether or not he hitchhikes. The word for “lift” (elevator) is *asanseri*. The verb “to lift” has not been adopted into Kinyarwanda yet.

(2) *umuboyi*, “houseboy”, “cook”

This word means a houseboy, a cook, an immature person (with a pejorative connotation). The original meaning has been distorted.

(3) *ikeke*, “cake”

The word *keke* is only restricted to the type of small round bread made of wheat flour, with some eggs and sugar. The wedding “cake” is usually referred to as *igato* (from the French word *gateau*, “cake”).

(4) *umusitari*, “star” (popular person, usually young person, or a rastaman)

This word forms a partial homonym with another word borrowed from Kiswahili, *umusitari* (from *mustari* in singular, *mistari* in plural), meaning

“geometrical line”. It has a pejorative connotation. *Umusitari* implies a young man involved in juvenile delinquency, who takes some drugs (hashish, heroine, cocaine, marijuana, tobacco, etc), and who likes reggae music.

- (5) *umukajoliti*, “casualty” (a demobilized handicapped war veteran)

The word *umukajoliti* is restricted to young war veterans, generally handicapped and demobilized (*demobe* in short), after the 1994 genocide. As a war veteran who served the nation during the war, *umukajoliti* is given special care and respected by the community in recognition for his military service. World War I and World War II veterans are called *sekombata* (French, *combattant*, “combatant”, “veteran”).

- (6) *ikanifu*, “knife”

The word is restricted only to the table “knife”. Any other type of “knife” is called *icyuma*. The word came into Kinyarwanda via Kiswahili.

- (7) *igori*, “goal”, “a score”

The word *igori* is used within the context of football match only. It refers to the “goal”.

- (8) *inote*, “bank note” (bank notes)

The word *inote* primarily refers to a bank note or bank notes. The meaning has been extended to money in general, especially “much money”.

In general the word *inoti* keeps its form in plural *inoti*. However, the word *inote* (plural *amanote*) refers to musical notes. *Inota* (plural *amanota*) refers to school/academic grades. The minimal pairs in complementary distribution make up the difference in the three loanwords:

inota

inote

inoti

(9) *isitimu*, “torch”

The word *isitimu* came into Kinyarwanda via Kiswahili (*sitimu*). It is restricted to a lamp torch. It has lost the original meaning of “steam ship”. It is used alongside the word *itoroshi* (from *torche*, French) as a doublet.

3.3.3.4 Independent formations through anecdotes

One of the major reasons a loanword may deviate from its original meaning, restricted, or extended is the role communication plays when people are conversing. It is well-known that communication is a two-edged sword. Perception and decoding do not always happen as expected. Poor communication from either side (speaker or listener) may cause the distortion, the misinterpretation of the message of the original meaning of the word.

With regard to the meaning of loanwords a knowledgeable reader may learn how, why, and when a given event took place. Here are a few historical facts on how some loanwords have changed their meaning due to poor communication and misinterpretation:

- (1) The loanword *mburamatatare* (*Boula Matari*, *Briseur des Roches*, “Rock Breaker”), shows the harsh conditions people who were involved in road construction during the colonial period went through.

The word *mburamatatare* comes from the infinitive *kurimbura* “to quarry”, and *amatatare*, “rocks”. The imperative form is: *rimbura amatatare*, “quarry the rocks”. By extension the word now means any colonial leader. The name was first given to Stanley in October 1789 when he was breaking the rocks in order to trace the road in the former DRC province of Stanleyville, currently Kisangani, any colonial master who supervised the indigenous people involved in the construction of the road was called *mburamatatare*. Finally, by extension any colonial administrator was referred to as *mburamatatare*.

- (2) In an area called Gitwe, in Central Rwanda, the nickname *Gitoke*, “Big Finger”, was given to Birkenstock, a missionary who lived in Rwanda in the 1960s. As his name was too difficult to pronounce, local residents forged their own pronunciation, simplified the name, and nicknamed him *Gitoke*, “Big Finger”. The sounds /gi/, /tok/, in the nickname are closer to /ke/, /tok in /bɛ:kenstok/ .
- (3) The word *goromisheri* (*C’est gros, mon cher!*, “It is big, my dear!”) refers to a variety of banana. It originated from a poor communication between a local villager and two white people shopping bananas at the market place.

In general, traditionally and culturally speaking Rwanda male adults were not used to eating ripe bananas. It was a practice proper to children and women. One day, a man took bananas to the market to sell them in order to get money to pay the government tax (colonial rule tax/tribute). Among those who were shopping, there were some white people. Suddenly, one of them found big yellow bananas. He showed them to his fellow telling him in French: *C’est gros, mon cher!*, “It is big, my dear!”. The local seller was listening very carefully to the conversation but he did not say anything. When he arrived home, he asked his family members, “Do you know what white people call this type of banana?”. “No, we do not know,” they replied. “It is called *goromisheli*”, replied the man. Since then, the name stuck. Probably, in the Rwandan seller’s mind, the banana was named after the French name *Michel* /miʃɛl/, the English for “Michael”, which interfered with his perception.

- (4) The word *umusoro*, “tax”, comes from the lingala word *mosoro* meaning “money”. Lingala is the official language of the army in DRC. During the Belgian colonial rule the army was composed of Congolese and Belgians. There were no Rwandan military by that time. The Congolese army used to serve in the Belgian colony (Congo-Léopoldville and Ruanda-Urunda). The military would ask the Rwandans if they had paid the money for the tax to the colonial government by using the word *mosoro*. Rwandans understood that *mosoro*, “money”, meant “tax”. The word *umusoro*, “tax”, has stuck to this very day.

- (5) The word *Kanyanza* was given by the first German settler, Kant, to a location in Kigali City after the name of the royal residence of Nyanza, in order to show that his small residence was as equally important as that of the monarch of Rwanda. *Ka-* is the nominal prefix of class 12 denoting diminutive.
- (6) The word *Mugandamure* comes from the name of a certain *Mugande Amri*, a Muslim settler from Uganda. Mr *Mugande Amri* was well-known because he lived near the main road of a trading centre called Nyanza (an ancient royal area). As Nyanza was getting more and more popular, vehicles used to stop near *Mugande's* house. Passengers could ask the driver to drop them at *Mugande Amri's* bus stop. In the long run, *Mugande Amri's* place became *Mugandamure*. Today that area is well-known as a Muslim trading centre.
- (7) The mispronunciation of /ə:/ is very common with Rwandan and East African communities. For example, Ugandan speakers with no pronunciation training perceive “first” as “fast”. Thus, the mispronunciation of /ə:/ has been transferred to Rwanda. The impact of the incorrect perception of the sound is not an easy thing, though. It can result in poor communication. Here is an illustration:

At one location called “40”, so named after the road traffic sign-post “40 km”, at Biryogo, Kigali (Rwanda), there used to be a clothe shop called “New Fast Class for You”. In 1994, the owner of the shop wrote this to advertise his clothing items. He simply intended to write “New First Class for You”, but because the shopowner or the person who wrote the advertisement on his behalf mispronounces the word “first” as /fɑ:st/, he wrote “New Fast Class for You”. Fortunately, he has already removed the word “Fast” and wrote “First”. Thus, today the advertisement reads “New First Class for You”. Hopefully, someone told him/her it was a mistake of pronunciation.

3.4 CONCLUSION

Kinyarwanda has extensively borrowed words from French and English. This is an ongoing process. For the last two decades, Kinyarwanda has been borrowing more words from English than French, due to the current sociolinguistic and political status of English. For example, one may find or hear newly formed verbs such as *guporomotinga* (to promote), *kuyimelinda* (to email), *gukanselinda* (to cancel), *gukonsiderinda* (to consider), *kumacinda* (to match), *gusayinda* (to sign), *kurezayinda* (to resign), just to mention a few cases. In the long run, these words will be integrated loanwords.

Loanword adaptation very often goes with the alteration with the original form and meaning of the foreign word. It is very common to find or hear some Rwandan pupils learning English making some misspelling and mispronunciation mistakes, for example, *gala* for “girl”, *blacka* for “black”, *banka* for “bank”, *faste* for “first”, *pasone* for “person”, *bade* for “bird”, *bowel* for “bowl”, *sipune* for “spoon”, *ara* “ for “R”/ a:/”, *elo*, for “L” /e/.

In view of the above examples, a loanword informs the reader about the background of the people who exported the word and the ones who imported it, the time, and the circumstances of the borrowing. It unveils the lack of some linguistic realities in the borrowing language on one hand, the heritage and the sociolinguistic support from the lending language on the other.

CHAPTER 4

THE COMPLEXITY OF LOANWORDS FROM DECEPTIVE COGNATES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

French and English cognates in a bilingual setting constitute a big challenge in the non-native speaker's everyday¹ language use, especially when both languages are secondary official languages.

In a learning environment or daily conversation, care should be taken to avoid being trapped in the snare of deceptive cognates or false friends. These are words that are morphologically similar in both languages but have a different meaning. False friends may totally or partially have the same form (homonyms) but with a different meaning. They very often mislead the learners.

According to Pateau (1998:7), deceptive cognates are usually words whose etymology is the same, but which have undergone, from a common form, generally from vulgar Latin, a different semantic development for each language. Thus, the Latin word *decipere*, "deceive", gave deceive/deception in English and *décevoir/déception* in French. The primary meaning has been preserved in English, but weakened in French, in such a way that today these two words whose form is similar or identical in both languages denote in each language strong differences of realities.

Doublets are frequently attested in language contact whereby two words (two loanwords or one loanword and a native word) are alternatively used to express the same reality. In most cases, the foreign word is preferred to the native one because of prestige.

Lyovin (1997: 4) comments that

massive borrowings usually leave some clues that they have occurred. For example, very often languages that have borrowed extensively from other languages, including basic vocabulary items, will have many doublets: two ways of referring to the same thing, one borrowed and one native.

Kiswahili donated some words to Kinyarwanda. Some of them make up doublets with native words or with French and English loanwords, e.g., *ingwa/icaki*, “chalk”; *inyundo/ihama*, “hammer”; *indobo/imbegeti*, “bucket”. Kiswahili loanwords are used alongside loanwords from other sources.

As for Zawawi (1979:140) the observation he is making for non-Bantu words into Kiswahili applies as well to Kinyarwanda. He remarks that

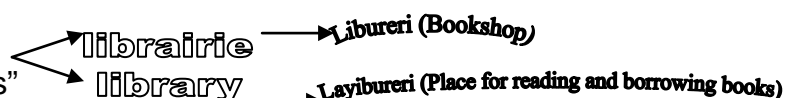
non-Bantu words had to be modified to fit into the existing Swahili morphological system. Besides their undergoing some phonological changes, these words acquire Bantu nominal indicators, take appropriate pronominal and locative indicators, and follow the Bantu system of concordial agreement.

French and English pairs of words having a common origin, whereby the homonym suggests the synonym, are hardly mastered in learning and teaching vocabulary.

When L1 has naturalized or adapted some of the deceptive cognates, the hindrance of learning is even greater. Let us consider two examples of deceptive cognates in French and English, from which Kinyarwanda borrowed two loanwords, *libureri*, “bookshop”, and *odiyanse*, “appointment”. In order to show the complexity of loanwords from deceptive cognates in a bilingual environment of two communities from two sociolinguistic backgrounds, French and English, we can illustrate the situation as follows:

Example 1:

librarium, “place to keep books”

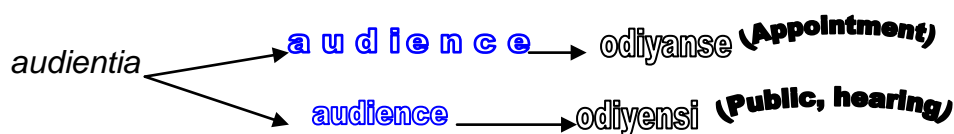


Latin, Donor Language 1 (DL1), lent two words to two recipient languages: French, Recipient Language 1 (RL1), and English, Recipient Language 2 (RL2). Kinyarwanda, Recipient Language 3 (RL3), borrowed two words from French and English, *libureri* and *layibureri*, two more new deceptive cognates added to the existing ones (library and *librairie*).

The French word *librairie*, “bookshop” and the English word “library” for *bibliothèque* French developed from the Latin word *librarium*, “place to keep books” (bookcase). When a Rwandan from a French speaking background uses the loanword *libureri*, he means “bookshop”, while a Rwandan from an English speaking background uses the loanword *layibureri*, he means “a place where books are kept and may be read, and borrowed”. The problem increases when both speakers are talking to each other. There arises a misunderstanding, a quid pro quo. The pronunciation of the loanword depends on the perception of either French or English source word.

The Latin word *librarium*, “place for books”, on one hand, donated the French word *librairie*, which lent to Kinyarwanda *libureri*, “bookshop”. On the other hand, for Rwandans who grew up in an English speaking country, English lent to Kinyarwanda the word *layibureri*, “library”, a place where books are kept and where they can be borrowed or looked at.

Example 2:



Latin, Donor Language 1 (DL1), lent two words to two recipient languages: French, Recipient Language 1 (RL1), and English, Recipient Language 2 (RL2). Kinyarwanda, Recipient Language 3 (RL3), received two words from French and English, *odiyanse* and *odiyensi*, two more deceptive cognates added to the existing ones (audience and audience).

The loanword *odiyanse* comes from the French word *audience*, “appointment”. The spelling of *odiyanse* follows the French pronunciation of the word *audience* /odjãs/.

The loanword *odiyense* comes from the English word “audience” (public, hearing). The spelling of *odiyense* follows the English pronunciation of the word audience /'ɔ:diəns/.

The phenomenon of deceptive cognates is not limited to French and English only, but also to other languages. For example, a Rwandan who does not know some Kirundi may be misunderstood by a Burundian if he asks him to make him cross the lake in a canoe. In Kinyarwanda, the word *guturira*, “to make someone cross the lake in a canoe”, means “to burn something or somebody” in Kirundi. The phenomenon of deceptive cognates is very common with languages of the same origin. There are false friends between interlacustrine languages, for example, Kinyarwanda-Kiganda, Kinyarwanda-Gihavu, Kinyarwanda-Kinande.

Moreover, there may be mere formal coincidence or accidental homonyms with French and English cognates, for example, *pain*, “bread” is an accidental homonym for “pain”; *chat*, “cat”, for “chat”; *pin*, “pine”, for “pin”; *habit* for “habit”. These are mere homographs.

Currently, Rwanda is officially a trilingual country. Due to historical events which have marked for nearly three decades, there are three official languages: Kinyarwanda, French, and English. Therefore, some loanwords have resulted from this sociolinguistic situation. This chapter will just deal with some deceptive cognates with ambiguous interpretation. In most cases, the French meaning seems to be predominant. The most striking example of ambiguity is within the area of education. Why does French gain over English in this area? The explanation may be found in the sociolinguistic background of French in Rwanda.

In Rwanda mastering deceptive cognates is not an easy task. Both beginners and advanced learners alike face a serious problem while learning English. An understanding of deceptive cognates, false friends or “look-alikes”, will enable the learner to express his ideas correctly and communicate more fluently.

French and English false friends have caught our attention because of their complex usage. Kinyarwanda borrowed foreign elements from French and English, including

deceptive cognates, which are very often an obstacle to the understanding of the meaning, the pronunciation of a word, and the spelling. In fact, they present a tricky similarity. In a situation where most English learners have already acquired French as L2 (English being L3), the use of the right word in either French or English requires the language learner to be more careful. The tendency is to consider the meaning and the pronunciation of an English word as that of a French word, especially when both words have the same spelling.

The presence of a high rate of French loanwords finds its origin in the colonial period. However, today the English influence is growing rapidly. Of course, some English loanwords came into Kinyarwanda (very often via Kiswahili) by the same time French was being introduced. Today deceptive loanwords present conflicting meaning and pronunciation for Rwandan bilinguals. In French and English there are half deceptive cognates and full deceptive cognates. For half deceptive cognates, the primary meaning or the secondary meaning of a given word may be deceptive, while the other has the same meaning in either language.

Examples:

Licence d'exportation versus export licence means the same thing (export permit) But the English word "licence" meaning "permit", and *licence*, "university degree", are deceptive cognates. However, the word *licence* in French and "licence" in English are half deceptive cognates. The reason why one has to always consider the context before deciding whether words are full deceptive cognates. Other half deceptive cognates are *audience* versus audience; *agenda* versus agenda; *auditeur* versus auditor; *demonstration* versus demonstration; *formation* versus formation; *traffic* versus traffic.

Librairie versus library are full deceptive cognates. The two words totally mean different things in both languages. Other full deceptive cognates may be: *ballot* versus ballot; *delai* versus delay; *lecture* versus lecture.

4.2 LOANWORDS FROM DECEPTIVE COGNATES IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH

Although the list of deceptive cognates below is not exhaustive, the examples are intended to show the complexity of the cognates in communication. The meaning for each deceptive cognate mostly takes into account how the Rwandan French speaker understands them when he is using both cognates. In some cases, the meaning of the word in the Rwandan English speaker's understanding is given. Most deceptive cognates were selected from a bilingual French-English dictionary. Some false friends in the list of French and English deceptive have been indebted from Pateau (1998). Only those cognates having Kinyarwanda correspondence are alphabetically listed below:

French	English	Kinyarwanda	English Gloss
<i>agenda</i>	agenda	<i>ajenda</i>	date book, diary
<i>assistant</i>	assistant	<i>umwasisita</i>	medical attendant
<i>assurance</i>	assurance	<i>asiranse</i>	insurance
<i>audience</i>	audience	<i>odiyanse</i>	appointment
<i>auditeur</i>	auditor	<i>oditeri</i>	auditor, listener
<i>avertissement</i>	advertisement	<i>averitisoma</i>	warning
<i>bachelier</i>	bachelor	<i>umubasholiye</i>	BA holder
<i>ballot</i>	ballot	<i>balo</i>	bundle
<i>bénéfice</i>	benefit	<i>benefise</i>	profit
<i>candidature</i>	candidature	<i>kandidatire</i>	applicant
<i>caractère</i>	character	<i>karagiteri</i>	moral character
<i>certificat</i>	certificate	<i>seritifika</i>	certificate
<i>chimiste</i>	chemist	<i>umushimisite</i>	specialised in chemistry
<i>cinéma</i>	cinema	<i>isinema</i>	film
<i>collège</i>	college	<i>ikoleji</i>	high school
<i>compas</i>	compass	<i>ikompa</i>	compasses
<i>compteur</i>	counter	<i>conteri</i>	meter
<i>congregation</i>	congregation	<i>kongeregasiyo</i>	religious catholic body
<i>déception</i>	deception	<i>desebusiyo</i>	disappointment
<i>degré</i>	degree	<i>dogere</i>	temperature
<i>delai</i>	delay	<i>dole</i>	deadline

<i>demande</i>	demand	<i>demande</i>	application
<i>démonstration</i>	demonstration	<i>demonsitarasiyo</i>	presentation
<i>député</i>	deputy	<i>umudepite</i>	MP
<i>devise</i>	device	<i>amadovise</i>	currency
<i>diplôme</i>	diploma	<i>diporome</i>	degree, certificate
<i>expérience</i>	experiment	<i>egisiperiyanse</i>	experience
<i>formation</i>	formation	<i>forumasiyo</i>	training
<i>fourniture</i>	furniture	<i>furunitire</i>	supplies
<i>information</i>	information	<i>enforumasiyo</i>	news
<i>lecture</i>	lecture	<i>legitire</i>	reading
<i>librairie</i>	library	<i>libureri</i>	bookshop
<i>licence</i>	licence	<i>lisansi</i>	4-5 yr university degree
<i>mètre</i>	meter	<i>imetero</i>	metre
<i>note</i>	note	<i>inote</i>	banknote
<i>occasion</i>	occasion	<i>okaziyo</i>	opportunity
<i>physicien</i>	physician	<i>umufiziye</i>	physicist
<i>police</i>	policy	<i>polisi</i>	police
<i>politique</i>	policy, politics	<i>politike</i>	politics, policy
<i>professeur</i>	professor	<i>umuprofeseri</i>	teacher
<i>publicité</i>	publicity	<i>pubulisite</i>	advertising
<i>rendez-vous</i>	rendez-vous	<i>randevu</i>	appointment
<i>sensible</i>	sensible	<i>sansibule</i>	sensitive
<i>sentence</i>	sentence	<i>isentenso</i>	sentence
<i>stage</i>	stage	<i>sitaje</i>	training course
<i>tape</i>	tape	<i>tape</i>	knock
<i>théâtre</i>	theatre	<i>teyatero</i>	play
<i>voyage</i>	voyage	<i>wwayaje</i>	travel

4.3 CONTEXTUALISATION

(1) agenda versus agenda

agenda (French): date book, diary

agenda (English): list of subjects to be considered at a meeting

ajenda (Kinyarwanda): date book, diary, or subjects to be considered at a meeting (depending on the speaker's background).

*Son **agenda** est plein d'adresses téléphoniques.*

His **diary** is full of phone addresses.

*Paul n'est pas arrivé au cours car il avait un **programme** très surchargé.*

Paul could not attend the class because he had a busy **agenda**.

The use of the deceptive loanword needs close attention:

*Yaguze **ajenda** itukura:* He has bought a red **date book**.

The loanword *ajenda* is closer to the French meaning. A Rwandan from an English speaking community background is very likely to misunderstand the meaning, because he is used to the English "agenda" meaning a list of subjects to be considered at a meeting.

(2) assistance versus assistance

assistance (French) : attendance, assistance

assistance (English) : help, aid, support

Umwasisita (Kinyarwanda): doctor-attendant, lecturer-attendant

*L'**assistance** (or *présence*) au cours est obligatoire.*

Attendance at lectures is compulsory.

Pierre a assisté à cette conférence plus de deux fois.

Peter attended this lecture more than two times.

Ariga *ishuri ry'abasisita*.

He is studying nursery or He is attending a **nursery school**.

The loanword *umusisita* (plural: *abasisita*) means doctor-attendant, nurse.

There is not much difference in meaning in both French and English.

(3) assurance versus assurance

assurance (French) : certainty, garantie, insurance

assurance (AmE) : trustworthy statement, promise, (BrE insurance)

asuranse (Kinyarwanda) : insurance

*Je te conseille de prendre une **assurance** contre le vol.*

I advise you to take out an **insurance** policy against theft/burglary.

*Nous tous avons une ferme **assurance** que le pays sera un jour prospère.*

We all have firm **assurance** that one day the country will be prosperous.

*Yishyize muri **asuranse** kugira ngo arihirwe minerivari y'abana.*

He has been covered with education **insurance** to get support for his children's school fees.

(4) audience versus audience

audience (French) : court hearing, appointment

audience (English) : people listening to or watching a performance, speech. TV show, formal meeting, or attending a hearing.

Odiyanse (Kinyarwanda): appointment, court hearing

*L'**audience** de vendredi passé était houleux.*

Last Friday's **hearing** was overcrowded.

*Le **public** était déçu car le spectacle était trop court.*

The **audience** was disappointed because the show was too short.

Unsabire **odiyanse** kwa muganga.

Please, request an **appointment** with the doctor on my behalf.

The loanword *odiyanse*, “audience”, is more related to the French meaning of the word *audience* than to the English “audience”. For a bilingual speaker of Kinyarwanda and French, the loanword is restricted to the idea of appointment with an official of both public and private sector, a medical doctor, or hearing in a judiciary court.

(5) auditeur versus auditor

The French word *auditeur* may mean “auditor” or “listener”. It is this second meaning which makes up a false friend with the English “auditor”.

auditeur (French): listener, attendant

auditor: (English): officer responsible for verification of accounts

oditeri (Kinyarwanda): attendant, auditor

*Notre université accepte des étudiants **auditeurs-libres**. Cependant, ils n’ont ni droit aux crédits ni documents académiques, tels que les relevés des notes et l’attestation de fréquentation.*

Our university accepts free **attendant students**. However, they are neither entitled to any credits nor academic documents, such as grade transcripts and attendance certificate.

*Yohani asigaye yiga nk’**umuwoditeri libure**.*

John is now studying as an auditee student.

(6) avertissement versus advertisement

avertissement (French) : warning

advertisement (English) : announcement, notice for something for sale

averitisoma (Kinyarwanda): warning

*Il est regrettable que beaucoup de gens n'écourent pas les **avertissements**.*

It is a pity that many people do not listen to the **warnings**.

*Le matin, les gens se précipitent aux kiosques pour trouver des **annonces publicitaires** sur l'emploi.*

In the morning, people rush to the stands to read **advertisements** on job offers.

*Yahawe **averitisona** iheruka ku kazi kubera imyitwarire ye mibi.*

He has received the last **warning** from his employer because of his misconduct.

(7) bachelier versus bachelor

bachelier (French): who has completed the baccalaureate, A level holder, or a two or three year university degree holder (in some French-speaking countries)

bachelor (English): unmarried man

Bachelor of Arts (English): a first university degree holder

Basholiye (Kinyarwanda): a 2-3 year university holder)

*Nous acceptons uniquement les **bacheliers** au poste de comptable.*

Only people with the **baccalaureate** are eligible for the post of accountant.

*J'ai deux frères; l'un est déjà marié, l'autre un **célibataire** endurci.*

I have two brothers; one is already married, the other is a confirmed **bachelor** (single).

*Nous avons engagé beaucoup de **licenciés** ès lettres. Nous avons maintenant besoin de gens qui ont le doctorat.*

We have hired many teachers with a **Bachelor** of Arts (BA). From now on we will only employ people with a PhD.

*Ntabwo mu iyi minsi **ababasholiye** bakibona akazi vuba.*

People holding 2-3-year University degree hardly get a job quickly nowadays.

(8) **bagage** versus **baggage**

bagage (French) : piece of luggage, load, background

baggage (BrE), **luggage** (AmE): all the bags and other containers a person travels with

bagaje (Kinyarwanda): **baggage**, **luggage**

*Tes **bagages** pèsent trop. Tu dois payer l'excédent.*

Your **luggage** is too heavy. You have to pay for the extra weight.

*Il n'a pas assez de **bagage** scientifique pour faire sa maîtrise.*

He hasn't got enough scientific **background** to do his Masters.

***Bagaje** ye yatakaye ku kibuga cy'indege.*

His **luggage** was lost at the airport.

(9) **ballot** versus **ballot**

ballot (French): bundle

ballot (English): vote bulletin

ibaro (Kinyarwanda): bundle

*Le **ballot** contenant des vêtements usés, coûte moins cher.* (A second hand clothe **bundle** is not expensive).

*Au moment du comptage des **bulletins de vote**, les observateurs des élections ont remarqué qu'il y avait une fraude massive aux élections présidentielles.* (As the **ballots** were being counted, the election observation team noticed that there was serious rigging during the presidential elections).

*Amaze guhambura **baro** ya cumi y'imyenda, yasanzemo amafaranga menshi.*
(On opening the tenth **bundle** of clothes, he found much money inside).

(10) *bénéfice* versus *benefit*

bénéfice (French) : profit

benefit (English) : advantage, allowance, good effect, profit

benefise (Kinyarwanda): profit

*Il réalise des **bénéfices** considérables avec l'internet-café.* (Thanks to the internet-café considerable **profits** are yielded).

*Son pays paie des **allocations** de chômage.* (His country pays unemployment **benefits**)

*Nta **benefise** ishimishe akibona kubera igiciro cy'ikawa cyamanutse.*

He no longer gets considerable profits because the price of coffee has gone down.

(11) *candidature* versus *candidature*, *candidat* versus *candidate*

candidature (French): application for employment, position

candidature (AmE): candidacy, the state of being a candidate

candidat (French): applicant for employment, position, examination

candidate (English): a person taking an examination, who wants to be chosen for a position, especially in an election

umukandida (Kinyarwanda): a person who wants to be chosen for a position.

*Le jury a rejeté sa **candidature** au poste de directeur général.*

The Jury has rejected his **application** for the post of Director General.

*Combien de **candidats** se sont présentés à ce concours d'admission?*

How many **applicants** were there at the entrance examination?

Umukandida w'ishyaka ryabo yatsinzwe.

The **candidate** from their political party has failed.

(12) caractère versus character

caractère (French): behaviour

character (English): moral nature, able to play an unusual part in a play

karagiteri (Kinyarwanda): behaviour

*Ta soeur a un **caractère** irréprochable.*

Your sister has an irreproachable **character**.

*Le **personnage** principal dans *Animal Farm* de George Orwell est un cochon appelé Napoléon.* (The major **character** in *Animal Farm* by George Orwell is a pig called Napoleon).

Afite **karagiteri** iruhije. (He has a bad **behaviour**).

(13) certificat versus certificate

certificat (French): certificate, card

certificate (English): an official sheet of paper (document) on which is written or printed a statement

seritifika (Kinyarwanda): certificate

*Il ne peut pas voyager parce qu'il a perdu son **certificat** de vaccination.* (He cannot travel because he has lost his vaccination **certificate**/card).

*Regarde mon **attestation** de naissance; je suis né à la fête de Noël.* (Look at my birth **certificate**; I was born on Christmas).

*Yohana yahawe **dipolome** y'amashuri yisumbuye.* (John has just been awarded a secondary school **certificate**).

(14) chimiste versus chemist

chimiste (French): scientist who specializes in chemistry

chemist (English): scientist who specializes in chemistry, pharmacist, drug seller

umushimisite (Kinyarwanda): chemist (specialized in chemistry)

*L'erreur commise par le **pharmacien** a causé la mort de plusieurs malades.*
(The **chemist's** error caused the death of several patients).

*Il est devenu **ingénieur chimiste** après 5 ans d'études universitaires en chimie.* (He became a **chemical engineer** on completion of 5 years of university studies in chemistry).

***Umushimisite** abona akazi bitamuruhuje.* (A **chemical engineer** gets a job more easily).

(15) collège versus college

collège (French): high school

college (English): within university, school

ikoleji (Kinyarwanda): high school

*Grâce aux meilleurs résultats obtenus au **collège**, il a eu une bourse d'études pour continuer ses études à l'étranger.* (Thanks to his outstanding results from **high school**, he got a scholarship to pursue his studies abroad).

L'université qu'il fréquente n'offre que le programme du 1er cycle. (The college he is attending only offers a first degree programme).

*Yize amashuri ye yisumbuye muri **koleji** y'abihayimana ba bajezuwite.* (He did his secondary studies in a Jesuits' **high school**).

(16) compas versus compass

compas (French): a pair of compasses

compass (English): a device for indicating a geographical direction (e.g. North)

ikompa (Kinyarwanda): a pair of compasses

*Alfred ne sait pas tracer le cercle avec un **compas**.* (Alfred does not know how to draw a circle with **compasses**.)

*Les navigateurs utilisent très souvent la **boussole** pour connaître le nord.*
(Salors very often use a **compass** to identify the north.)

*Unzanire **ikompa** yanjye nce kugirango nshushanye imfuruka.* (Bring me my **compasses** so that I can draw an angle.)

(17) compteur versus counter

compteur (French): meter

counter (English): desk, office

konteri (Kinyarwanda): meter

(18) congrégation versus congregation

congrégation (French): religious association, corporation, religious order, body

congregation (English): a group of people gathered together

kongeregasiyo (Kinyarwanda) : religious order

*Paul a rejoint la **congrégation** des Pères Barnabites à Milan.* (Paul has joined the religious **order** of Barnabites Fathers in Milan).

*Le prêtre vient de dire au revoir à l'**assemblée**.* (The priest has just dismissed the **congregation**.)

*Karoli yinjiye muri **kongeregasiyo** y'abihayimana ba Bafuratiri ba Bamirisite umwaka ushize.* (Charles entered the religious order of Marist Brothers last year).

(19) *décevoir* versus deceive

décevoir (French) : disappoint

deceive (English) : to cause to accept as true or good what is false or bad

kudeseva (Kinyarwanda): to disappoint

*Son comportement m'a fort **déçu**.*

His attitude **disappointed** me a lot.

*Le diable les **trompe** très souvent, mais ils ne s'en rendent pas compte.* (The devil very often **deceives** them, but they are not aware).

*Umukunzi we **yaramudesevye**.* (His/her beloved one **has disappointed** him/her).

(20) *degré* versus degree

degré (French) : grade, degree

degree (English) : a step or stage in a set of steps or stages rising in order from lowest to highest

dogere: grade, degree

Grâce à sa performance, il a atteint le plus haut degré dans sa carrière. (Thanks to his performance, he has reached the highest grade in his career).

Pierre a obtenu son diplôme universitaire en 1982. (Peter got his university degree in 1982).

*Ubushyuhe bugeze muri **dogere** 25.* (The temperature has risen up to 25 degrees).

Yohana afite **impamyabumenyi ikirenga y'icyiciro cya gatatu cya kaminuza** mu mateka ya vuba y'isi. (John holds a PhD degree in Contemporary History).

(21) délai versus delay

délai (French): deadline

delay (English): the act of putting off until later

dele (Kinyarwanda): deadline

L'étudiant a bel et bien envoyé sa demande avant le délai du dépôt des candidatures. (The student sent his application before the deadline).

Le retard dans la remise du rapport lui a causé un échec profond. (The delay in handing out the report led to his absolute failure).

Umukoresha we yamuhaye dele y'iminsi itatu. (His employer has given him a deadline of three days).

(22) délivrer versus deliver

délivrer (French) : to free, to hand out, to issue

deliver (English): to help in giving birth, to set free, to hand over

kudelivura (Kinyarwanda): to hand out, to issue

Pilate, le gouverneur romain, a délivré Barabas, le criminel, et livré Jésus aux mains de principaux sacrificateurs pour être crucifié. (Pilate **freed** Barabas, the gangster, and **handed out** Jesus to the high priests to be crucified).

Le Direction d'Immigration et d'Emigration délivre les passeports du lundi au vendredi dans la matinée. (The Immigration Office **issues** passports from Monday to Friday in the morning).

*Ce dernier temps notre poste a commencé à **distribuer** le courrier dans le quartier.* (Our post office has started to **deliver** mail in this area).

*L'imprimerie **livre** à domicile.* (The printing house **delivers** home).

*Je dois féliciter mon épouse qui **a mis au monde** un garçon, mon premier né.*
(I have to congratulate my wife who **has delivered** a male child, my first-born).

*Mu biro bishinzwe abimuka n'abasohoka mu gihugu **badelivura** pasiporo buri munsu mugitondo ureste muri wikende.* (The Immigration Office **issues** passports every day in the morning except on weekends).

(23) démonstration versus demonstration

démonstration (French): show, exhibition

demonstration (English): protest, a public show of strong feeling or opinion

demositarasiyo (Kinyarwanda): show

*Des jeunes acrobates feront une **démonstration** au stade.* (Young acrobats will have an **exhibition** at the stadium).

*Les musulmans radicalistes ont organisé une **manifestation** pour protester contre le frappe militaire en Irak.* (Islamic fundamentalists have organized a **demonstration** to protest against the military strike on Iraq).

*Abakozi bakora muri laboratware baradukorera **demositarasiyo** y'ukuntu amazi avamo umwuka.* (Laboratory workers will **show** us how water evaporates).

(24) député versus deputy

député (French) : member of parliament

deputy (English) : a person who has the power to act for another

umudepite (Kinyarwanda): member of parliament

*Il a été élu **député** aux élections précédentes.* (He became **Member of Parliament /Representative** (US) during the last elections).

*Mon **remplaçant** n'assume plus les fonctions de directeur général.* (My **deputy** no longer occupies the post of a Managing Director.)

***Umudepite** wo mw'ishyaka rye yadusuye.* (The **Member of Parliament** from his political party has visited us.)

(25) diplôme versus diploma

diplôme (French): degree, certificate

diploma (English): an official paper showing that a person has successfully finished a course or passed an examination

dipolome (Kinyarwanda): degree, certificate

*Il a obtenu son **diplôme de licence** en histoire à l'Université d'Anvers.* (He got his **BA degree** in History from the University of Antwerp.)

*A la fin de 10 mois de formation en informatique de gestion, il lui a été décerné un **certificat** de réussite.* (He was awarded a **diploma** on completion of a ten-year course in information management.)

*Yabonye **dipolome** ya license nyuma y'imyaka ine y'amashuri ya kaminuza.* (He got his BA degree on completion of 4 years of university studies.)

(26) distraction versus distraction

distraction (French) : entertainment, absent-mindedness

distraction (English): the act of taking a person's mind off something

disitaragisiyo (Kinyarwanda): entertainment

*Quelle est ta **distraction** favorite? La natation.* (What is your favorite **distraction**? Swimming.)

Sa **distraction** lui fait oublier même sa carte d'identité. (Because of his **absent-mindedness**, he even forgets his identity card.)

Ukwiriye kwigira **ahantu hatari disitaragisiyo**. (You should study in a **quiet location**.)

(27) effectif versus effective

effectif (French) : in force, definite, strength

effective (English): producing the desired result (efficace in French)

efegitife (Kinyarwanda): in force, number

*Zadig, personnage principal dans l'oeuvre de Voltaire, Zadig, a révélé au roi Nabussan une méthode **efficace** de trouver un trésorier honnête.* (Zadig, a major character in Voltaire's work, *Zadig*, revealed to King Nabussan an **effective** method of finding an honest treasurer.)

*La loi sera **effective** dès le 1er janvier 2007.* (The law will be **effective** from January 1, 2007.)

*Kugeza ubu nta bwo twaritwamenya **efegitife** nyayo y'abanyeshuri biga mu iki kigo.* (Up to now, we do not know yet the exact number of students from this school.)

(28) engin versus engine

engin (French) : machine, device, instrument, appliance

engine (English): a piece of machinery with moving parts which changes power into movement

anje (Kinyarwanda): machine, device

*Cet **engin** utilise du gaz méthane.* (This **device/instrument/machine** uses methane gas.)

Le **moteur** de la voiture fait un bruit étrange. (The **engine** of the car is making a strange noise.)

Umukanishi yashyize amavuta muri **anje** ijya mu kirere. (The mechanic has put oil in the **spacecraft**.)

(29) excitant versus exciting

excitant (French) : provocative, stimulant

exciting (English) : interesting, pleasant

egisita (Kinyarwanda) : stimulant

Le gouvernement a interdit l'usage des boissons **excitantes**. (The government has banned the use of **stimulant** beverages.)

Sa victoire au marathon est **formidable**. Il ne s'y attendait pas. (His victory in the racing is **exciting**. He did not expect he could win.)

Je voudrais te raconter l'histoire **la plus passionnante** que j'aie jamais lue. (I would like to tell you **the most exciting** story I have ever read.)

Abantu bakwiriye kwirinda ibinyobwa **byegisita**. (People should avoid **stimulant** drinks.)

(30) experience versus experience

expérience (French): experience, experiment

experience (English): knowledge, event

egisiperiyanse (Kinyarwanda) : experience, experiment

Le professeur de chimie a fait une longue **expérience** au laboratoire. (The teacher of chemistry has performed a long experiment in the laboratory.)

Yakoze **egisiperiyanse** nziza kugirango yerekane uko bakora isukari. (He did a good **experiment** to show how sugar is processed.)

(31) formation versus formation

formation (French): training, formation

formation (English): composition

forumasiyo (Kinyarwanda): training, composition

La **formation** en informatique est un besoin pressant. (**Training** in computer science is an urgent need.)

La **formation** de l'équipe du basketball a quelques faiblesses. (The **formation** of the basketball team has some weaknesses.)

Forumasiyo y'abapolisi izabera mu nzu y'inama ejo. (The **training** programme for the police will take place in the meeting room tomorrow.)

(32) fourniture versus furniture

fourniture (French): supplies

furniture (English): house equipment

furunitire (Kinyarwanda):supplies

La **fourniture** en bois connaît des moments difficiles de nos jours. (Wood **supply** is at its most strenuous moment these days.)

Les **meubles** de sa maison sont très chers. (His house **furniture** is very expensive.)

Ndagusaba ko wampa **furunitire** y'ibikoresho byo mu biro mu minsi ya vuba. (I would like to ask you to send me office **supplies** in the near future.)

(33) informations versus information

informations (French) : news, bulletin

information (English) : facts

enforumasiyo (Kinyarwanda) : facts, news

*Les **informations** en français nous sont parvenues tardivement.* (**News** in French came to us too late.)

*Les **renseignements** fournis n'étaient pas du tout corrects.* (The **information** provided was not accurate at all.)

***Enforumasiyo** yatanze zatugiriye akamaro mu kazi.* (The **information** he gave was very useful for the work.)

(34) lecture versus lecture

lecture (French) : reading

lecture (English) : a speech spoken or read before a group of people, as a method of teaching at universities

legitire (Kinyarwanda): reading

*Ce professeur enseigne bien la **lecture** cursive en anglais.* (This teacher conducts a cursory **reading** class well in English.)

*Certaines personnes n'étaient pas présentes à la **conférence** sur le livre de George Orwell: *La ferme des animaux*.* (Some people did not attend the **lecture** on George Orwell's novel, *Animal Farm*.)

*Wasanze bamaze gukora **legitire** y'amazina.* (They have just **read** the names.)

(35) library versus librairie

librairie (French) : bookshop

library (English) : a building or part of a building that contains books that may be read or borrowed, a collection of books.

Libureri (for a Kinyarwanda bilingual speaker of French background): bookshop

Layibureri (for a Kinyarwanda bilingual speaker of English background): a place for reading and borrowing books

*Cette **librairie** vend des livres à un prix très exorbitant.* (This **bookshop** sells books at a very high price.)

*La **bibliothèque** nationale a été sérieusement pillée pendant la guerre.* (The national **library** was seriously looted during the war.)

*Ngiye gusomera muri **bibiliyoteke*** (for a Rwandan French speaker).

*Ngiye gusomera muri **layibureri*** (I am going to read in the **library**.)

(for a Rwandan English speaker).

***Libureri** Caritas irahenda* (Caritas **bookshop** is expensive.) (for a Rwandan French speaker).

*Yagiye gusoma muri **layibureri*** (He has gone to read books in the **library**.)

(for a Rwandan English speaker).

(36) licence versus licence

licence (French) : 4/5-year university degree in French speaking countries

licence (English) : official paper, card, showing that a permission was given to do something, authorisation.

Lisanse (Kinyarwanda): 4/5-year university degree, fuel, permit

*Il a un diplôme de **licence** en droit.* (He has a **Bachelor** degree in law.)

*Le chauffeur a été sérieusement puni parce qu'il conduisait sans **permis de conduire**.* (The driver was heavily punished because he was driving without a **driving license**.)

*Afite **lisanse** mu ndimi* (He holds a **Bachelor degree** in languages.) (for a Rwandan French speaker).

*Afite **layisense** yo kuroba amafi manini mu cyiyaga* (for a Rwandan English speaker). (He has a **fishing permit** to fish big fish in the lake.)

37 note versus note

note (French) : grade, note

note (English) : short word message, bank note

inota/inote (Kinyarwanda): grade/bank note, musical note

*L'étudiant a été chassé de l'école parce qu'il a eu une **note** inférieure à 10/20.*
(The student was expelled from school because he got a **grade** below 10/20.)

*Le **billet** de banque de mille francs de 1998 n'aura plus cours légal l'année prochaine.* (The 1998 one thousand francs bank **note** will no longer be in use next year.)

*Afite **amanota** meza mu mibare.* (He has good **grades** in Maths.)

(38) occasion versus occasion

occasion (French) : opportunity, occasion

occasion (English) : event, ceremony

okaziyo (Kinyarwanda): opportunity

*Ne ratez jamais l'**occasion** qui vous est offerte pour réussir.* (Do not miss the **opportunity** offered to you in order to succeed.)

A l'**occasion** de la fête nationale de l'indépendance, il a prononcé un discours émouvant. (On the **occasion** of the Independence Day, he made a thrilling speech.)

Ntabwo ajya agira **okaziyo** yo guhura n'abategets. (He has never had an **opportunity** to meet authorities.)

(39) physicien versus physician

physicien (French): physicist

physician (English): medical doctor

umufiziye (Kinyarwanda): physicist

*Monsieur Ali Baba est **physicien** dans une grande entreprise de fabrication d'armes à feu.* (Mr Ali Baba is a **physicist** in a big firm manufacturing fire arms.)

*Sa maladie a été soignée par un **médecin** de grand renom.* (His ailment was treated by a highly reputed **physician**.)

(40) politique versus politics

politique (French) : politics, policy

politics (English) : ideology

politike (Kinyarwanda): politics, policy

*La **politique** du pays sur les relations extérieures est bien solide.* (The **policy** of the country on external relations is very strong.)

*La **politique** exige une tactique psychologique.* (**Politics** requires psychological strategy.)

*Abantu birukira muri **politike** bahura n'ibibazo mu buzima.* (People who rush in **politics** have serious problems in life.)

(41) police versus policy

police (French): police

policy (English): programme, regulations

polise (Kinyarwanda): police

*La **police** l'a interpellé hier.* (The **police** summoned him yesterday.)

*La **politique** de la France au Moyen-Orient plaît aux Palestiniens.* (The **policy** of France in the Middle East pleases the Palestinians.)

***Polisi** yamufashe yihishe mu buvumo.* (The **police** caught him while he was hiding in a grotto.)

(42) professeur versus professor

professeur (French): teacher (secondary), professor/lecturer (university)

professor (English): university lecturer

umuprofeseri (Kinyarwanda): secondary and tertiary teacher

Le professeur de maths dans un lycée est très respecté. (A teacher of Maths in a secondary school is highly respected.)

*Notre **professeur** n'a pas enseigné aujourd'hui à cause d'une pluie torrentielle.* (Our **lecturer** did not teach today because of a heavy rain.)

***Umuprofeseri** ntabwo ahembwa umushahara utubutse.* (A **teacher/lecturer** does not earn a high salary.)

(43) publicité versus publicity

publicité (French) : advertisement, advertising, publicity

publicity (English) : public notice or attention

pubulisite (Kinyarwanda): advertisement, publicity

*Pendant les élections, les candidats parlementaires font d'intense **publicité**.*
(During the election campaigns, MP candidates conduct intensive **publicity**.)

*Il a gagné beaucoup de sous parce qu'il a fait assez de **publicité** de son nouveau produit.* (He gained a lot of money because he did enough **advertising** of his new product.)

*Yakorewe **pubulisite** y'ibicuruzwa bye n'inzobere kuri radio maze arunguka.*
(An expert did **advertising** of his product on the radio and he got much profit.)

(44) rendez-vous versus rendez-vous

rendez-vous (French) : appointment

rendez-vous (English) : an arrangement to meet at a certain time and place

randevu (Kinyarwanda): date, appointment

*Les travailleurs n'ont pas respecté le **rendez-vous** du patron.* (Workers did not respect their boss' **appointment**.)

*Pierre et Marie se sont fixés un **rendez-vous** dans l'après-midi.* (Peter and Mary convened for a **date** in the afternoon.)

*Abakundunye bubahiriza **randevu** bahanye.* (People in love should respect the **rendez-vous**.)

(45) sensible versus sensible

sensible (French): sensitive

sensible (English): reasonable, showing good sense

sansibule (Kinyarwanda): sensitive

Un enfant est sensible aux remarques de ses parents. (A child is sensitive to the remarks of his parents.)

*Ses nerfs ne sont plus **sensibles** car il a attrapé la lèpre.* (His nerves are no longer **sensitive** because of leprosy.)

*Ni umuntu **sansibule** ku bibazo by'akarengane.* (He is **sensitive** to injustice.)

(46) sentence versus sentence

sentence (French): condemnation, sentence

sentence (English): a grammatical structure of one or more words.

isenteso (Kinyarwanda): sentence

*Il a construit une fausse **phrase**.* (He made a wrong **sentence**.)

*Le procureur a requis une peine capitale **contre le criminel**.* (The prosecutor requested the **death sentence** for the criminal.)

Isenteso yakoze irimo ikibazo. (There is something wrong with his **sentence**.)

(47) stage versus stage

stage (French): training course

stage (English): steps, platform

sitaje (Kinyarwanda): training course

*Cette pièce de théâtre exige une **estrade** attrayante.* (This play requires an attractive **stage**.)

*Pierre ne sera pas disponible avant la semaine prochaine parce qu'il est en **stage**.* (Peter will not be available until next week because he's on a training **course**.)

*Yamaze iminsi myinshi muri **sitaje**.* (He spent many days on a training **course**.)

(48) substitut versus substitute

substitut (French): deputy prosecutor

substitute (English): replacement

umusibusititi (Kinyarwanda): deputy prosecutor

*Le **substitut** a examiné le cas de l'accusé et requis un emprisonnement provisoire.* (The **deputy prosecutor** has examined the case of the accused and requested that he be held in prison temporarily.)

*Après avoir reçu la commande d'une machine à additionner, le fournisseur a offert à son client un **produit de remplacement** parce qu'il ne pouvait pas trouver le produit exact commandé.* (On receipt of the order of an adding machine, the supplier offered a **substitute** to his customer because he did not have the exact ordered product.)

***Umusubusititi** yasabyeko bakora anketi irambuye ku bwicanyi bwabereye mu kigo cy'amashuri.* (The **deputy prosecutor** has requested that a thorough investigation be conducted on the massacre which took place in a school.)

(49) sympathique versus sympathetic

sympathique (French): likeable, nice

sympathetic (English): compassionate, understanding

sempatike (Kinyarwanda): likeable, nice

*Charles est un enseignant **sympathique**.* (Charles is a **likeable** teacher.)

*Marie est une fille **compréhensive**.* (Mary is a **sympathetic** girl.)

(50) tape versus tape

tape (French): type, knock, blow

tape (English): ribbon

tape (Kinyarwanda): knock, blow

*Il fait une mauvaise **tape** sur la machine à écrire.* (He made a wrong **type** on the typing machine.)

*Il ne faut pas endommager la **bande** magnétique.* (Do not damage the magnetic **tape**.)

*Yakoze **tape** itari yo maze ibyo yanditse biragenda.* (He made a wrong **type** and what he had written went off.)

(51) voyage versus voyage

voyage (French): trip, travel, journey, voyage

voyage (English): travel by sea

ivwayaje (Kinyarwanda): any travel

*Je serai en **voyage** dans plusieurs pays à partir de demain.* (I shall be undertaking a **trip** in several countries from tomorrow.)

*Yakoze **ivwayaje** ndende kuva i Buruseli kugera i Kigali.* (He has made a long **trip** from Brussels to Kigali.)

Table 4.1 Frequently used doublets

Gloss	Doublets	Source
bucket	<i>imbegeti</i> <i>indobo</i>	bucket <i>indobo</i>
chalk	<i>ingwa</i> <i>icaki</i>	<i>ingwa</i> chalk, lime
cigarette	<i>isigara</i> <i>isigereti</i>	cigar (English) <i>cigarette</i>
company	<i>ikampuni</i> <i>ikompanyi</i>	company <i>compagnie</i>

driver	<i>umushoferi</i> <i>umudereva</i>	<i>chauffeur</i> driver
goal	<i>igori</i> <i>igitego</i>	goal, score <i>igitego</i>
gospel, good news	<i>ivanjili</i> <i>ubutumwa bwiza</i>	<i>évangile,</i> <i>ubutumwa</i>
hammer	<i>inyundo</i> <i>ihama</i>	<i>inyundo</i> hammer
goalpost	<i>mu igori</i> <i>izamu</i>	goalmouth <i>izamu</i>
paper	<i>ikaratasi</i> <i>urupapuro</i>	<i>karatasi (Sw)</i> <i>papier</i>
pipe	<i>inkono</i> <i>y'itabi</i> (tobacco pipe) <i>ipayipo</i>	<i>inkono</i> pipe
ratio	<i>irasiyo</i> <i>iposho</i>	ratio <i>poche</i>
torch	<i>itoroshi</i> <i>isitimu</i>	<i>torche</i> steam

4.4 CONCLUSION

Bilinguals of French and English have a big challenge with deceptive cognates. Unless they possess a high command of the two languages, they will have some obstacles in using deceptive cognates.

However, Obeng *et al* (2006:99) observes that loanwords do not always come via bilinguals. A monolingual may hear the new word direct from the speaker of another language and try to imitate it. He quotes three stages from Lehiste (1988) in the process of borrowing:

- (a) A bilingual introduces a loan word from language B (the secondary language) to language A (the primary language) in a phonetic form close to the norm in language B.

- (b) If the bilingual has occasion to repeat it or if other speakers also begin using it, elements of A will be substituted for those of language B.
- (c) If monolinguals learn the loan words, a total or practically total substitution will be made in the sound structure, and the word will be integrated into the grammar as well.

The use of some deceptive cognates very often leads to misinterpretation for French and English speakers from different linguistic backgrounds. For example, the word *bachelier* means “a secondary school leaver” in France and in the former French speaking colonies. In Rwanda, a former Belgian colony, *bachelier* means “a 2-3 year university degree”, just slightly below the BA (Bachelor of Arts), a 4-year University programme in the Anglo-American educational system. BA holders are very often confused with those holding the University *Baccalauréat* degree. Those who were educated in the former system consider them as *Bacheliers* (two-year University degree holders). Confusion also exists with the use of the word *licence*, “a 4 or 5-year University degree” in Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Belgium. In these countries it is a second university degree. In France and some other French-speaking countries, especially former French colonies, the *Licence* is “the first university degree” offered on completion of a 2-3 year university programme.

The complexity of deceptive cognates in a bilingual education system results from the role both France and Great Britain have played in the history of colonisation of the world, both having two distinct educational systems.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 CONCLUSION

The coexistence of English and French alongside Kinyarwanda has resulted in various sociolinguistic aspects. One of the sociolinguistic phenomena observed in this coexistence is the influx of French and English loanwords in Kinyarwanda. Included in these alien words, are deceptive cognates of French and English, which render the use of the three languages more complex. There seems to be a linguistic clash here. The speaker faces a challenge while conversing in either English or French. The understanding of deceptive cognates, false friends or “look-alikes”, would enable the speaker to express his ideas correctly and communicate more fluently. French and English pairs of words having a common origin, whereby the homonym suggests the synonym, are hardly mastered.

The predominant occurrence of French loanwords testifies that French lent to Kinyarwanda more words than any other language. This is understandable because of the historical ties between Rwanda and two European French-speaking countries: Belgium and France. Rwanda got independence from the colonial master, Belgium, on 1 July 1962, and continued its diplomatic ties it had enjoyed during the colonial era.

This research work has explored relevant aspects of loanword allocation. So far, the topic of loanword allocation in Kinyarwanda has not been dealt with in previous linguistic studies. Therefore, this is just a start and more research will hopefully be conducted in this area.

Throughout this study, some important aspects of loanword allocation have caught the researcher’s attention:

Some areas of life accommodate more loanwords than others, especially for the realities which did not exist in the borrowing language, particularly when there is a

great need of borrowing a foreign word or concept. In Kinyarwanda, the areas of influence such as technology, religion, science, education, commerce, banking, and taxation have retained more foreign elements than any other areas. However, although Rwandans had a strong traditional religion, they have adopted more words from Christianity and Islam, simply because both creeds had a great influence on the Rwandan culture, education, civilization, and politics.

The degree of auditory perception of the bilingual speaker plays a very important role in the loanword adaptation. People do not perceive the sounds in the same way. After having acquired sounds of a given language system, the brain is very likely to assimilate foreign sounds to those it has already acquired. Thus, the sounds from the donor language will be changed according to the degree of perception of the learner, e.g., “boy” /bɔi/ changes to *umuboyi* /umuβoji/, “lift” /lift/ to *irifuti* /irifuti/, “shirt” /ʃə:t/ to *ishati* /iʃati/. As a matter of fact, perception strongly triggers changes in loanword adaptation. Many loanword changes in both spelling and pronunciation take place during perception, although there may be some other factors conditioning the adaptation.

5.2 FINDINGS

The study has resulted in the formulation of some theories: associativity theory of calques, the fostering, sifting, and allocation theories of loanwords. The process of borrowing is so complex that calques, loanwords, and independently new formed idioms form comprehensive linguistic units in the integration of foreign elements in a borrowing language.

Based on the comparative study of borrowing languages dealt with in this work, it is strongly believed that bilinguals play an important role in the import of foreign words. They are the ones who primarily use foreign words before passing them onto other people in the community. People in contact with more foreigners are very likely to borrow a larger number of foreign words for their native language. The larger a multilingual and multicultural community will be, the more loanwords it will adopt. For example, Japanese have had more contacts with other people: Germans, Dutch, French, Chinese, Koreans, English, Spanish, Portuguese, Italians, etc. Therefore,

there has been a great deal of loanwords in Japanese compared with other borrowing languages. The researcher found out that in the long run loanwords are likely to undergo some more changes, for a language is never static but rather dynamic.

Loanwords from a donor language closer to the language system of the borrowing language or having the same family as the beneficiary language adapt more easily than those from a more distant language. This is the case for Spanish loanwords in French and vice-versa, Kiswahili and Ankole loanwords in Kinyarwanda, Japanese and Chinese. They do not change as much as other languages would do.

Morphology, syntax, phonology, orthography, and semantics are interrelated in a loanword study. However, syntax seems to be less affected than other language areas. It is quite understandable that people borrow more words and sounds than grammatical structures. Words and their meanings, letters, sounds, and suprasegments from a donor language adapt to the sentence structure of the beneficiary language. The most borrowed parts of speech are nouns and verbs, especially because all the languages of the world have at least the two parts of speech. In addition, they express more concrete realities than adjectives, articles, pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections.

Deceptive cognates (false friends or look-alikes) are very common in multilingual communities. In the case of Rwanda, once a learner has just attained a good command of either French or English pronunciation, grammar, and orthography, he comes to another step whereby he faces a serious problem of the use of the right word. For example, deceptive cognates such as *librairie* versus library or *sensible* versus sensitive, the spelling of *exercice* versus exercise or *chèque* versus cheque, and the pronunciation of *habit* versus habit or *pain* versus "pain", deserve more attention in a bilingual learning situation. This becomes more complex because French and English have borrowed from Latin. Kinyarwanda, which borrowed from the two European languages already having deceptive cognates in themselves, will most of the time have ambiguous loanwords. The users of these loanwords will undoubtedly be caught in a situation of misunderstanding and misinterpretation whenever they misuse the deceptive loanword. For example, a Rwandan national

who developed in an English speaking community understands the word *iporofi*, “profit”, as a commercial concept if said by someone who developed in a French speaking community, who in turn also takes the word *ibenefite*, “benefit”, “advantage”, for a commercial concept because of the French word *bénéfice*, “profit”. More confusing loanwords exist in the area of education because of the difference existing between English and French educational systems. Loanwords from French/English deceptive cognates such as *dipolome*, *diplôme* versus “diploma”, *seritifika*, *certificate* versus “certificate”; *basheliye*, *bachelier* versus “Bachelor”; *metirize*, *maîtrise* versus “Masters”; *ikuru*, *cours* versus “course”; *sitaje*, *stage* versus “stage”, are very frequently misunderstood borrowings by either user.

Actually, word calquing in African languages is very rare because it requires high competence in morphology and etymology in order to form or invent a calque from a donor language. Calquing a foreign concept presupposes that the bilingual borrower be familiar with the donor language. He has to be linguistically competent and knowledgeable enough in the foreign language he is borrowing from. This explains the fact that in Kinyarwanda one seldom finds calques as attested in European languages. Most newly formed words are just independent formations, which are chiefly created by the process of derivation, a very common morphological process in Bantu languages, which consists of using prefixes and suffixes to form as many words as possible.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

This dissertation does not pretend to have exhausted all the aspects of loanword allocation and adaptation in Kinyarwanda. It is rather a work that has been initiated for further studies in order to do more research in the area of sociolinguistics in a broader perspective and come up with more theories and findings. Therefore, the researcher recommends that a thorough sociolinguistic study be done in loanword adaptation, especially for African languages which embody rich scientific realities. New theories and findings in this work will shed light to other linguists in order to carry on research in African languages which have hosted loanwords from foreign languages because of historical realities one can never ignore. The allocation of loanwords in Kinyarwanda with its many facets has enriched the noun class system

of Kinyarwanda. The vocabulary has been increased so as to cope with modern realities. The complexity of loanwords resulting from French/English deceptive cognates will not be considered as a negative aspect but rather as a tremendous research pool in language contact.

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APPENDIX

Corpus of French and English Loanwords

Loanword	Allocated to noun class	Source word	English
abajuru /aβazuru/	9	abat-jour	lampshade
abe /aβe/	1	abbé	abbot
aderesi /aderesi/	9	adresse	address
Adiventi /adiventi/	9	Advent	Advent
agarafeze /agarafeze/	9	agrafeuse	stapler
agisida /agisida/	9	accident	accident
akabare /akaβare/	12	cabaret	pub
akabati /akaβati/	12	cupboard	cupboard
alubumu /aruβumu/	9	album	album
amalinete /amarineti/	6	lunettes	eye glasses
ambasade /ambasade/	9	ambassade	embassy
ambiranse /ambiranse/	9	ambulance	ambulance
amburiyaje /amburijaze/	9	embrayage	gear
ampule /ampure/	9	ampoule	bulb
anegise /anegise/	9	annexe	annex
anjine /anzine/	9	angine	soar throat
anketi /anketi/	9	enquête	investigation
antene /antene/	9	antenne	antenna
antereneri /antereneri/	1	entraîneur	coach
apeti /apeti/	9	appétit	appetite
alikoro/arikoro/	9	alcool	alcohol
arubitire /aruβitire/	1	arbitre	referee
asanseri /asanseri/	9	ascenseur	elevator
aside /aside/	9	acide	acid
asima /asima/	9	asthme	asthma
asosiyasiyo /asosijasijo/	9	association	association
asuranse /asuranse/	9	assurance	insurance

atashe /ataʃe/	9	attache	clip
averitisoma /averitisoma/	9	avertissement	warning
avoka /avoka/	9	avocat	avocado
bafure /βafure/	9	baffle	amplifier
balo /βaro/	9	ballon	ball
balo /βaro/	9	ballot	bundle
baraje /βaraze/	9	barrage	dam
benyware /βeɲware/	9	baignoire	bath
besi /βesi/	9	bass	bass
beto /βeto/	9	béton	concrete
bife /βife/	9	buffet	sideboard
bije /βize/	9	budget	budget
bishopu /βiʃopu/	1	bishop	bishop
boroshete /βoroʃete/	9	brochette	grilled meat
buro /βuro/	9	boulon	bolt
busho /βuʃo/	9	bouchon	cork, cap
buto /βuto/	9	boutton	button
dayimoni /dajimoni/	1	démon	demon
dekorasiyo /dekorasijo/	9	décoration	decoration
demarere /demarere/	9	démarrreur	starter
demokarasi /demokarasi/	9	démocratie	democracy
dipolome /dipolome/	9	diplôme	diploma,
certificate			
divayi /divaji/	9	(du) vin	wine
diyabete /dijaβete/	9	diabète	diabetes
diyama /dijama/	9	diamant	diamond
dogere /dogere/	9	degré	degree
dosiye /dosije/	9	dossier	file, folder
dushe /duʃe/	9	douche	bath-room
dwaye /dwaje/	1	doyen	dean
egisitere /egisitere/	9	extrait	bank statement
ekara /ekara/	9	écran	screen
empurimante /empurimante/	9	imprimante	printer

empurimori /empurimori/	9	imprimerie	printing
endamunite /endamunite/	9	indemnité	allowance
enterogatware /enterogatware/	9	interrogatoire	statement
epinari /epinari/	9	épinards	spinach
esanse /esanse/	9	essence	fuel
esikaliye /esikalije/	9	escalier	stairs
esuwime /esuwime/	9	essuie-mains	towel
etaje /etaze/	9	étage	floor, storey
foromilere /foromirere/	9	formulaire	form
fosebutike /fosebutike/	9	fosse sceptique	pit
ga /ga/	9	gant	glove
gasutamo /gasutamo/	9	custom office	custom
gatigisimu /gatigisimu/	9	catéchisme	catechism
gereve /gereve/	9	grève	strike
gishe /giše/	9	guichet	counter/desk
gufagisa /gufagisa/	15	faxer	to fax
gufotora /gufotora/	15	photocopier	to photocopy
gufotora /gufotora/	15	photographier	to take a picture
gukaveringa /gukaveriŋa/	15	cover	to cover
gukilika /gukirika/	15	click	to click
gukilinyota /gukirijota/	15	clignoter	to blink
gukoloniza /gukoroniza/	15	coloniser	to colonise
gukoloriya /gukororija/	15	colorier	to colour
gukopera /gukopera/	15	copier	to cheat an exam
gusabota /gusaβota/	15	saboter	to botch
gusharija /gušariža/	15	charger	to charge (a battery)
gusinya /gusiŋa/	15	signer	to sign
gusona /gusona/	15	sonner	to ring
gusota /gusota/	15	sauter	to go off/explode
gusudira /gusudira/	15	souder	to weld
gutirisha /gutiriša/	15	tricher	to cheat
gute /gute/	9	goutte	drip

gutereta /gutereta/	15	traïter	to deal with
guturuna /guturuna/	15	tourner	to turn
guverinoma /guverinoma/	9	gouvernement	government
home /ome/	9	home	hostel
ibande /iβande/	9	bande	adhesive tape
ibanki /iβanki/	9	banque	bank
ibatiri /iβatiri/	9	batterie	battery
ibesanyi /iβesanyi/	9	bassin	bowl
ibidanje /iβidanje/	9	vidange	oil change
ibenye /ibeje/	9	beignet	fritter
ibireti /iβireti/	9	pyrèthre	pyrethrum
ibiro /iβiro/	9	bureau	office
ibisi /iβisi/	9	bus	bus
ibisikwi /iβisikwi/	9	biscuit	biscuit
ibitaro /iβitaro/	8	hôpital	hospital
ibombe /iβombe/	9	bombe	bomb
ibombo /iβombo/	9	bonbon	sweets
iborudero /iβorudero/	9	bordéreau	bank slip
ibotike /iβotike/	9	boutique	shop
ibuji /iβuzi/	9	bougie	candle
ibuku /iβuku/	9	book	identity booklet
iburigade /iβurigade/	9	brigade	police station
iburuse /iβuruse/	9	bourse	bursary
iburuze /iβuruze/	9	blouse	blouse
icyongereza /ikjongereza/	7	anglais	English language
idari /idari/	5	dalle	paving stone
idefile /defire/	9	défilé	parade
idendo /idendo/	9	dindon	turkey cock
idovize /idovize/	9	devise	foreign currency
iduwane /iduwane/	9	douane	custom office
iduzeni /iduzeni/	9	douzaine	dozen
ifagitire /ifagitire/	9	facture	bill, invoice
ifamiye /ifamije/	9	famille	family

ifaranga /ifaranga/	5	franc	franc, money
ifarine /ifarine/	9	farine	flour
ifarumasi /ifarumasi/	9	pharmacie	pharmacy
iferi /iferi/	9	frein	brake
ifirigo /ifirigo/	9	frigo	fridge
ifirime /ifirime/	9	film	film
ifiriti /ifiriti/	9	frites	chips
ifishi /ifi]e/	9	fiche	form
ifizibule /ifizi]sure/	9	fusible	fuse
ifondasiyo /ifondasijo/	9	fondation	foundation
iforomaji /iforomaze/	9	fromage	cheese
ifoteye /ifoteje/	9	fauteuil	arm-chair
ifoto /ifoto/	9	photo	photograph
ifuru /ifuru/	9	four	oven
igaraje /igaraze/	9	garage	garage
igarama /igarama/	9	gramme	gramme
igaraviye /igaravije/	9	gravier	gravel
igato /igato/	9	gâteau	cake
igazeti /igazeti/	9	gazette	journal
igifaransa /igifaransa/	9	français	French language
igifulama /igifurama/	7	flamand	Flemish
igiholande /igihorande/	7	hollandais	Dutch language
igiporutitgali /igiporutigari/	7	portugais	Portuguese language
igishinwa /igi]in]wa/ language	7	chinois	Chinese
igisikize /igisikize/	9	excuse	excuse, pretext
igitansi /igitansi/	9	quittance	receipt
igitaliyani /igitalijani/	7	italien	Italian
igitare /igitare/	9	guitare	guitar
igitari /igitari/	7	hectare	hectare
igome /igome/	9	gomme	rubber, erasor
igori /igori/	9	goal	goal
igoro /igoro/	5	gros	store

igoti /igoti/	5	coat	coat
igudoro /igudoro/	9	goudron	tar
ihama /ihama/	9	hammer	hammer
ihoni /ihoni/	5	horn	horn
iji /izii/	9	jus	juice
ijile /izire/	9	gilet	waistcoat
ijipo /izipo/	9	jupon	skirt
ikabule /ikaβure/	9	cable	cable, wire
ikamiyo /ikamijo/	9	camion	lorry
ikampuni /ikampuni/	9	company	company
ikaravate /ikaravate/	9	cravate	tie
ikariso /ikariso/	9	caleçon	underwear
ikarita /ikarita/	9	carte	map, card
ikaritiye /ikaritije/	9	quartier	quarter
ikaroseri /ikaroseri/	9	carrosserie	body work
ikaroti /ikaroti/	9	carrote	carrot
ikashe /ikaʃe/	9	cash	cash
ikasho /ikaʃo/	9	cashot	jail
ikaye /ikaje/	9	cahier	notebook
ikaziye /ikazije/	9	casier	bottle rack
ikeke /ikeke/	9	cake	cake
ikenkayeri /ikenkajeri/	9	quincaillerie	hardware shop
ikeremu /ikeremu/	9	crème	cream
ikereyo /ikerejo/	9	crayon	pencil
ikilometro /ikirometro/	7	kilomètre	kilometre
ikinini /ikinini/	7	quinine	quinine, tablet
ikipe /ikipe/	9	équipe	team
ikiro /ikiro/	7	kilogramme	kilo
ikirusiya /ikirusija/	7	russe	Russian
ikizamini /ikizamini/	7	examen	examination
ikoleji /ikorezi/	9	collège	high-school
ikomini /ikomini/	9	commune	commune
ikompanyi /ikompanji/	9	compagnie	company

ikompule /ikompure/	9	complet	suit
ikonfitire /ikonfitire/	9	confiture	jam
ikonje /ikonze/	9	congé	holiday, leave
ikonkuru/ikonkuru/	9	concours	contest, entry
ikonseri /ikonseri/	9	concert	concert
ikontaro /ikontaro/	9	contrat	contract
ikonti /ikonti/	9	compte	bank account
ikonteri /ikonteri/	9	compteur	metre
ikoperative /ikoperative/	9	coopérative	cooperative
ikorali /ikorari/	9	chorale	choir
ikorone /ikorone/	9	corner	corner
ikositimu /ikositimu/	9	costume	suit
ikuse /ikuse/	9	cousin	pillow
ilitiro /iritiro/	9	litre	litre
ilonji /ironzi/	5	orange	orange
imashini /imaʃini/	9	machine	machine
imatora /imatora/	9	matelas	mattress
imbegeti /imbegeti/	9	bucket	bucket
imetero /imetero/	9	mètre	metre
imodoka /imodoka/	9	motor-car	car, vehicle
imoteri /imoteri/	9	moteur	engine
inanasi /inanasi/	9	ananas	pineapple
iniforume /iniforume/	9	uniforme	uniform
inomero /inomero/	9	numéro	number
inkambi /inkambi/	9	camp	camp
inota /inota/	5	note	grade
inote /inote/	9	note	musical note,
bank note			
ipaje /ipaʒe/	9	page	page
ipake /ipake/	9	paquet	parcel
ipantaro /ipantaro/	9	pantalon	trousers
ipanu /ipanu/	9	pan	frying pan
ipantufure /ipantufure/	9	pantoufle	slipper

ipapayi /ipapaji/	9	papaye	papaya
iparantasiyo /iparantasijo/	9	plantation	plantation
iparuwasi /iparuwasi/	9	paroisse	parish
ipasi /ipasi/	9	fer à repasser	iron
ipasiporo /ipasiporo/	9	passeport	passport
ipatante /ipatante/	9	patente	license
ipeyizana /ipejizana/	9	paysannat	settlement
ipenaliti /ipenariti/	9	penalty	penalty
iperefegitura /iperefegitura/	9	préfecture	prefecture
ipereyavi /iperejavi/	9	préavis	notice
ipica /itʃa/	9	picture	picture
ipiki /ipiki/	9	pick	pick
ipikipiki /ipikipiki/	9	moto	motorcycle
ipine /ipune/	9	pneu	tyre, wheel
ipinusi /ipinusi/	9	pin	pine
ipiyano /ipijano/	9	piano	piano
ipiyese /ipijese/	9	pièce	part
ipome /ipome/	9	pomme	apple
iporoje /iporoze/	9	projet	project
iporovensi /iporovensi/	9	province	province
iposhho /ipoʃo/	5	poche	weekly ratio
iposita /iposita/	9	poste	poste-office
ipotaje /ipotaze/	9	pottage	soup
ipudere /ipudere/	9	poudre	powder
ipulafo /ipurafo/	9	plafond	ceiling
ipulasitike /ipurasitike/	9	plastique	plastic
ipulaterere /ipuraterere/	9	plâtre	plaster cast
ipulato /ipurato/	9	plateau	tray
ipurize /ipurize/	9	prise	plug, socket
ipuruni /ipuruni/	5	prune	plum
iradiyo/iradijo/	9	radio	radio
iranka /iranka/	9	rank	(military) rank
irasiyo /irasijo/	9	ration	ratio

irate /irate/	9	latte	ruler
iresho /ireʃo/	9	rechaud	stove
iresi /iresi/	9	reçu	receipt
iresitora /iresitora/	9	restaurant	restaurant
irido /irido/	9	rideau	curtain
irifuti /irifuti/	9	lift	lift, ride
irondo /irondo/	5	ronde	patrol
isadara /isadara/	9	cèdre	cedar
isakaramento /isakaramento/	9	sacrement	sacrement
isakoshe /isakoʃe/	9	sacoché	handbag
isalade /isarade/	9	salade	salad
isaligoma	9	sale gamin	dirty boy
isalo /isaro/	9	salon	sitting-room
isarubeti /isarubeti/	9	salopette	dungarees
isaruti /isaruti/	9	salut	salute
isashe /isaʃe/	9	sachet	bag
isegiteri /isegiteri/	9	segiteri	sector
isegonda /isegonda/	9	seconde	second
isengeri /isengeri/	9	singlet	T-shirt
isenteso /senteso/	9	sentence	sentence
isenti /isenti/	9	cent	money
iserire /iserire/	9	serrure	lock
iserire /iserire/	9	cellule	cell
iserumu /iserumu/	9	serum	serum
ishapure /iʃapule/	9	chapelet	rosary
isharupante /iʃarupante/	9	charpente	house structure
ishasi /iʃasi/	9	chassis	frame, chassis
ishati /iʃati/	9	shirt	shirt
isheferi /iʃeferi/	9	chefferie	county/district
isheki /iʃeki/	9	chèque	cheque
ishilingi /iʃilingi/	5	shilling	shilling
ishokola /iʃokora/	9	chocolat	chocolate
ishoti /iʃoti/	9	shoot	shoot
ishu /iʃu/	9	chou	cabbage

isigereti /isigereti/	9	cigarette	cigarette
isilo /isiro/	9	slow	slow dance
isima /isima/	9	ciment	cement
isinya /isinja/	9	signature	signature
isipure /isipure/	9	cyprès	cypress
isiraje /isiraze/	9	cirage	polish
isitimu /isitimu/	9	steam	torch
isizeni /isizeni/	9	season	season
isizo /isizo/	9	ciseaux	scissors
isogisi /isogisi/	9	socks	socks
isosi /isosi/	9	sauce	saucage
isoya /isoja/	9	soya	soyabean
isukari /isukari/	9	sucre	sucer
isupu /isupu/	9	soupe	soupe
isutasi /isutasi/	9	sous-tasse	saucer
itabi /itaβi/	5	tabac	tobacco
itabuliye /itaβuriye/	9	tablier	nurse dress
itabure /itaβure/	9	tabouret	stool
itabulo /itaβuro/	9	tableau	board
itagisi /itagisi/	9	taxi	taxi
itagise /itagise/	9	taxe	tax
itanki /itanki/	9	tank	tank
itapi /itapi/	9	tapis	carpet
itaranto /itaranto/	9	talent	talent
itasi /itasi/	9	tasse	cup
itembure /itembure/	9	timbre	stamp
iterase /iterase/	9	terrasse	terrace
iterimosi /iterimosi/	9	thermos	flask
iteritwari /iteritkware/	9	territoire	territory
itibe /itiβe/	9	tube	tube
itike /itike/	9	ticket	ticket
itiriko /itiriko/	9	tricot	sweater
itiyo /itijo/	9	tuyau	pipe
itomati/itomati/	9	tomate	tomato

itondezi /itondezi/	9	tondeuse	clippers
itone /itone/	9	tonne	ton
itorosho /itoroŃo/	9	torchon	tea towel
iturunevisi /iturunevisi/	9	tourne-vis	screw
itushe /ituŃe/	9	touche	key
ivalize /ivarize/	9	valise	suitcase
ivanjili /ivanjiri/	9	évangile	gospel
ivatiri /ivatiri/	9	voiture	car
ivinegere /ivinegere/	9	vinaigre	vinegar
ivisi /ivisi/	9	vis	screw
iviza /iviza/	9	visa	visa
ivola /ivora/	9	volant	steering-wheel
iyaridi /ijaridi/	9	yard	yard
jaze /zaze/	9	jazz	jazz
jenoside /zenoside/	9	génocide	genocide
jera /zera/	1	gérant	manager
jimelaje /zimelaje/	9	jumelage	partnership
jurunale /zurunare/	9	journal	journal
kado /kado/	9	cadeau	present
kalendari /karendari/	9	calendrier	calendar
kanseri /kanseri/	9	cancer	cancer
kapiteni /kapiteni/	9	capitaine	captain
karemu /karemu/	9	carême	Lent
karo /karo/	9	carreau	pane, tile
kasete /kasete/	9	cassette	cassette
kasike /kasike/	9	casque	helmet
kateripalari /kateripirari/	9	caterpillar	caterpillar tractor
kave /kave/	9	cave	cage
kese /kese/	9	caisse	cash desk
kilnike /kirinike/	9	clinique	clinic
kilishe /kirishe/	9	cliché	cliché

kilinyoteri /kiriŋoteri/ indicator	7	clignoteur	automobile
kole /kore/	9	colle	glue
koma /koma/	9	coma	coma
komite /komite/	9	comité	committee
komiseri /komiseri/	1	commissaire	commissioner
komisiyo /komisijo/	9	commission	commission
kompyuta /kompjuta/	9	computer	computer
konfitire /konfitire/	9	confiture	jam
konje peye /konjepeje/	9	congé payé	paid leave
konsula /konsura/	9	consulat	consulate
kontabilite /kontaβirite/	9	comptabilité	accounting
kontake /kontake/	9	contact	car key
konteri /konteri/	9	compteur	metre
koridoro /koridoro/	9	corridor	corridor
kubipa /kuβipa/	15	beep	to beep
kuburansha /kuβuranʃa/	15	brancher	to plug
kudefila /kudefira/	15	défiler	to march
kudefuriza /kudefiriza/ (hair)	15	défriser	to straighten
kudepoza /kudepoza/	15	déposer	deposit
kunyuzura /kunjuzura/	15	new	to initiate
kuriye /kuriye/	9	courrier	mail
kuruse /kuruse/	9	course	racing
kuverisa /kuverisa/	15	verser	to deposit
kuvibura /kuvibura/	15	vibrer	to vibrate
kwemelinga /kwemelinga/	15	e-mail	to send an e-mail
kwiyanja /kwijaranza/	15	s'arranger	to manage
kwizine /kwizine/	9	cuisine	kitchen
lavabo /ravaβo/	9	lavabo	sink
Leta /reta/	9	L'Etat	the State
liberasiyo /riβerasiyo/ prison)	9	liberation	release (from

loni /roni/	9	L'ONU	The UN
manda /manda/	9	mandat	term (of office)
malete /malete/	9	malette	briefcase
marigarine /marigarine/	9	margarine	butter
mariyaje /marijaze/	9	mariage	marriage
mashinigani /maʃinigani/	9	machine-gun	machine-gun
masitike /masitike/	9	mastic	putty
mate /mate/	9	Maths	Maths
mayilo /majiro/	9	mile	mile
mikoro /mikoro/	9	microphone	microphone
mikorobi /mikoroβi/	9	microbe	microbe
mine /mine/	9	mine	mine
misiyo /misijo	9	mission	mission
mitarayezi /mitarajezi/	9	mitrailleuse	machine-gun
mitingi/mitingi/	9	meeting	meeting
mitiwere /mitiweri/	9	mutuelle	mutual benefit
society			
mode /mode/	9	mode	fashion
moto /moto/	9	motto	motorcycle
muryamo /murgjamo/	9	Miriam	cow disease
Musenyeri /museneri/	1	Monseigneur	Bishop, His
Highness			
mushwara /muʃkwara/	3	mouchoir	handkerchief
muvoma /movama/	9	mouvement	movement
nivo /nivo/	9	niveau	level
Noheli /noheri/	9	Noël	Christmas
ofisiyeli /ofisijere/	9	officiel	official
ogisijene /ogisi∞ene/	9	oxygène	oxygen
opeji /opezi/	1	OPJ	Judiciary Police
Officer			
orere /orere/	9	horaire	timetable
orudinateri /orudinateri/	9	ordinateur	computer
orukesitere /orukesitere/	9	orchestre	orchestra

otobisi /otoβisi/	9	autobus	bus
pansiyo /pansijo/ retirement	9	pension	pension,
papeteri /papeteri/	9	pap�terie	stationery shop
paraburize /paraβurize/	9	pare-brise	windscreen
paralizi /pararizi/	9	paralyse	paralysis
parike /parike/	9	parquet	court
pariti /pariti/	9	parti	party
Pasika /pasika/	9	P�que	Easter
patoro /patoro/	1	patron	boss
pavoma /pavoma/	9	pavement	pavement
peteroli /peterori/	9	p�trole	oil
peve /peve/	9	PV	statement
peyaje /pejaze /	9	p�age	toll bridge
polisi /polisi/	9	police	police
politiki /poritiki/	9	politique	politics, policy
pomade /pomade/	9	pommade	ointment
pompe /pompe/	9	pompe	pump
pulanshe dolive /puranβedorive/	9	planche de rive	surf
purimere /purimere/	9	primaire	primary
poroteyine /porotejine/	9	prot�ine	protein
rali /rari/	9	rally	rallye
raporo /raporo/	9	rapport	report
remoruke /remoruke/	9	remorque	trailer
repubulika /repuβurika/	9	r�publique	republic
resiponsabure /resiponsaβure/	1	responsable	responsible
rezida /rezida/	1	r�sident	resident
roke /roke/	9	rock	rock music
rugibi /rugiβi/	9	rugby	rugby
ruswa /ruswa/	9	re�ois	bribe, corruption
ruwiri /ruwiri/ cooking oil	9	l'huile	vegetable
santere /santere/	9	centre	centre
segondere /segondere/	9	secondaire	secondary

sekateri /sekateri/	9	sécateur	pruning shears
sekombata /sekombata/	1	ancien combattant	war veteran
seminari /seminari/	9	séminaire	seminary
seminere /seminere/	9	séminaire	seminar
sendika /sendika/	9	syndicat	(trade) union
sentetizeri /sentetizeri/	9	synthétiseur	syndissertationer
sereri /sereri/	9	célieri	celery
serivise /serivise/	9	service	service
sesiyo /sesiyo/	9	session	session
shampiyona /ʃampijona/	9	championnat	championship
shapoma /ʃapoma/	9	échappement	exhaust pipe
shimi /ʃimi/	9	chimie	chemistry
sida/sida/	9	SIDA	AIDS
sinizite /sinizite/	9	sinusite	sinusitis
siporo /siporo/	9	sports	sports
sitasiyo /sitasijo/	9	station	station
sitoke /stock/	9	stock	stock
solufeje /sorufeze/	9	sofège	sofegia
soporano /soporano/	9	soprano	soprano
suwa /suwa/	9	soie	silk
telefone /terefone/	9	telephone	telephone
televiziyo /terevizijo/	9	télévision	television
tenisi /tenisi/	9	tennis	tennis
tifoyide /tifojde/	9	typhoïde	typhoide
u Bufaransa /uβufaransa/	14	France	France
u Bugiriki /uβugiriki/	14	Grèce	Greece
u Buhindi /uβuhindi/	14	Inde	India
u Buholandi /uβuhorandi/	14	Holland	The Netherlands
ubunani /uβunani/	14	Bonne Année	New Year festival
ubupagani /uβupagani/	14	paganisme	paganism
ubugatulika /uβugaturika/	14	catholicisme	Catholicism
ubuporotesitanti/uβuporotesitanti/	14	protestantisme	Protestantism
uburingiti /uβuringiti/	14	blanket	blanket
uburoso /uβuroso/	14	brosse	brush

u Burusiya /uβurusija/	14	Russie	Russia
u Bushinwa /uβuʃinŋwa/	14	Chine	China
u Busuwisi /uβusuwisi/	14	Suisse	Switzerland
u Butaliyani /uβutarijani/	14	Italie	Italy
u Buturuki /uβuturuki/	14	Turquie	Turkey
u Buyapani /uβujapani/	14	Japan	Japan
u Bwongereza /uβgongereza/	14	Angleterre	England
ukarisitiya /ukarisitija/	9	eucharistie	eucharist
umubasholiye /umuβaʃorije/	1	bachelier	Bachelor of Arts
umubatizo /umuβatizo/	3	baptême	baptism
umubiligi /umuβirigi/	1	belge	Belgian
umuboyi /umuβoji/	1	boy	houseboy
umubosi /umuβosi/	1	boss	boss
umuburugumesiteri	1	bourgmestre	mayor
umudame /umudame/	1	madame	madam
umudari /umudari/	3	médaille	medal
umudemobe /umudemoβe/	1	démobilisé	war veteran
umudepite /umudepite/	1	député	MP
umudereva /umudereva/	1	driver	driver
umuderi /umuderi/	3	modèle	model, fashion
umudiregiteri /umudiregiteri/	1	directeur	principal, director
umudogiteri /umudogiteri/	1	docteur	doctor
umufana /umufana/	1	fanatique	fanatic
umufaransa /umufaransa/	1	français	French
umufiyanse /umufijanse/	1	fiancé (e)	fiancé,
sweetheart			
umuforomo /umuforomo/	1	infirmier	nurse
umufotogarafe /umufotogarafe/	1	photographe	photographer
umugatulika /umugaturika/	1	catholic	Catholic
umugoronome /umugoronome/	1	agronome	agricultural
engineer			
umuguverineri /umuguverineri/	1	gouverneur	governor
umujenerali /umuenerari/	1	general	general
umukajoliti /umukaoriti/	1	casualty	casualty

umukaporari /umukaporari/	1	caporal	corporal
umukarani /umukarani/	1	clerc	clerk
umukesiyeri /umukesijeri/	1	caissière	cashier
umukiliya /umukilija/	1	client	customer
umukontabule /umukontaβure/	1	comptable	accountant
umukoroneri /umukoroneri/	1	colonel	colonel
umukonvwayeri /umukonvwajeri/	1	convoyeur	bus inspector
umuleti /umureti/	3	omelette	omelette
umulisansiyere /umurisansije/	1	licencié	BA holder
umuliyetona /umurijotena/	1	lieutenant	lieutenant
umumaso /umumaso/	1	maçon	mason
umukanishi/umukaniji/	1	mécanicien	mechanic
umumenwiziye /umumenwizije/	1	menuisier	carpenter
umumere /umumere/	1	maire	mayor
umumeterese /umumeterese/	1	maîtresse	female teacher
umumeya /umumeja/	1	mayor	mayor
umuminisitiri /umuminisitiri/	1	ministre	minister
umumisiyoneri/umumisijonere/	1	missionnaire	missionary
umunyafurika /umuᵑafurika/	1	africain	African
umunyapolitiki /umuᵑaporitiki/	1	politicien	politician
umupasitoro /umupasitoro/	1	pasteur	pastor
umuperezida /umuperezida/	1	président	president
umupilote /umupirote/	1	pilote	pilot
umupolisi /umuporisi/	1	policier	policeman
umuporokireri /umuporokireri/	1	procureur	prosecutor
umupulanto /umupuranto/	1	planton	office boy
umusaseridoti /umusaseridoti/	1	sacerdote	priest
umusekereteri /umusekereteri/	1	secrétaire	secretary
umusenateri /umusenateri/	1	sénateur	senator
umushariti /umuᵑariti/	1	charité	Brother of Charity
umushefu /umuᵑefu/	1	chef	chief
umushoferi /umuᵑoferi/	1	chauffeur	driver
umushomeri /umuᵑomeri/	1	chômeur	unemployed

umuperezida /umuperezida/	1	président	president
umuporoso /umuporoso/	1	protestant	protestant
umushenzi /umuſenzi/	1	mshenzi	uncivilised
umushomeri /umuſomeri/	1	chômeur	unemployed
umusilimu /umusirimu/	1	musulman	civilised
umusitare /umusitare/	1	star	star
umusivile /umusivire/	1	civil	civilian
umusiviliyeni /umusivirijeni/	1	civilian	civilian
umusoda /umusoda/	1	soldat	soldier
umusubutiti /umusubutiti/	1	substitute	deputy
prosecutor			
umusurushefu /umusuruſefu/	1	sous-chef	deputy chief
umususitati /umususitati/	1	sous-statut	full-time
employee			
umutayeri /umutajeri/	1	tailleur	tailor
umuveterineri /umuveterineri/	1	vétérinaire	veterinary
umuwofisiye /umuwofisiye/	1	officier	officer
umuzika /umuzika/	3	musique	music
umwadolesa /umwadolesa/	1	adolescent	adolescent,
teenager			
umwavoka /umwavoka/	1	avocat	lawyer
umwepisikopi /umwepisikopi/	1	évêque	bishop
umwisilamu /umwisilamu/	1	musulman	muslim
urupapuro /urupapuro/	11	papier	paper
urushinge /uruſinge/	11	séringue	syringe
urufaranga /urufaranga/	11	franc	franc
vazeline /vazeline/	9	vaseline	vaseline
verini /verini/	9	vernis	glaze
verisoma /verisoma/	9	versement	remittance
vitamine /vitamine/	9	vitamine	vitamin
vitensi /vitensi/	9	vitesse	speed
vitere /vitere/	9	vitre	window pane
volebole /vobore/	9	volleyball	volleyball
wikende /wikende/	9	week-end	week-end

winga /winga/	9	wing	wing collar
yubile /juβire/	9	jubilé	jubile
yunyoni /juŋoni/	9	union	union
zone /zone/	9	zone	zone

Loanwords from French/English Deceptive Cognates

Loanword	CI	French Deceptive Cognate	English Deceptive Cognate
ajenda /azenda/	9	agenda	agenda
asuranse /asuranse/	9	assurance	insurance
balo /βaro/	9	ballot	ballot
basholiye /βaʃorije/	1	bachelier	bachelor
benefise /βenefise/	9	bénéfice	benefit
dele /dere/	9	délai	delay
domande /domande/	9	demande	demand
desebusiyo/deseβusijo/	9	déception	deception
dovize /dovize/	9	devise	device
diporome /diporome/	9	diplôme	diploma
dogere /dogere/	9	degré	degree
forumasiyo/forumasijo/	9	formation	training
foromilere /foromirere/	9	formulaire	form
furunitire /furunitire/	9	fourniture	furniture
ikoleji /ikorezi/	9	collège	college
ikompa /ikompa/	9	compas	compass
inote /inote/	9	note	note
isentenso /isenteso/	9	sentence	sentence
isinema /isinema/	9	cinéma	cinema
karagiteri /karagiteri/	9	caractère	character
konteri /konteri/	9	compteur	counter
layibureri /rajiβureri/	9	librairie	library
layibureriyeni/ rajiβurerijeni/	9	libraire	librarian
legitire /regitire/	9	lecture	lecture
libureri /riβureri/	9	librairie	library
lisanse /risanse/	9	licence	licence

oditeri /oditeri/	1	auditeur	auditor
odiyanse /odijanse/	9	audience	audience
odiyense /odijense/	9	audience	audience
okaziyo /okazijo/	9	occasion	occasion
polise /porise/	9	police	policy
randevu /randevu/	9	rendez-vous	rendez-vous
seritifika /seritifika/	9	certificat	certificate
sitaje /sitaje/	9	stage	stage
teyaterere /tejaterere/	9	théâtre	theatre
umufizisiye/umufizisije/	1	physicien	physician
vwayaje /vwajae/	9	voyage	voyage