ON THE NOTION «INCHOATIVE VERB»
IN KINYARWANDA

by Robert D. Botne

INTRODUCTION

The verbs described in this article constitute a significant, but inadequately explored, group of Kinyarwanda verbs. They have been described variously by different linguists as "statives" (van Overschelde 1968, Overduke 1975), as "non-progressive (versus progressive) statives" (Kimenyi 1973), and as a commixture of lexically "stative" and "non-stative" verbs (Coupez 1980). Each of these different descriptions characterizes the verbs in question as being in some way "stative"; yet such a characterization captures only a small part of the nature of these verbs and, moreover, is not true of the entire group. Furthermore, they fail in general to provide any explanation for the differences in linguistic behavior between these verbs and other verbs in the language. In the analysis that follows I propose a semantic/syntactic framework for characterizing these differences.

In general this set of verbs serves to express a change of condition or location of the subject; many of them characterize the change, or transition, from one state to another. Consequently, I will refer

(1) These definitions are based on Dillon (1977:126).
to them throughout the analysis as "inchoative verbs". Included in this set of inchoative verbs are verbs such as the following:

- kù-rwàra: "to be (come) sick"
- kw-likùra: "to be (come) seated"
- gù-tùrù: "to reside/live"
- kù-ràgrà: "to tend (animals)"
- gù-tékkà: "to prepare food/cook"
- kù-ményèèrà: "to become accustomed to"
- kù-bábrà: "to suffer morally/spiritually"
- gù-tààhà: "to return home"
- gù-cocioèrà: "to be dressed in rags"

These verbs, as one can readily see, do not form an intuitively coherent semantic class. Nevertheless, the analysis developed here will demonstrate that they share common temporal characteristics, characteristics which determine the nature of the semantic interpretation they receive in particular syntactic contexts.

The approach taken in the present analysis of inchoative verbs is based on the claim that events, as denoted by certain verbs, can be linguistically analyzed as a series of temporal phases (see Freed 1980), and that a satisfactory analysis of verbal behavior can be realized only if this underlying temporal structure is taken into consideration. Such an approach allows us to make specific claims about the nature of inchoative verbs in Kinyarwanda and helps to explain their syntactic and semantic differences with respect to other categories of verbs in the language.

The discussion of inchoative verbs will focus on their behavior as linguistic representations of real-world events and the temporal relationships among these events. Accordingly, a large part of the discussion will be concerned with the linguistic interaction of tense and aspect with the verbs naming these events. Before proceeding with the proposed analysis of inchoative verbs, it is both necessary and expedient to examine briefly the theoretical assumptions upon which the analyses of tense, aspect, and the temporal structures of events are to be based.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

The following abbreviations will be used in the article:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>onset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1</td>
<td>primary reference point (moment of speaking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>nucleus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>coda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>secondary reference point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>point of completive aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipfv</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pfv</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmp</td>
<td>completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obj</td>
<td>object infix + class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ num</td>
<td>number + external complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>set</td>
<td>segmetal past (near or remote)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setpp</td>
<td>segmental present/near future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ante</td>
<td>anterior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poste</td>
<td>posterior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fut</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nul</td>
<td>no external complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rem</td>
<td>remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrm</td>
<td>non-remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>con</td>
<td>completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>anterior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poste</td>
<td>posterior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fut</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rm</td>
<td>remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrm</td>
<td>non-remote</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THE TEMPORAL STRUCTURE OF EVENTS**

One way in which the events named by verbs may be differentiated is with respect to their internal temporal structures. Such an approach is set forth in Freed (1980) in which she proposes that certain events may be characterized (in English) as a series of temporal segments. She proposes three potential phases of an event: an "onset" phase, a "nuclear" phase, and a "coda" phase. The nuclear phase, or simply nucleus, of an event is, according to Freed, that time segment during which the characteristic activity of the event can be said to be in progress. This means that:

"for any sentence naming an event, the occurrence of that event (or rather the sentence) is true at the time of the nucleus. For example, 'I am leaving' is true at the time of the nucleus of the event called 'leaving'" (Freed, 1980: 34).

Those events which can be characterized as containing a temporal phase corresponding to a nucleus may be further characterized according...
to whether or not they also contain temporal segments corresponding to
an onset phase and/or a coda phase. The onset phase, as described by
FREED, is that time period immediately preceding, and differing in
character from, the initial phase of the nucleus, in essence a prepara­
atory stage for the nuclear activity of the event. The coda phase,
like the onset phase, is a time segment during which the character of
the event differs from that of the nuclear phase. FREED considers this
phase to be that time interval immediately following the nucleus of
the event and which brings the event to a definite end. We can visua­
lize the relationships of these two phases with respect to the nucleus
as the schematic representation in (1) illustrates.

As an example of the onset phase FREED suggests that period during
which an individual feels himself falling asleep. If he is suddenly
startled, or returns to a state of wakefulness for whatever reason, he
may be said to have experienced the onset of the event 'sleep', but did
not in fact experience the characteristic activity 'sleeping', which
(for English) can be considered to be the nucleus of the event.

FREED illustrates the notion of coda phase with the sentence 'Tom
and Lynn ended their conversation with an argument'. In this case the
"argument" represents the final phase of the event, differing in nature
from the rest of the event and bringing it to a definite close. This
interpretation becomes more evident if we consider the sentence 'Tom
and Lynn ended their conversation', in which there is no indication of
the completion of the event.

FREED's analysis is concerned with the characterization of verbs
in English. It is also possible to characterize verbs in Kinyarwanda
in terms of internal temporal structures relative to the events they
name. However, the nature of the analysis for Kinyarwanda appears to
differ in significant ways from that described by FREED for English.
The most significant difference is to be found in the conception of the
"nuclear phase" of events. FREED considers only durative temporal inter­
vals as possible nuclear phases. In Kinyarwanda we find evidence of the
need to consider punctual as possible nuclear phases. Arguments favoring
such a punctual analysis will be given in the discussion of inchoative
verbs to follow.

A second difference with respect to FREED's analysis is found in
the relationships of the onset and coda phases to the nucleus of the
event. An event characterized as having a durative nucleus in Kinya­
rwanda will have, if it can be said to comprise more than one phase, a
punctual onset and/or coda. If, however, the event is characterized as
having a punctual nucleus, then the onset and/or coda phase will be
durative. Such an analysis suggests eight possible temporal structures
for events in Kinyarwanda. These potential structures are schematically
represented and categorized in Table 1.

TABLE 1 - Potential Internal Structures of Events in Kinyarwanda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Durative N</th>
<th>Punctual N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) ---------/-----------------/---------</td>
<td>2) / (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) O N C</td>
<td>4) O N C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) O N</td>
<td>6) N C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) N C</td>
<td>8) O N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis presented in this article is concerned primarily with
verbs having the structures outlined in (4), (6) and (8) of Table 1.1
These structures correspond to three types of inchoative events in
Kinyarwanda. These events (and the verbs that name them) will be desig­
nated "transitional", "resultative" and "achievement" inchoatives,
respectively. Differences in the nature of these events will be consi­
dered in the discussion of inchoative verbs themselves.

It is with respect to these internal temporal structures of events,
as illustrated in Table 1, that the linguistic notions of tense and (at
least one type of) aspect are interpreted. Having considered, albeit

(1) Examples of verbs in the order categories are: (1) -kûnd- "like", -bôn-
"realize"; (2) -kûlp- "hit"; (3) -kâm- "milk", -sôm- "read"; (5) -rlr- "cry", -nûmy-
"continue"; (7) -gû- "fall".
only briefly, the basic temporal structures of events, we can turn now
to the relationship of grammatical aspect to the verbs naming these
events.

ASPECT IN KINYARWANDA

For any language it is possible to consider several types of
aspect. Of primary concern to us here is what can be characterized as
"delimiting" aspect (see BOTNE, 1981). This category of aspect expres­
es essentially a correlation between a delimited temporal phase and a
narrated event. This correlation may be perceived in either of two
ways: 1) as an event or events occurring within the delimited temporal
phase, or 2) as a delimited phase within the temporal structure of the
event itself. If we consider as an example an abstract time interval
"bounded" on its right (upper/future) end, schematically represented

we may conceive of an event E as either encompassed within this inter­
val (as in 2), or encompassing the time interval (which in effect
brings to the foreground a particular phase of the event, as in 3).

2) 

3) 

By his choice of appropriate delimiting aspect (within the possibilities
offered by his language), a speaker may delineate only a particular
phase of an event, or he may place the event within a particular tempo­
ral context. Several examples from Kinyarwanda will serve to clarify
these notions.

In Kinyarwanda it is necessary to consider three categories of
delimiting aspect. These will be referred to here as perfective, imper­
fective, and completive. Each of these aspects characterizes the nucleus
of the narrated event in a different way. Consider first the perfective
aspect. The perfective denotes a bounded interval that typically cha­
racterizes the nucleus of an event as a complete whole with no indication
of its internal complexity (see COMRIE 1976). It is morphologically
marked by the terminal suffix -a. Hence, we find sentences such as those
illustrated in (4).

4) a. nimugorooba a-rá-kam-á inka hanyuwa ...
    in evening lpa-semp-milk-pfu cow(s)
    "this evening she will milk the cow(s) and then . . ."
   b. namubw))ye gukama Inka • (al i ko) nta-y-a-k-ai kör-a
    lpa-ant-3ps obj-tell-ompl to-milk cow(s) but neg-lpa-ant-obj 8-do-pf
    "I told her to milk the cow(s), but she didn't do it"

In effect, the narrated event -kam- is presented as a complete whole
with no particular emphasis on its internal complexity nor on its
beginning or end. I say narrated event because, as we saw, a durative
nucleus in Kinyarwanda events will have punctual onset and coda phases
which will be coterminous with the boundaries of the delimited temporal
interval. This relationship of event -kam- to bounded interval can be
visualized as follows (where the large brackets indicate the boundaries
of the delimited temporal phase encompassing the event):

   O   N   C

The imperfective aspect, in contrast to the perfective, denotes an
unbounded interval of undetermined duration. This aspect is morphologi­
cally marked by the terminal suffix -aga, and may characterize the event
in one of two ways.

5) tw-á-kam-aga inka
    lpp-ant-milk-ippu cow(s)
   i. "we were milking the cow(s)"
   ii. "we used to milk the cow(s)"

The two interpretations observed in (5) are possible based on the dis­

(4) See COUPEZ (1980) for a different usage of "perfective".
end of the event. In this respect, the imperfective functions to bring
the activity of the nucleus of the event into the foreground. This
relationship between unbounded interval and event may be schematized
as illustrated in (6).

6) \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{O} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{C}
\end{array} \]

In (5ii), on the other hand, the event(s) is (are) interpreted as
occurring within the delimited temporal interval; that is, focus is on
the time interval during which the event or events were manifested.
This relationship is illustrated in (7).

7) \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{E} \\
\text{E} \\
\text{E}
\end{array} \]

Thus, the imperfective aspect in Kinyarwanda may function either to
focus on the internal structure of a single instantiation of an event,
or to focus on the temporal interval itself during which several instan­
tiations of the event were manifested.

Of interest for the analysis of inchoative verbs is the fact that
imperfective aspect is incompatible with "single instantiation" inter­
pretations of events characterized by punctual nuclear phases. Conse­
quently, verbs that name events having punctual nuclear phases will
not have the first reading above (i.e duration of a single instantiation
of an event), but only the second (i.e multiple instantiations of
the event within a delimited temporal interval). This incompatibility of
the imperfective with punctual nucleus events presents us with one test
for differentiating events having durative nuclear phases from those
having punctual ones.

Both the perfective and imperfective aspects may be considered
dynamic in nature, suggesting a perspective of "movement" or "activity"
through the time of the event, to use COMREI's (1976) characterization.
The third aspect in Kinyarwanda, the completive, is unlike the first
two in that it may be considered static in nature; that is, it signals
a point at which the nucleus of the event may be said to have been
completed, but does not indicate any particular activity at that point.
This aspect is morphologically marked by a discontinuous morpheme (see
BOTNE 1980) which is phonologically unstable, but is generally realized
phonetically as [-Ce].

8) a. \( k̉-k̉-m-ya \) \( \text{inka} \)
   \( \text{spe-milk-omp} \) \( \text{cow(s)} \)
   "she has just milked the cow(s)"

b. \( y-k̉-k̉-m-ya \) \( \text{inka} \)
   \( \text{spe-nr ong-milk-omp} \)
   "she milked the cow(s) (earlier in the day)"

The nature of the completive aspect may be schematically visualized as
in (9).

9) \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{O} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{C}
\end{array} \]

The significant feature of the completive aspect is that it indicates
completion of the nuclear (or characteristic) phase of the event, NOT
necessarily completion of the event itself.

As we will see in the analysis of inchoative verbs, the semantic
and temporal interpretation of a particular verbal expression depends
upon the nature of the temporal structure of the event and the aspectual
character attributed to it. It is this narrated aspectual character of
events that is of primary concern in the grammatical relationship of
tense.

TENSE IN KINYARWANDA

We have considered so far the relationship of temporal intervals
(or, perhaps more appropriately, phases) and events; in considering
tense we are concerned with the relative order of events in time, not
with the relationship of events to time. In essence, tense is a gram­
matical relation which expresses the relationship between that aspect
of an event that has been foregrounded and some distinct "event of
reference". That event which serves as the primary point of reference
is invariably the speech event itself; in specific contexts other events
may be interpreted as secondary points of reference.

Kinyarwanda manifests two types of tense system which relate that
aspect of the event in the foreground to the speech event. These systems
have been described in BOTNE (1982), and will be briefly outlined here
for reference.

The first system is segmental in nature, that is, it is a system
in which temporal segments are morphologically marked. In Kinyarwanda
we find four such temporal segments, marked either by the verbal prefix -ra- or by -a-. Figure 1 illustrates the relationship of these segments to the speech event, which will be considered to be the primary reference point (RI)\(^5\).

**FIGURE 1 - Tense : Segmental System\(^6\)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before</th>
<th>Today</th>
<th>After</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Earlier</td>
<td>Later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>RI</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several examples will serve to illustrate the usage of these morphemes. In order to express the idea that an event will take place later on the day of speaking, it is necessary to affix -ra- to the verbal radical, as in (10).

10) n-rä-y(kôr-a 7
lpe-sseg-pobj 9-work-pf
"I am going to work on it (the car) (now or later in the day)"

The same event narrated as having occurred earlier in the day requires the morpheme -a- rather than -ra-, as in (11).

11) n-ä-y(kô-r-e 8
lpe-nr ant-segpat-obj 9-work-cmpl
"I worked on it (the car) (earlier in the day)"

For those events of which the nucleus is narrated as anterior to the moment of speaking, the use of -ra- or -a- occurs only when there is no external complement to the verbal expression, i.e. when the verbal construction represents the final element of the syntagme\(^8\). Thus, the construction in (11) loses the segmental morpheme -a- when a complement is added, either an object or a locative (temporal), as in (12) and (13).

12) n-ä-y(-kô-r-za 7
lpe-nt ant-obj 9-work-cmpl in morning
"I worked on it (the car) this morning"

13) n-ä-kô-za 8
lpe-nr ant-work-cmpl car
"I worked on the car (earlier in the day)"

The segmental temporal system that we have just considered functions in conjunction with a more complex "vector" temporal system. The vector system in Kinyarwanda comprises three sub-systems, each of which marks one domain semantically in opposition to all of the other domains. Consequently, we find a morphological opposition in which the semantically marked morpheme will have a unique temporal interpretation, while the semantically unmarked morpheme will have three potential interpretations corresponding to the three unmarked temporal domains.

An illustrative example of the type of opposition that I have described above can be found in English. English manifests a vector temporal system opposing "anterior" and "non-anterior". The semantically marked domain - anterior - has a unique interpretation: anterior to the point of reference. It is morphologically marked by the suffix -ed. This domain is in semantic opposition to the unmarked domains which are group-

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\(^{5}\) See BULL (1960) for a similar discussion of segmental tense.

\(^{6}\) This chart is only an approximation. It has been simplified to illustrate the principal idea. For the complete chart, which includes the relationship of tones to these morphemes, see BUTNR (1982 : 26).

\(^{7}\) Note that for ease in following the examples some morphemes have not been included, and others (such as tone) have been combined. Underlyingly, for example, this construction would be : /n + ø + ɔ + œ + ra + yi + ɔ + kôr + a/

\(^{8}\) These morphemes are present with certain manner adverbs such as Cyane "very, hard", koko "truly", neez "good, well", ndabi "bad, poorly, etc."
ped together as "non-anterior" (morphologically $\emptyset$). Thus, the verb form 'come' is semantically unmarked in English and has three potential interpretations by virtue of its opposition to the marked form 'came'.

14) *Here they come now.* (simultaneous with speech event)
15) *They come next week.* (posterior to speech event)
16) *Whenever they come to California, they visit us.* (disjunct with respect to speech event)

The vector system in Kinyarwanda is far more complex than that illustrated for English because it comprises three sub-systems, each of which is marked in the verbal construction. These three sub-systems are represented schematically in Figure 2 as remote anterior/non-remote anterior (a), anterior/non-anterior (b), and remote posterior/non-remote posterior (c).

**FIGURE 2 - Tense : Vector System**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before Today</th>
<th>Today</th>
<th>After Today</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) --------</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) --------</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) --------</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to indicate that the narrated event is temporally situated in the near past with respect to the speech event, the verbal construction must include three vector morphemes: the $\emptyset$ (low tone) from (a), the $\emptyset$ from (b), and the $\emptyset$ from (c) (in addition to the segmental morpheme, of course). Remote past with respect to the speech event would be indicated by the morpheme $\emptyset$ (high tone) from (a) rather than the low tone. Thus, we find the following contrasting structures.

17) *yakoze imodoka ejo*
   "he worked on the car yesterday"

18) *yakoze imodoka mu gitoondo*
   "he worked on the car this morning"

The interpretation of any particular verbal expression then is determined by the complex interaction of tense systems, aspectual character and the temporal structure of the event named by the verb. I will demonstrate in the following analysis how inchoative verbs in particular are interpreted according to this interaction.

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THE NATURE OF INCHOATIVE VERBS

1. Syntactically, inchoative verbs may occur in the same types of constructions as other verbs in Kinyarwanda. However, in many instances, the temporal interpretations of these constructions are decidedly different from those for the non-inchoatives (stative or non-stative). In the preceding discussion I alluded to the "punctual" nature of the nuclear phase of events named by inchoative verbs as the principal reason for these differences. Two arguments can be presented in favor of this "punctual" analysis, both of which concern aspectual distinctions.

Consider, first, interpretations of the imperfective construction (verbal suffix -aga). With non-inchoative verbs such as -kam- "milk" (non-stative) and -bon- "realize" (stative) we find two possible interpretations.

19) *y-a-kam-aga inka*
   "she used to milk the cow(s)"
   i. "she was milking the cow(s)"

20) *y-a-bon-aga ko nyogokuru*
   "he used to accept that his grandmother was telling the truth"
   i. "he used to accept that his grandmother was telling the truth"

The first reading in each set of interpretations (19i and 20i) indicates that the event was repeated (or continuous) throughout some time interval in the past. The second reading characterizes a single instantiation of the event as on-going, or continuous, with no perspective on the beginning or the end. In effect, the imperfective aspect functions here to bring to the foreground the internal structure of the nuclear phase of the event. The underlying notion of continuousness indicates that this phase is durative in these examples. That the imperfective must always characterize a situation as durative becomes even clearer if we consider a punctual verb such as -kubh- "hit".

21) *y-a-d-m-kubh-aga*
   "she used to hit him"
   i. "she was hitting him"

The first reading in each set of interpretations (21i and 20i) indicates that the event was repeated (or continuous) throughout some time interval in the past. The second reading characterizes a single instantiation of the event as on-going, or continuous, with no perspective on the beginning or the end. In effect, the imperfective aspect functions here to bring to the foreground the internal structure of the nuclear phase of the event. The underlying notion of continuousness indicates that this phase is durative in these examples. That the imperfective must always characterize a situation as durative becomes even clearer if we consider a punctual verb such as -kubh- "hit".
indefinite interval of time in the past. In the second reading we find
an iterative interpretation; the event is perceived as a series of
punctual actions. A single instantiation of the event 'hit'; as a
series - multiple instantiations - of sub-events, 'hit' takes on the
characteristics of a durative event and thereby becomes compatible with
imperfective aspect.

Inchoative verbs also occur in the imperfective construction.
However, they do not exhibit the potential ambiguity in interpretation
that we find in the non-inchoative verbs. The only interpretation possi­
ble is that indicating a repetitive action in the past. The second
interpretation, that of an on-going event, can only be rendered by a
totally different syntactic construction.

22) a. y-á-rwaar-ága   inkorora
    ñpa-ánt-be (come) sick-impf cough
    i. "he used to get coughs"
    ii."he was getting a cough"
    iii.*"he was coughing"
b. y-á-rí á-rwáa-yá   inkorora
    ñpa-ánt-'be' ñpe-be (come) sick-comp cough
    "he was coughing"

23) a. y-á-rágír-ága   íhene n' íntaama
    ñpa-ánt-tend-impf goats and sheep
    i. "he used to tend the goats and sheep"
    ii."he was tending the goats and sheep"
b. y-á-rí á-rágí-yá íhene n' íntaama
    ñpa-ánt- 'be' ñps-tend-comp goats and sheep
    "he was tending the goats and sheep"

Since these verbs can only have the repetitive reading with imperfective
aspect, we are led to conclude that the nuclear phase of the events named
by these verbs is punctual.

The second argument supporting the punctual analysis of inchoative
verbs is more complex than the first in that it involves the interaction
of the tense system with aspectual characteristics. Notice in the follo­
wing examples (24-25) that the verbal construction with -ra- (segmental
temporal morpheme) and -a (perfective aspect) has two potential inter­
pretations when the verb radical is non-inchoative.

24) á-rá-kám-á   inka
    ñps-segp-obj milk-comp
    i. "she is milking the cow (at present)"
    ii. "she is going to milk the cow (later in the day)"

25) á-rá-mw-dámb-á
    ñps-segp-3ps obj-believe-comp
    i. "he believes her (at present)"
    ii. "he will come to believe her (later in the day)"

However, with inchoative verbs we find only the "later in the day"
interpretation in this construction.

26) á-rá-snlln!-r-á
    ñps-segp-sleep-comp
    i. "he is going to sleep (later in the day)"
    ii. "he is falling asleep (at present)"
    iii.*"he is sleeping (at present)"

27) á-rá-rágír-á íntaama
    ñps-segp-tend-comp sheep
    i. "he is going to tend the sheep (later in the day)"
    ii.*"he is tending the sheep (at present)"

In order to express the notion that the event is taking place, i.e. is
on-going, at the moment of speaking, it is necessary to employ the
completive aspect (phonetically [-Ce] with the inchoative radical. Thus,
the events in (26) and (27) would be expressed as follows in order to
have a "present" interpretation.

26') á-rá-snlngnrí-yá
    ñps-segp-sleep-comp
    "he is sleeping (at present)"

27'). á-rágí-yá íntaama
    ñps-tend-comp
    "he is tending the sheep (at present)"

We also find verbs that denote non-inchoative events occurring in this
construction with the completive aspect. However, the meaning is not
that the event is on-going at present, but that it has just occurred
(and is no longer in progress).

28) á-rá-zf-kám-yá
    ñps-segp-obj 10-milk-comp
    "she has just milked them (cows)"

From these data we must conclude that the completive aspect indi­
cates completion of the nuclear phase of the event, and not necessarily
completion of the event itself. If this were not the case, then the
sentences in (26') and (27') could not have the continuous present
meaning that they have. Assuming semantic consistency in the meaning
of the completive aspect, we are again led to conclude that inchoative
verbs name events having punctual nuclear phases. Such an analysis
provides an appropriate explanation for the observed differences in the behavior of the inchoative verbs. In examples (26') and (27') the completive aspect indicates that the nucleat phase has been completed. The event itself, though, has not been completed; the temporal perspective of the speaker is from a point within the coda phase of the event, hence the interpretation of the event as on-going at the moment of speaking.

This analysis of inchoative verbs as denoting events with punctual nuclear phases and durative onset and/or coda phases allows us to characterize them in terms of the phases of their internal structure. The nucleus of these events is that intrinsic point of change from one state (or process) to another state. The coda phase is that characteristic state that results from this change. Consequently, inchoative verbs, as DILLON (1977: 126) points out, entail "result after time T" and "result not immediately before time T", where "time T" must be the punctual nuclear phase of the event.

II. The discussion to present has been concerned with formulating the distinction between verbs that name events having durative nuclear phases and verbs that name events having punctual nuclear phases. We can further differentiate verbs of the punctual variety by considering the nature of the temporal structure as a whole. Inchoative verbs are those verbs that name events having not only a punctual nuclear phase, but also an onset and/or coda phase. We can separate these verbs into three classes—achievement, transitional, resultative—according to the presence or absence of an onset and/or coda phase.

If the verb names an event of the type that has an internal structure that comprises an onset phase and a (punctual) nucleus,

\[ \text{ON} \]

we will consider the verb to belong in the achievement class (cf. VENDLER 1967). Achievement verbs can be differentiated from both transitional and resultative verbs by (at least) two syntactic/semantic features. First, although they are similar to other inchoatives in constructions having -ra- (segmental temporal morpheme) and -a (perfective) in that they can only have the meaning "later in the day" (as in 29 below), they do not have "on-going present" meaning when the completive aspect replaces the perfective (as in 30). Rather, they have the same meaning as found with non-inchoative verbs: "has just V-ed".

29) \[ a-\text{ra-}h\text{-g}a-r\text{-}a \]
\[ \text{Spa-seg-loc obj-arrive-pfv} \]
"he will arrive there (later in the day)"

30) \[ a-\text{ra-}h\text{-g}a-r\text{-}a \]
\[ \text{Spa-seg-loc obj-arrive-compl} \]
"he has just arrived there"

Achievement verbs differ from non-inchoative punctual verbs such as -kubit- "hit" in that they may occur in constructions compatible with the durative adverbial expression \[ w + \text{time expression ("V in T-time")} \].

31) \[ y-\text{a-g}a-r\text{-}a \]
\[ \text{Spa-nr ant-arrive-compl home in minutes ten} \]
"he arrived home in ten minutes (earlier in the day)"

32) \[ y-\text{a-}m\text{-}u-kubit-g\text{-}a \]
\[ \text{Spa-nr ant-Spa obj-hit-compl} \]
"he hit him in ten minutes"

A second characteristic feature of achievement verbs that distinguishes them from transitional and resultative inchoatives is their ungrammaticality in constructions compatible with the durative adverbial 'V + time expression' ('V for T-time) which answers the question 'in how long?'. This difference is illustrated by the examples in (33-35) with the verbs -gâr- "arrive" (achievement), -sÎlnsr- "sleep" (transitional), and -têgârê- "wait for" (resultative).

33) \[ y-\text{a-g}a-r\text{-}a \]
\[ \text{Spa-nr ant-arrive-compl home in minutes ten} \]
"he arrived home for ten minutes"

34) \[ y-\text{sÎlnsr-}g\text{-}a \]
\[ \text{Spa-nr ant-sleep-compl hours two} \]
"he slept for two hours"

35) \[ y-\text{a-}m\text{-}u-têgârê-r\text{-}a \]
\[ \text{Spa-nr ant-Spa obj-wait-for-compl hours two} \]
"he waited for him for two hours"

---

(10) Achievement verbs must be considered somewhat differently. We can consider the nucleus to represent that intrinsic point at which the characteristic activity of the event can be said to have occurred and completed the event.

(11) There are punctual verbs such as -kubit- "hit", which are not inchoative. These verbs do not have onset or coda phases, differentiating them from inchoatives, which do.
We can characterize achievement inchoatives as compatible with adverbials expressing duration of "coming to be" and incompatible with adverbials expressing duration of "result". This situation is just the reverse for resultative inchoatives. The example in (36) indicates the ungrammaticality of -tegerez- with the duration adverbial mu + time expression.

36) *y-a-mu-tegere-Je mu masaaha abill
3ps-anti-wait-for-nompl in hours two
"he waited for him in two hours"

The resultative inchoatives may be further distinguished by their ungrammaticality in the construction -ri mu ku-V 12 in which both achievement and transitional inchoatives may occur.

37) *a-r1 mu gu-sl)nzllr-a
3pe-be to-be fall-sompl
"he is about to wait for him"

38) a-r1 mu gu-sillnr-à
"he is falling asleep"

39) t-r1 mu ku-gar-à iyanyu
"we are about to arrive home"

We can see from these data that resultative inchoatives are incompatible with syntactic constructions that express a notion of "coming to be". We can, therefore, conclude from this observation that resultative inchoatives do not contain an onset phase as part of their internal temporal structure. This structure will comprise only two phases, a punctual nucleus and a durative coda phase.

------------
N C
------------

The third class of verb - transitional verbs - is compatible both with syntactic constructions expressing duration of "coming to be" and duration of "result", as the examples in (40-43) illustrate.

40) iki gilti cy-á-á-rà nu myaka ibill
this tree it-will bear fruit-nompl in years two
"this tree bore fruit in two years"

41) iki gilti cyéezé layaka ibill
"this tree bore fruit for two years"

42) y-á-téé-tsz ábillya mu masaaha abill
Spes-mt-cook-nompl sweet potatoes in hours two
"she cooked the sweet potatoes in two hours"

43) yatéétse ábillya mu masaaha abill
"she cooked the sweet potatoes for two hours"

These transitional inchoatives may also be characterized by their compatibility with the aspectualizer -tang{l}- "start, begin". Achievement verbs can never co-occur with -tang{l}-; resultative verbs may co-occur with -tang{l}- when the indicated tense relation is other than "present".

44) a-tang{1}-ye ku-rwaar-a
3ps-be-cmpZ to-be (come) sick-pfV cough
"he has started to get a cough"

45) a-tang{l}-ye ku-gar-a
"he has started to arrive"

46a. a-tang{l}-ye gu-téegrez-à inshuti ye
"he has started to wait for his friend"

b. y-á-tang{l}-ye kú-mu-tegerez-à i saa moya
"he started waiting for him at seven o'clock"

These data can be explained if we recognize that -tang{l}- in Kinyarwanda is an achievement inchoative which "refers" to the onset and initial phase of the nucleus of the event named by its complement verb. Since resultatives have no corresponding onset phase, their nuclear phase (interpreted as concurrent with the nuclear phase of -tang{l}-) can only be specified as occurring at a specific point in the past or the future with respect to the moment of speaking. This interaction of aspectualizer and event structure will be described in more detail in the next section.

Transitional verbs are compatible with -tang{l}- because they comprise all three temporal phases - onset, nucleus, and coda. Their
internal temporal structure can be represented as schematized below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>achievement</th>
<th>transitional</th>
<th>resultative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-taa-</td>
<td>+NT</td>
<td>-r1mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO (pres)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES (npres)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have seen in the preceding discussion of inchoative verbs that there are significant linguistic differences among them which permit us to classify them into three distinct classes: achievement, transitional, and resultative. These syntactic/semantic differences are summarized in the following table. The linguistic constructions considered in the analysis represent only a few of the linguistic tests that could be used for classifying these verbs. These constructions have been selected because they are representative of the types of syntactic elements that provide tests for inchoative structures.

**TABLE 2** - Structural Classification of Inchoative Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V + mu + T</th>
<th>V + T</th>
<th>-r1 mu ku-V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>achievement</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitional</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resultative</td>
<td>NO (pres)</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES (npres)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can begin the discussion by considering inchoative verbs in the syntactic construction which includes "present tense" morphemes in conjunction with completive aspect. In sentences (47-49) we find examples of each of the inchoative categories, achievement, transitional, and resultative, respectively.

47) a-ta-ssh-y-a nönaa  
"he has just returned home now"

48) lgti k=ñ-ðè-zè  
"the tree is bearing fruit (at present)"

49) bá-rá-gl-rág-e  
"they are tending them (cows)"

Recall that aspect brings to the foreground a particular phase (or part of a phase) of the event named by the verb; tense relates this foregrounded phase to the moment of speaking. In (49) completive aspect indicates that the speaker's perspective on the narrated event is from a point after the nucleus (which has been completed) situated within the coda. This relationship is shown in (50) where CA indicates the point specified by the completive aspect.

50) ___________  
    N C

The tense relationship expressed in the sentence in (49) is indicated by four morphemes in underlying structure. This structure would be approximately that in (51).

51) /ba + é + ñ + è + ra + é + rágIr + Ir...e/  
    mp-pant-nm ant-nm pse-segp-nul con-tand-cmpl

Based on the interpretation of the tense morphemes occurring in this construction, the potential meaning would be "simultaneous with the point of reference, or later on the same day". However, by virtue
of its opposition to the construction bá-rá-zl-rãg-
where we find the only difference to be that of aspect), which can only have the
meaning "later today", the construction in (49) is restricted to the
meaning "simultaneous with the point of reference". Recall that it is
not the nucleus of the event or the event itself which is temporally
related to the point of reference (here the moment of speaking), but
the narrated aspect of the event, in this construction the completive.
Therefore, it is the point marked CA in (50) that is temporally marked
with respect to the moment of speaking. This relationship is illustrated
in (52); the symbol R1:CA indicates the concurrence of the primary
reference point (the speech event) and the completive aspect.

52) ~---------z~==:==:-------~
     R1:CA
     N  C

We thus arrive at the meaning of sentence as narrated in (49): "the
nucleus of the event 'tend' has been completed, the speaker's perspec-
tive is from a point in the coda phase of the event 'tend', this point
is simultaneous with the moment of speaking".

The interpretation of the sentence in (48) is analogous to that
in (49) because the events in both sentences are characterized by an
internal structure incorporating a coda phase. Consequently, we can
visualize the relationship among tense, aspect and event structure in
(48) as

53) ~---------z~==:==:-------~
     R1:CA
     O  N  C

in which we again find an interpretation of completive point simulta-
neous with the moment of speaking.

A change of vector morphemes - from ə to -a- produces a change in
the relationship of the completive aspect with respect to the moment
of speaking.

54) bá-ə-ə-zl-rãg-
yà
\"they tended them (cows) (earlier in the day)\"

55) yà-rã-ba-
yà
\"he became ill with a fever\"
\"he was ill with a fever\"

In (54) the foregrounded aspect of the event is narrated as anterior to
the moment of speaking; furthermore, the event is understood to have
been completed. This relationship is illustrated in the following
schema.

56) ~---------z~==:==:-------~
     CA
     R1
     N  C

Note that a significant difference in interpretation of the placement
of the completive point is to be found between that in (52) and that
in (56). In (52) the point is situated at an indefinite location in
the coda phase; in (56) it is interpreted as the final point of the
coda and, consequently, of the event itself. This difference in meaning
may be attributed to simple pragmatic aspects of the speech event; we
wish to communicate to our listener whether or not a characteristic
phase of an event is occurring at a particular point in time or is
anterior or posterior to the reference point. In Kinyarwanda an event
can be narrated as on-going with respect to a point in the past, as in
(57).

57) bá-ə-rí bá-zl-rãg-
yà
\"they were tending them (at that moment)\"

The defective verb -rí \"be\" in effect specifies a second reference
point to which the event is temporally oriented. The tense markers in
this verbal construction indicate the relationship of this second refe-
rence point to the primary reference point (the moment of speaking).
This complex interaction is illustrated in (58).

\[ \text{(58)} \]

By virtue of the systemic opposition between (54) and (57), the meaning of the sentence in (54) is restricted to completion of the event.

In (55) we find one interpretation analogous to that described for (54), that is, the event is interpreted as having occurred and as having been completed in the past. There is, however, a second interpretation possible. In this second reading, the completable aspect is interpreted as marking the initial point of the coda phase, in effect signaling the completion of the "coming to be" (onset) of the event. Consequently, the construction in (55) is ambiguous with respect to the placement of the completable point; and, in fact, there are contexts in which the coda phase will be interpreted as on-going at the moment of speech.

\[ \text{(59)} \]

This second interpretation is rather restricted in usage, treating the onset phase and nucleus of the transitional inchoative event in a manner similar to that found with achievement events.

Returning to the original set of examples (47-49), we find that the example in (47) is representative of the interpretation given achievement verbs in the "present completive" construction. The event 'return home' is interpreted as having just taken place; the completable aspect indicates that the nucleus of the event has just been completed, which, in the case of achievement inchoatives, is also the final phase of the event.

\[ \text{(60)} \]

The change of one of the vector morphemes from non-anterior (-g-) to anterior (-a-) results in a change in the relationship of R1 to CA.

\[ \text{(61)} \]

Of particular interest in (47) is the lack of the segmental tense morpheme -ra- that is found in both (48) and (49). This phenomenon was commented on in the introduction where I stated that it is both syntactically and semantically based. If the verbal expression has an external complement included in its syntagme, then the segmental morpheme does not occur in the surface structure. For example, if the pronominal object prefix in (49) is replaced with the complement noun, as in (61), then we find that the -ra- is deleted.

\[ \text{(62)} \]

This phenomenon is not found in all verbal constructions. It is semantically restricted to those constructions which express an instantiation (and completion) of the nucleus of the event anterior to the moment of speaking. Since the constructions above with inchoative verbs specify the nucleus of the event as anterior to the moment of speaking, we find the syntactic context determining the presence or absence of the segmental tense morpheme. We see then that these morphemes function in two ways, and are not limited solely to the grammatical expression of tense.

II. We have seen in the preceding discussion the relationship of completable aspect to inchoative events, and the temporal relationship of this complex structure to the moment of speaking. It is of interest here to make a few remarks on the perfective aspect before considering...
the relationship of the aspectualizer -t'anglr- to inchoatives. Sentences such as those in (62) and (63), for example, have two possible interpretations: "coming to be of E" or "E later in the day".

62) a-ra-gər-a iwe
   i. "he is arriving home (on his way now)"
   ii. "he will arrive home (later in the day)"
63) a-ra-sllrz1l1r-b
   i. "he is falling asleep"
   ii. "he will sleep (later in the day)"

These two interpretations are possible because the relationship of event to moment of speaking (expressed by tense markers) is dependent upon the foregrounded phase of the event. The perfective, as I have stated previously, functions to bring to the foreground the nucleus of the event, which, in the case of inchoatives, is punctual. The segmental tense marker -ra- in (62-63) indicates that this foreground phase is to be interpreted as occurring between the moment of speaking and the end of the day. The onset phase, however, may be interpreted as simultaneous with the moment of speaking, thus allowing the "coming to be" interpretation. If there is no onset phase, as with the event named by -rag1r- in (64), there is no reading as "coming to be".

64) a-ra-ragl1r-b iintaama
   "he will tend the sheep (later in the day)"
   **"he is about to tend the sheep"

The different interpretations in (62-63) arise, as shown by the schemas in (62'-63'), from the perceived relationship of the onset phase of the event to the moment of speaking: in either interpretation the nucleus is interpreted as posterior to the moment of speaking.

Although I have previously stated that the perfective foregrounds the nucleus of events, it appears that with transitional and resultative inchoatives - such as -sllrz1l1r- and -rag1r-, respectively - this is not the case. Rather, the perfective embraces both the nucleus and the coda as a complete whole. (Notice that the interpretation of (63ii) is not simply that the individual will fall asleep at some later moment in the day, but additionally that the duration of 'sleep' will occur within the same day). Thus, it is perhaps better to describe the perfective as foregrounding the 'perceived' characteristic state or activity of the event, rather than simply the nucleus.

III. The final point that I will consider in this section is the interaction of inchoatives with the aspectualizer -t'anglr- "begin". As we have seen previously, this verb is inchoative in nature (achievement) and only occurs with transitional inchoatives (all contexts) or resultative inchoatives (non-present contexts). We can consider first its limitation to transitional inchoatives in constructions expressing "presentness".

The verb -t'anglr- refers to the onset phase of the event, including the initial point of the nucleus. Thus, the nucleus of the event named by -t'anglr- may indicate either a point in the onset phase of the narrated event or the initial point of the nucleus. This dual

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(13) The perfective aspect appears to function in the same manner as that outlined for the imperfective earlier. Notice that it may bring to the foreground either (1) the nucleus of the event.
   a) a-ra-k6r-a imodoka (n1 muunsi)
      "he will work on the car (this afternoon)"
      as a complete whole, or (2) the relevant time period in which some part of the event occurs.
   b) a-ra-k6r-a imodoka (nonaha)
      "he is working on the car (now)"
potential permits two temporal interpretations of constructions with transitional verbs.

65) i. á-táanglr-yé gu-tóúr-á
   ii. "he has begun to fall asleep"

65') i. ~-------------------
   1. -táanglr-
   2. ~-------------------
   3. -sllellzlr-
   4. O N C

With resultative inchoatives there is no onset phase; the event begins with the nucleus. Consequently, we only find these verbs occurring in constructions in which -táanglr- is specified as anterior or posterior to the moment of speaking, as in (66). The reason for this restriction is that we cannot indicate that a point (such as the nucleus of an achievement event or resultative event) is simultaneous with the speech event; we can only indicate that the point is anterior or posterior to the speech event.

66) a. y-á-táanglr-yé gu-tóúr-á i Kigali ukwezi gushiza
   "he began living in Kigali last month"

b. á-zá-a-táanglr-a gu-tóúr-á i Kigali ukwezi gushiza
   "he will begin living in Kigali next month"

c. *a-táanglr-yé gu-tóúr-á i Kigali
   "he is beginning to live in Kigali (now)"

Having examined the use of -táanglr- with respect to transitional and resultative verbs, we must consider why it is that this aspectualizer does not co-occur with achievement verbs. As we have seen, -táanglr- refers to the onset phase and the initial point of the nucleus. More significantly, though, it characterizes this phase as the preparatory stage for a durative activity or state. Since achievement events cannot be characterized by a durative nuclear or coda phase, they do not co-occur with -táanglr-. That is, the use of -táanglr- entails that the narrated event include a durative phase characteristic of that particular event.

CONCLUSION

Inchoative verbs, as we have seen, represent a syntactically and semantically distinct set of verbs in Kinyarwanda. Within the framework of the analysis developed here these verbs have been characterized as denoting events comprising a punctual nuclear phase, and an onset and/or coda phase. The set of inchoatives has, in addition, been sub-categorized into three groups according to differences among them in syntactic/semantic behavior and in associated temporal structure. I have termed the verbs in these sub-groups as achievement, transitional, or resultative according to the principal semantic characteristic of each group.

The classification of certain verbs as "inchoative" has been based entirely upon linguistic evidence within the language itself, and upon the assumption that events comprise an internal temporal structure that can be inferred from the linguistic behavior of the verbs that name them. The verbal constructions that I have described in this article permit us to associate temporal structures with events. However, what is of primary importance in this analysis is not the association of a particular temporal structure with a specific event, but rather the explanatory value such a correlation provides when considering the linguistic behavior of verbs, whether inchoative or non-inchoative.

The present classification of certain verbs in Kinyarwanda as inchoative (e.g. -áglr- "tend (animals)", -ték- "cook") certainly
does not correspond to what linguists intuitively consider to be inchoative verbs in other languages, in particular Indo-European languages. Classification, however, cannot be based upon the intuition of the linguist, or upon what is true of another language. Evidence must be presented from within the language under consideration in order to obtain a valid and valuable classification. The linguistic data that I have described here provide strong evidence that Kinyarwanda speakers perceive certain events as inchoative (as I have defined the term), events which are not necessarily perceived as such in Indo-European languages.

The data and analysis I have set forth here suggest the need of reconsidering the nature of "equivalence in meaning" between linguistic items from different languages. Although we might claim that English "sit", French "asseoir" and Kinyarwanda -licar- refer to the same event, it would appear to be the case that the event is perceived differently by these languages according to the nature of the temporal structure associated with it. We might expect to find that these verbs behave differently in these languages with respect to duration adverbials, aspect and tense, all of which are sensitive to the internal temporal structure of the event named by the verb. Obviously, there is more to the meaning and functioning of verbs that the nature of the internal structure that we can associate with the event the verb names. Nevertheless, an approach such as that I have argued for here can contribute to the understanding and explanation of the syntactic and semantic behavior of verbs both intra- and inter-linguistically.

TABLE 3 - A Partial Classification of Kinyarwanda Inchoatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>achievement</th>
<th>&quot;steal everything&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;come back&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;arrive&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;go&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;merit&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;fade&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;finish&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;start/begin&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-cuucuur-</td>
<td>-garur-</td>
<td>-gur-</td>
<td>-g1-</td>
<td>-flr-</td>
<td>-r10 (lr1n)-</td>
<td>-r10nglr-</td>
<td>-r10nglr-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitional</th>
<th>&quot;be (come) dressed/put on clothes&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;suffer morally&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;bear fruit&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-h1mlr-</td>
<td>-flkerr-</td>
<td>-narruk-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-rakk1r-</td>
<td>-sw1k-</td>
<td>-sw1k-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

resultative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;be dressed in rags&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;be lodged/camped&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;be seated&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;lean on&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;be near&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;work together/cooperate&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;tend (animals)&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;be lying down&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;wait for&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-cobocar-</td>
<td>-cuumblk-</td>
<td>-licar-</td>
<td>-egyan-</td>
<td>-egar-</td>
<td>-f1tany-</td>
<td>-ragl-</td>
<td>-ryam-</td>
<td>-tagarz-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;come from/be from (place of origin)&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;live/reside&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;be sheltered from (rain, sun, etc.)&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-t1urk-</td>
<td>-t1ur-</td>
<td>-t1ug1m-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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REFERENCES


COUPEZ, André, 1980, "Abrégé de grammaire rwanda". Butare, Rwanda : IMRS.


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LA STRUCTURE DU MOT EN KINYARWANDA
par Yves CADIOU

0. Parmi les langues de la grande famille bantu, le kinyarwanda a gardé dans ses structures des caractères archaïques qui en font un idiome présentant une sémiose riche et complexe susceptible, à plus d'un titre, de retenir l'attention du linguiste. Les études sur le kinyarwanda ne manquent pas, les travaux les plus importants ayant été menés par André Coupez, Professeur à l'Université libre de Bruxelles et dont le dernier ouvrage Abrégé de grammaire rwanda (Butare, 1980), sera à plusieurs reprises mentionné dans cet article.

Toutefois, il nous a semblé utile de poser, dans une optique psycho-mécanique, le problème de la structure du mot, de sa composition et d'essayer de préciser, à la lumière de la théorie des aires glosso-géniques, la place qu'occupe le kinyarwanda dans la classification des langues du monde telle qu'elle a été dressée par Gustave Guillaume. Une tentative analogue a été entreprise par Pierre Nkantira à propos de l'ikirundi, langue très proche du kinyarwanda. Nous lui emprunterons certaines de ses conclusions, mais nous demandons au lecteur de considérer que le présent article est plus une suite de remarques que nous avons été amené à faire qu'une résolution définitive du problème.