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A contrastive analysis of comparative reference in English and Kirundi

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UNIVERSITY OF BURUNDI
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE
AND LITERATURE

A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF COMPARATIVE REFERENCE IN ENGLISH AND KIRUNDI

BY

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SUPERVISOR

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree: <<Licence en Langue et Littérature Anglaises>>

BUJUMBURA, May 1997

Dedication.

To my parents, in MEMORIUM,

To my brothers and sisters,

To all of you who helped me in hard times,

I dedicate this thesis.

Acknowledgements.

It is hard to know whom to thank when one is fully aware of having learnt from many people.

But above all, I must voice my gratitude to Doctor Firmard SABIMANA, supervisor of this work for his guidance in the choice of the topic and at various stages of its completion. He put much heart and indeed patience and goodwill in the part he played. His influence is so pervasive that I cannot properly detail his contribution.

My thanks go to all teachers of the English department at the University of Burundi whose specialised knowledge I profited from very much.

I would like to acknowledge the support I received from my brothers during my studies. I particularly recognize the help and encouragement I received from Leonidas NDAYISHIMIYE during the writing of this work.

To my dear sisters, I owe more than I can express here. I would like to express my sincerest appreciation.

Last but not least, my thanks go to my former classmates for all what they have been.

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CHAPTER I. GENERALITIES.

I.1. PROBLEM.

I.1.1. Introduction.

The present work is a contrastive analysis of English and Kirundi comparative reference. It may sound absurd to compare a Bantu language to an Indo-European language. However, such a comparison is quite normal inasmuch as all languages have some similarities, if one tries to go deep in their linguistic systems or grammatical functioning. Phenomena found in all languages are known as linguistic universals; reference is one such universal.

In presenting the traditional semantic view of reference, Lyons (1968:404) says that the relationship which holds between words and things is the relationship of reference: words refer to things.

In a lengthy discussion of textual cohesion, reference is one of the main topics discussed by Halliday and Hasan (1976) as a potentially cohesive relation because the thing that serves as the source of the interpretation may itself be an element of the text. The two authors take the view that the concept of cohesion accounts for the essential semantic relations whereby any passage of speech or writing is enabled to function as a unit. The cohesive relationship which particularly interests them is that which they discuss under the headings of reference, substitution, ellipsis and lexical relationship. Cohesion within a text can of course be provided by relationships other than those involving the devices listed above. In this work, cohesion is expressed through the phenomenon of comparison :

e.g: My opinion is not correct but yours is more acceptable.

In any comparison, there are at least two things (persons) which are being talked about. One thing or person is like or different from something or someone else; a thing cannot just be"like", it must be "like something". Therefore, likeness is a referential property because we always have to refer to something else for the comparison to exist. However, identity, similarity or difference do not necessarily imply reference of any kind. The comparison may be purely internal, the likeness (non-likeness) being expressed as a mutual one, without a referent appearing as a distinct entity.

e.g.:"The students gave <u>similar</u> answers".

The present work is a contrastive analysis of two languages and, as we know, we cannot contrast things that have not been described first. So, a description of the two languages is necessary. Furthermore, like any research work, this one starts with a question which must find an answer. For our case, the questions is: "How does comparative reference function in English and Kirundi?" Our concern is to compare the two languages with the intent of setting off similarities and dissimilarities.

There are two types of contrastive studies according to Fisiak (1981): theoretical and applied. Theoretical studies give an exhaustive account of the differences and similarities between two or more languages. In other words, theoretical contrastive studies are language independent.They look for the realization of a universal category in the languages which are being investigated on. On the contrary, applied contrastive studies are preoccupied with the problem of how a universal category, realized in the first language, is rendered in the second one, and what may be the possible consequences of this for a given field of application (e.g. teaching, translation, etc...). In our study, we are concerned with the theoretical contrastive study.

I.1.2. Statement of the problem.

Any language is an autonomous system. Therefore, in order to understand it, one has to analyse this system. The present work is concerned with two languages : English and Kirundi and no doubt a contrastive study is important since it gives descriptive accounts in both languages.
The phenomenon of comparative reference exists in English as well as in Kirundi. In English, the domain of reference has been investigated on but comparison has been a little bit forgotten. In Kirundi, reference is a domain which can be said to have been neglected since very few studies are available on that topic. It is true that many things have been said about reference in English but the same cannot be said for Kirundi. Early linguistic works dealt with phonology and syntax but failed to provide any analysis of reference. Writers like Meeussen (1959), Ntahokaja (1976), wrote much about Kirundi grammar but nothing about reference. Studies related to this semantic aspect began with Ntahonkiriye (1990) which is " A study of referential use of 'it' and its counterparts in Kirundi". Havugiyaremye (1991) also studied "Reference in Kirundi narrative discourse."

As this work is a contrastive analysis, our basic concern is then to show that, however distant the two languages are as independent systems, they can be compared and contrasted. On this point, the comparativist Ellis (1966:167) had this to say:

> "While every language may have its individuality, all languages have enough in common for them to be compared and classified into types."

In relation to the expressions which play the referential function, Halliday & Hasan (1976) distinguish three types of reference in English : personal reference, demonstrative reference and comparative reference. Buy personal reference, Halliday&Hasan mean the reference conveyed buy personal pronouns and possessives whereas demonstrative reference is ensured buy demonstratives which help to locate a discourse entity. By comparative reference, they mean that it sets up comparison in

terms of likeness and unlikeness. In our study, we shall be concerned with the last type of reference, i.e., comparative reference in the way Halliday & Hasan (1976) view it. For a good conduct of this study, we will choose methods which will help us to achieve a good analysis and draw similarities and differences. Linguistic typology tells us that human languages fall into several types according to which grammatical, phonological and lexical features they show preferences for. So, if some models are better at describing certain features, it must follow that some models will describe certain languages better than others.

I.1.3. Purpose of the study.

The aims of contrastive studies have been much discussed and will doubtless continue to be discussed. The discussion usually centres around two fundamental points of view: the theoretical and the practical. Theoretical aims include the desire to increase present knowledge within the field of linguistic while practical aims mainly relate to teaching and the construction of teaching materials. Our view is that contrastive studies should try to contribute to the fulfilment of both theoretical and practical aims.

Hence, this work should be conceived as a contribution to the study of our mother tongue inasmuch as the aspect of language we are concerned with in this work has been treated by very few people. We wish Kirundi to acquire a higher status through intensive studies, we would like to raise much interest in that language so that even non natives would feel a need to use it in their communication. Besides, we know that languages influence one another; this study may therefore be used to prevent or pre - empt errors that can occur due to this ongoing tendency of transferring structures of languages especially by bilingual people.

Like any scientific work, research questions have been set before. A clear answer must therefore be found to the following questions: "How does comparative reference operate in English and Kirundi? What are the similarities? What are the differences? "After having answered those questions, we will probably find principles which can be applied to practical problems, for example

in language learning or in translation. As M.A.K Halliday , A. Mc Intosh and P. Stevens (1964:76) say:

> "Comparison in the normal way brings together two languages which have been separately and independently described, with the categories appropriate to each."

It stems from this quotation that a contrastive analysis can only be effective after a description of both languages.

I.1.4. Structure of the dissertation.

The present work is made up of four chapters. The first chapter entitled : Generalities comprises three sections.

The first one is concerned with the statement of the problem and the purpose of the study. The second section deals with literature review; it gives an account of some works which have been done in relation to the topic. The last section is concerned with methodology and shows how we will collect, present and analyze the data.

The second chapter is a description of comparative reference in English.

The third chapter is a description of comparative reference in Kirundi.

The fourth is a contrastive analysis and draws similarities and differences between English and Kirundi. At the end comes a general conclusion.

I.2. LITERATURE REVIEW.

I.2.1.The theory of contrastive analysis.

Contrastive studies are not very recent in linguistics. They go back to the last decade of the nineteenth century. It is said that theoretically oriented contrastive studies were frequently done from the late twenties throught the interwar period and later well into the sixties by linguists of the Prague school, notably V. Mathesius (1928, 1936). The second world war aroused great interest in foreign language teaching in the United States, where almost unlimited funds and enormous efforts were devoted to working out the most effective and economical methods and techniques of teaching. Contrastive studies were recognized as an important part of foreign language teaching methodology and consequently, more applied relevance was assigned to them.

Fries (1945:9) pointed out that "the most efficient materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner. "As a result, a series of contrastive theses, dissertations, papers and monographs began to appear.

The approach adopted by the authors of almost all of these works was, as might have been expected, pedagogically oriented. Their aim was to discover and predict learning difficulties by comparing the native language with the foreign language. The basic assumption underlying these studies, as Lado (1957:2) puts it , was "that the student who comes in contact with a foreign language will find some features of it quite easy and others extremely difficult." Those elements which were similar to his native language would be simple for him and those elements different to his native language would be difficult. As a consequence, the teacher who had made a comparison of a foreign language with the native language of the student would know better what the real learning problems are and could better provide the materials for teaching them. The same authors also argued that, for the teacher, contrastive studies were undoubtedly essential for designing syllabuses and preparing teaching materials.

J. Alatis (1968:36) shares the same view that, when used in the classroom, comparative studies form a useful technique, employing the previous knowledge of the learner, informing him about similarities and differences between his native language and the foreign language he is studying and also warning him about making false analogies and about the potential areas of interference, a phenomenon that Weinreich (1953:1) defines as "those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language."

Another version of the contrastive hypothesis is stated by Lee (1968:186) who says that one of the main assumptions on which a contrastive analysis is based is that "the prime cause, or even the sole cause, of difficulty and error in foreign language learning is interference coming from the learners' native language."

Apart from pedagogically motivated contrastive studies, many linguists also contributed to more theoretically oriented contrastive studies, .i.e., to the area of bilingualism and language contact phenomena. Those are, among others, U.Weinreich (1953), C. Fernando (1977), etc...

Of course some criticisms have been made against contrastive studies. The major criticism is that contrastive studies are of no use and that their results have no immediate use in the classroom. According to opponents of contrastive analysis, its application to the construction of teaching materials may be even harmful, because it may lead to overemphasizing certain elements in the target language, and, consequently, to learning some fragments of that language only, instead of the whole system.

Some linguists put forward the view that the results of contrastive studies should not be the only data contained in the teaching material. This is what J.Fisiak (1981:8) aptly says: "to use the results of contrastive analyses raw in the classroom is rather like presenting a customer in a restaurant with the ingredients and a recipe." The other point expressed is that even applied contrastive studies have to select from a contrastive grammar the minimum that students at a certain age and with a certain educational and linguistic background can digest.

However, J. Fisiak (1981) argues that the pedagogical use of contrastive studies is still very essential because they explain and systematize our teaching experience. Moreover, contrastive analyses also provide necessary data, although not the only data, for the authors of text-books and pedagogical grammars with respect to the selection and arrangement of the target language items, as well as the emphasis and special attention that should be given to particular structures.

I.2.2. Reference in English.

In every human language, words are important elements in the understanding of sentences, as they are basic units of syntax and semantics. But although words can be looked at independently, we also have to consider the semantic relationship holding between words and what is named by them, i.e., what they refer to. There are cases where a constituent is not contextually new in the sense that is refers back to somebody or something mentioned earlier. When things are referred to for the second time, they are not necessarily identified by simply repeating the words that were used the first time; it is more usual to use a more condensed linguistic form. Furthermore, non-initial reference does not have to go into the same level of detail as initial reference.

e.g : John has more money than Mary does.

Instead of saying "John has more money than Mary has money."we use a more condensed linguistic form. As James (1980:104) says, we have two kinds of reference. "Language can refer-or make reference-in two ways; I can refer to some entity in the real world:real world reference is called exophoric reference and plays a secondary role in textual organization. But it is also possible to refer, by language, to another bit of language; this reference in text is called endophoric reference."

The same view is shared by Halliday & Hasan (1976), two famous linguists who significantly contributed to the study of reference. They too say that there exists two forms of reference: endophoric and exophoric reference. They go on saying that if it is in the text, the reference may be anaphoric (referring to something

already mentioned in the text) or cataphoric (referring to what is going to be mentioned in the text). According to the two linguists, reference in the text, i.e.,.endophoric reference, is a secondary and derived form of reference to situation (exophoric reference). To justify this view, they say that : "it is certainly possible that, in the evolution of language, situational reference preceded text reference," in other words, that the meaning "the thing you see in front of you" evolved earlier than the meaning "the thing you have just mentioned."

About the phenomenon of "anaphora", Halliday & Hasan (1976) assert that this phenomenon of backward reference contributes markedly to the internal cohesion of a text, since it creates a kind of network of lines of reference, each occurrence being linked to all its predecessors up to and including the initial reference.

The domain of reference interests many linguists. Concerning the anaphoric relation, Thurman as quoted by Grimes (1975:288) describes what he calls "anaphoric linkage", a term he uses to refer to what is generally called anaphoric reference. In that relation, a clause is repeated or paraphrased in dependent form as a means of leading into an independent clause that contains new information. Thurman gives the following example :

> "He broiled the steaks, when he has broiled the steaks, he called the guest, after he called them,they came..."

Thurman also says something about "cataphora". He discusses a specialized form of cataphoric reference, known as "chaining". In this form of reference, he says that certain verbs are not inflected explicitly for the person and number of the subject as others are, but have a medial inflection that says that their subject is referentially the same as or different from the verb of the next clause. So, the sentences consist of chains of verbs of this kind, ending in a final verb that have subject person and number inflection and possibly a nominal identification of the subject.

I.2.3.Reference in Kirundi.

Some studies have been conducted on Kirundi grammar in general and reference in particular. Ndayikengurukiye (1987) made an attempt on the use of demonstratives. Her study was aimed at looking for the similarities and differences between English and Kirundi determiner systems from morphological and semantic points of view. In terms of reference, she stated that demonstrative adjectives or pronouns can be used as referential expressions and that their endophoric use helps the reader to locate the referent semantically.

Ntahonkiriye (1990) in his thesis entitled "A contrastive analysis of English and Kirundi personnal pronouns expressing reference", limited himself to the case of "it". His interest was to see whether the personal pronoun "it" performs the same or a different function in English and Kirundi. He concluded that the pronoun can be used in both languages in the same way. According to him, the pronoun "it" has in Kirundi nine counterparts and these obey the same rules as "it" in English does.

Reference in Kirundi discourse have also been the object of the study carried out by Havugiyaremye (1991). In this thesis "A study of reference in Kirundi narrative discourse", he focussed on two types of referring expressions : personal pronouns and demonstratives. The study has described how those linguistic expressions behave syntactically and semantically, with more emphasis on the reference system. For Kirundi personal pronouns, it has been shown that there are two forms : dependent and independent ones. The former are bound to verbs or other syntactic categories, while the latter are used freely and can act as noun phrases. Concerning demonstrative reference, it was observed that it is expressed through the exophoric or endophoric function of the noun phrase in which the demonstrative is embedded. Semantically, demonstratives have to be taken as expressions of proximity with regard to the speaker and/or hearer.

Another work on reference is the thesis of Musonera (1994) : "A contrastive analysis of some anaphoric relations in English and Kirundi." In this study, he focusses on three categories of anaphoric expressions in the two languages, i.e., personal pronouns, possessives and demonstratives. The contrastive analysis has shown that both Kirundi and English have anaphoric relations conveyed by the three above mentioned types of expressions, however similarly or differently expressed. For personal pronouns, it has been shown that in both languages, they can be used anaphorically; usually the first and the second person personal pronouns are anaphoric only in quoted speech which provides the context of reference. As stated by Musonera (1994), those anaphoric expressions are prefixed in the verbal structure in Kirundi language whereas they stand free in English. Another observation made is that the two languages show dissimilarities with reference to agreement between the anaphoric expressions and the antecedents.

I.2.4. Reference and existence.

One notion that is not to be neglected is the notion of existence. As Lyons (1981:217) says : "reference is intrinsically connected with existence." In fact, one cannot refer to something that does not exist. One can, of course, refer to fictional and hypothetical entities; but in doing so, one presupposes that they exist in a fictional or hypothetical world. This view is shared by Strawson as quoted by Steinberg and Jakobovits (1971:78) who say that "if the presupposition of existence is not satisfied, the speaker has failed to refer." In other words, if we refer to something, that thing must exist (in the real world, in a hypothetical world, in a fictional world, etc...), otherwise we are not referring.

To summarize this section, we should say that even though there are constrative studies on reference, there is no such study on comparative reference. Types of reference that have been studied on are personal and demonstrative reference. our study is therefore intended to fill in that gap.

I.3. METHODOLOGY.

I.3.1. Data collection.

Reference is a semantic relation which occurs frequently whether in speech or writing. The data which will be used in our study is drawn from written texts. Since this work is concerned with two languages, we will have two types of texts: one written in English and another in Kirundi. In English, the texts to be dealt with are drawn from Modern English Short Stories V1 by Saki. However, we cannot deal with all the texts contained in this series, we prefer to choose two texts: 'The man with the scar' and 'On Saturday afternoon', respectively by Somerset Maugham and Alan Sollitoe. The reason why I choose two texts is simple, it is because I want to get as many instances of comparison as possible.

The Kirundi corpus comprises four short tales drawn from Ntahokaja's Imigani-Ibitito (1977). These are 'Inka ihiga n'ingwe' 'Ingwe n'urukwavu' 'Ubwenge buva hasi' and 'Imitima y'imihushane'.

However, we know it is difficult to find a text which contains all possible occurences of comparative reference under study. So, sometimes we will use our intuition in order to find out illustrations of some cases which do not exist in the data collected for the analysis.

Another limitation is about reference : the phenomenon of reference can occur both is text reference and situational reference . However, the latter is based on information that cannot be acquired from the text and therefore, no relationship with the context. In this study, we prefer to deal only with comparative reference that involve cohesion, reference being itself a cohesive relation. Henceforth, anything which doesn't have its interpretation within the context will not be interesting for our subject and therefore will be out of our study.

I.3.2. Data analysis.

Since the study is a contrastive one, the analysis is carried out in three parts : The first one is to discuss the system of English comparatives in terms of reference. Within this part, I discuss the different kinds of reference one by one, giving examples at the same time and showing at which degree the comparison is : equality, superiority or inferiority. The examples of comparative forms are given in phrases or sentences from which they are drawn. Where we don't find examples in the texts, we use our own examples; we take care not to miss the parallelism between the things which are being compared, i.e., there has to be coherence between the primary term of the comparison and the standard of the comparison. In other words, we have to compare things which are comparable; this will be of much importance for the interpretation of the linguistic message.

The second part is about Kirundi, it is carried out as done for English. I discuss as well different functions in terms of reference. I take one kind of reference after another , giving examples with an English translation. On each degree, I show the nature of the structure involved, the kind of words used, and the functions performed. In fact, the method of analysis of the second part is not very different from the first; they have to follow the same model of analysis because, as James (1980:63) says :

> "Executing a contrastive analysis involves two steps : description and comparison and the steps are taken in that order. Note what contrastive analysis consists of : description of L1 and L2 and comparison of the two. Furthermore, the two descriptions need to be 'parallel'. What does this mean? The minimum requirement of "parallel description" is that the two languages be described through the same model of description".

The last part is a contrastive analysis. It compares the two descriptive accounts so as to show what points of similarity and dissimilarity they display.

CHAPTER II . DESCRIPTION OF COMPARATIVE REFERENCE IN ENGLISH.

Introduction.

When one thing is compared or contrasted with another (others) in respect of a certain attribute, we use an inflection called comparison. The latter can express equality or inequality, that is to say, it can state whether two things (people) possess some quality in the same degree or in different degrees. It can also express supremacy of one thing in respect of an attribute. Supremacy is expressed by the superlative degree.

In English, the most obvious comparison signal is found in adjectives and adverbs or some words showing quantity whether in inflected forms or in periphrastic forms (more, as, less, etc...) Comparison is a form of reference because there must be a standard of reference by which one thing is said to be superior, equal or inferior in quality or quantity. To say that something is like or not something else is to refer to that something else. Hence, likeness in general is a referential property. Like other types of reference , i.e., demonstrative and personal reference, comparative reference can also occur in both text and situation.

II.1. Anaphoric reference.

In any text, comparatives and superlatives are sometimes used as cohesive devices and are occasionally so obscure that the reader may have to look for their reference objects in what is said previously. These devices are called anaphoric ,i.e.,. backward referring. Their implication is that, however far into the text the reader reads, subsequent reference to a person or object must always be resolved by going back up through the chain of reference to the original expression which alone, has the power to allow the reader to understand what he is reading. Anaphoric reference in comparatives differs from the way it appears in other types of reference. In fact, the anaphoric relation of personal pronouns and demonstratives is a relation of co-reference whereas comparatives

are established in a relation of contrast. This relation may be expressing likeness or non - likeness.

II.1.1. Likeness.

The adjective 'same' can be used attributively to indicate emphatically that you are referring back to something that has just been mentioned :

1. ...he were accustomed to traverse long distances on foot, paused at each table, with a little smile, mentioned the numbers he had for sale and then,when no notice was taken of him, with the same smile passed on. (p 13)

In the above example, if one knows nothing about what preceeds, he would have to ask this question: "which smile?", but as it is mentioned before that the person had a "little smile", the sentence becomes clear :

2. They captured him, along with his staff, such as it was, and tried him by court-martial, and he was sentenced to be shot at dawn. He spent the night in gaol and he and the others, there were five of them altogether, passed the time playing poker. He told me he'd never had such a run of bad luck in his life.(p 14)

In 2, 'such' is used as a predeterminer (it comes in front of a determiner) referring back to something that has already been mentioned.

II.1.2. Non-likeness.

II.1.2.1. Inferiority.

The most common form which is used to indicate that something does not have as much of a quality (quantity) as something else is 'less' 'less...than' followed by an adjective (or an adverb) :

3.The answer has been less truthful.

Normally, 'than' often follows comparatives to specify what the other thing involved in the comparison is.You say exactly what you are comparing by using one of a number of structures after than. Sometimes "less" can be used with an adjective (adverb) to say that something does not have much of a quality as it had before :

4. I felt very bad when I heard about the accident.But as the days went by, I became less anxious.

When 'than' is not mentioned, it means that the other thing involved in the comparison is obvious. It is important not to leave parts of the sentence out when the sentence can have more than one meaning.

Inferiority can also be expressed by 'not as ....as'. Whereas 'as...as' expresses likeness, its negative form is an indication of inferiority :

5. Mary is always day-dreaming in class. I hope her younger sister is not as absent-minded.

II.1.2.2. Superiority.

In English, the inflectional suffix is -er for the comparative. However, a small group of highly frequent adjectives have their corresponding comparatives formed from different stems :

6. - How is life?
   - Not so bad. Business is none too good,but it might be worse. (p13)

7. The teacher said to John: "You got few marks.I am not satisfied of your work. I want something better".

Monosyllabic adjectives normally form their comparison by inflection.

8. He never improved more than half a dozen times in the whole sitting and no sooner did he buy a new stack. (p14)

Many disyllabic adjectives can form their comparison by inflection though like most monosyllabic adjectives, they have the alternative of the periphrastic form:

9. He says things which make people laugh. But his brother's jokes are funnier.

Most adjectives inflected for comparison seem to be able to take periphrastic forms more easily when they are predicative and are followed by the basis of comparison :

10. He inherited the family's property. Now he is more wealthy.

Especially striking to the present-day reader is that double comparison was acceptable in Early Modern English. According to G.Small (1929:12), it is possible to use the

inflectional and the periphrastic method simultaneously: '-er' / 'est' can be used with polysyllabic words. Also striking is the use of '-er' / 'est' with disyllabic adjectives that now take 'more' / 'most'. Quite common are forms like 'perfecter', 'perfectest' with Shakespeare (1564-1616).

The famous example is in Julius Caesar :

e.g. This was the most unkindest cut of all.

There are a few individual comparative and superlative forms which differ from those of present-day English for example 'lenger' and 'lengest' are occasionally found as the comparative and superlative of 'long'. There is a class of adjectives that have a mutated stem-vowel in comparative and superlative; such forms are 'elder'/ 'eldest'. We use these in only a limited number of contexts, when we refer to members of families or similar groups.

Adjectives with three or more than three syllables normally express superiority using ' more', 'more...than' :

11. You should not choose Mary for the competition; Rose is more intelligent .

'more' is the opposite of 'less'. Notice that these two terms conceptualise many properties by creating a scale. With 'more', (or more than) one will tend towards the high scale of the property,while with 'less...than', one will tend in the opposite direction. The two terms stand each in opposition to the other: if, for example some object A is 'more...than' some object B, then B is 'less...than' A. Thus, these terms are converse pairs for they exhibit a converse relation between the objects related.

Then, a pair of lexical items form a converse pair if, for two items X and Y, the following sentence relations hold : A X B implies B Y A. This is a case where we have a relation between two terms, and converseness is diagnosed by means of the permutation test and the rule is this : X and Y are converses if any sentence in which X expresses a relation between two noun phrases

N1 and N2 is logically equivalent to the sentence which results when N1 and N2 are interchanged and X is replaced by Y.

12 John is more intelligent than Peter. Peter is less intelligent than John.

However, D.A.Cruse (1986:234) describes what he calls indirect converses, i.e., those converse pairs like 'give'/ 'receive'. He characterises the pair 'give'/ 'receive' as being a three place expressions. Nonetheless, he accepts that each of the pair 'give'/ 'receive' expresses a central binary relation, the third element being a more peripheral, this because the syntax of those verbs provides two central valency slots, namely, those of subject and direct object, and a more peripheral slot for indirect object :

A gives X to B. B receives X from A.

Hence, the relative peripherality of the indirect object is indicated by the fact that it is never obligatory, unlike the direct object. So, the indirectness lies in the fact that 'give' and 'receive' are not converses of the strictest sort.

II.1.2.3. Superlative.

The superlative is a form of comparison which expresses the supremacy of one person or thing in respect of an attribute. Superlatives in English normally consist of either '-est' added to the end of an adjective and 'the' placed in front of it, or of 'the most' placed in front of the adjective. But there are patterns that form irregular superlatives :

13. Now and again he'd say a dirty word,for no reason at all, <u>the worst</u> word you can never thing of.(p 69)

In the example above, we know what we are referring to; we refer to a point of comparison that has already been identified : 'dirty word.'

The difference which lies between the comparative and superlative is that the first is used for a comparison between two things or two groups of things whereas the second is used in case of supremacy of one element over the group to which it belongs. However, the superlative is sometimes used for a comparison between two, as in : 'He is the youngest (of the two brothers)' but this is considered loose and informal by many English speakers.Note that superlative adjectives are nearly always preceded by 'the' because one is talking about something definite.

II.1.2.4. Difference.

The degree of difference is indicated by forms such as : 'other', 'different', 'else' etc... :

14. I stood just watching him, sucking my thumb, the <u>other</u> hand in my pocket. (p71)

On this example,'other' refers backward, it shows that the hand which is in the pocket is different from the one whose thumb is being sucked. Normally, 'different' is paired with 'from' to specify the other thing involved in the comparison.

II.2. Cataphoric reference.

This is a relation by which one refers to something which is mentioned after. In so far as the phenomenon of comparison is concerned, we cannot go without saying that comparison and cohesion are intrinsically related since comparative items are to be analysed as elements of connection within and between words and clauses used in a text. However, cohesion doesn't seem to play the main role in cataphoric reference as it was the case in anaphoric relation. Rather, it is structural relations that play a great role.

II.2.1. Likeness.

To say that one thing is exactly like something else, we can say that it is 'the same as' the other thing :

15. So I've just got to stop thinking about it in case I get really black and fed-up and go the same way as dad. (p70)

To say that a thing or person has as much of a quality as something else, we refer to a structure based on the word 'as' in front of a qualitative adjective. Usually,this adjective is then followed by a qualifying phrase or clause which also begins with 'as'.

16. He wasn't looking black at all, nowhere as black as anybody in our family. (p72)

If an object or person has qualities or features similar to another object or person,we can say that the first thing is 'like' the second one. This structure allows only cataphoric reference since the referent always comes after the word 'like' :

17. .....he was then going to mend a fault in the lighting like an electrician. (p74)

'such' can be used to refer to a kind of thing that is specified immediately afterwards :

18. ...he fell down with such a horrible thump on the floor that I thought he'd broke every bone he'd got. (p74)

II.2.2. Non likeness.

II.2.2.1. Inferiority.

The usual form to indicate inferiority is 'less', 'less...than' :

19. She is less careful than Elisabeth.

The superordinate clause will contain 'less' and the comparative clause 'than'. Here, we should generalise the concept of comparative phrase so that it applies to the superordinate clause as well as to the comparative one. The superordinate and comparative clauses must be parallel in structure up to the level of the comparative phrase; the requirement of parallelism doesn't mean that the comparative phrases have to be identical. In the great majority of cases they are, but we must also take into account some examples:

20. He wrote less novels than he wrote journals.

The two comparative phrases have contrasting heads. Here, we cannot omit anything. It is where the parallelism extends beyond the comparative phrase that further omission of some recoverable material is optional, and such omission may result in ambiguity.

21. John likes Peter less than his mother.

The omission of a part of the comparative clause is likely to occur when that part is a repetition of something in the preceding clause. Since it is normal for the two clauses to be closely parallel both in structure and content, ellipsis is the rule rather than the exception in comparative construction.

So as a rule, if the clause of comparison contains entirely different words from the main clause, the auxiliary verb from the main clause or the appropriate form of do should be repeated :

Example : Mary played the piano less skillfully than her brother conducted the orchestra.

II.2.2.2. Superiority.

Superiority can be indicated either by inflected forms 'er' or by periphrastic forms 'more' :

> 22. I once saw him broodier than I'd never seen him.(p 69)

'more' is used to indicate that something has more of a quality (quantity) than something else :

> 23. He was a powerful man of more than common height.(p 13)

Notice that the orientation of the scale, i.e., which end counts as 'high' and which as 'low' is determined by the semantic properties of the adjective or adverb. Here, the oppositeness of meaning (antonymy) involves an oppositeness in the orientation of what is otherwise the same scale.

Thus for example, 'old' and 'young' are antonyms by virtue of the fact that 'X is older than Y' entails and is entailed by 'Y is younger than X'. It follows that although 'He is less old than...' entails 'He is younger than...', the former is a comparison of superiority. It would perhaps be more appropriate to introduce the terms 'positive' and 'negative'. We might therefore say that 'old' has positive orientation and 'young' has negative orientation. The sentence 'He is younger than...' would thus be a comparison of superiority with negative orientation.

A number of adjectives do not take the usual comparative form, i.e., adjective (adverb) + er. Their comparative are formed from a different stem :

> 24. It was marvellous though, the way the brainless bastards had put him in a ward six floors up, which finished him off, proper, even better than a tree. (p77)

'better' is the comparative of 'good' but it takes neither of the usual forms used for comparison, i.e.,. the inflected form nor the periphrastic form.

Superiority can also be expressed implicitly: forms of inferiority such as : 'less', 'inferior' express inferiority, however, since inferiority and superiority are contrasting in meaning, one can turn a sentence of inferiority in the opposite sense in order to get superiority.

II.2.2.3. Superlative.

The superlative degree often expresses the same thing as the comparative but from a different point of view. It is a way of describing something saying that it has more of a quality than anything of its kind. Forms used for cataphoric reference are the same as the ones used in anaphoric reference :

25. It was the most beautiful place of the region.

Superlative is sometimes considered not as a way of comparison. This because of the definite determiner 'the'. The use of the determiner shows, according to the view, that the thing which is talked about is definite and therefore known. So, there is no way of talking about comparison since the thing which is being referred to is already known to be superior to all the things of its kind.

Hence, no comparison is possible. The view seems not to hold since to express the supremacy of something over its group is to mean that something has been compared to others and thus can have a degree which is lower or higher in one way or another.

Some scales have lexical items which can be characterised as implicit superlatives. An obvious example of this is the scale of size, which is for example associated with the pair 'huge'/- 'tiny' which is confined to the negative and positive extremes of the scale. Implicit superlative can thus be recognised by the properties below :
First, those adjectives are, generally speaking, resistant to grading:

example : very huge.

Second, they cannot be lexically or morphologically graded. We can therefore consider them as somehow expressing superlative by themselves.

II.2.2.4. Difference.

As already mentioned, difference in comparison of two or more than two objects is indicated by forms such as : different, other etc...

26. It was <u>different</u> to the black looks my old man puts on, and I suppose that's why my old man would never hang himself.(p73)

Also, some negative forms expressing difference but in an indirect way somehow. This is the case of 'not as...as'.

27. She is <u>not as</u> careful <u>as</u> I am.

However, this form seems to be more expressing inferiority than anything else. This because the sentence can be completed by : 'In fact, she is <u>less so</u>'. On the contrary, it seems to contradict with: 'She is more careful than I am'.

II.3. Internal reference.

Semantically, comparative constructions involve a comparison between two terms : the primary term and the secondary term, i.e., the standard of comparaison.

Example : The meeting was more interesting yesterday than it was last time

In the above sentence, we have as primary term: the degree to which the meeting was interesting yesterday, and as secondary term or standard, the degree to which the meeting was interesting last time. The comparative clause expresses the standard. However, in the example below :

Peter and John are equally intelligent.

The two terms under comparison, i.e., the degree to which John is intelligent and the degree to which Peter is intelligent are of equal status instead of being distinguished as primary and secondary term. So, here there is no standard. This is referred to as 'internal reference'.

In this type of reference, there is no explicit standard. In the above example, we have a comparative of equality : The degree to which John is intelligent equals the degree to which Peter is intelligent. The comparison is internal without any referent appearing as a distinct entity. There is no syntactically distinguished term appearing as the 'standard'; this because the structure is internal.

SUMMARY.

In this chapter, our concern has been that of describing the structure of comparative reference in English. Equative, inequative and superlative forms have been analysed in two types of reference. We arrived to the conclusion that while 'A-er than' and the 'A-est of ' are illustrative of the comparison affected via the terminational mode, 'more A than' and ' the most A of' are illustrative of the periphrastic mode. As for 'as A as' and 'less A than', the item substitutable for 'A' does not change its form whether in expressing equality or inequality.

As far as reference is concerned, the analysis was done in two types of reference: anaphoric and cataphoric reference. The observation made was that some structures were convenient only for one type of reference and not for the other. The second observation is that examples of backward reference were varied; that is to say, the most frequent direction was the anaphoric one. It is more natural after all to presuppose what has already been talked about than what is to follow.

CHAPTER III. DESCRIPTION OF COMPARATIVE REFERENCE IN KIRUNDI.

Introduction.

Kirundi is a rich language with many words having similar but not identical meanings. Two words may be translated by the same English word and these words may not be used interchangeably :

e.g. : Kuruta - gusumba (to surpass)

Also, it is important to remember that each Kirundi word does not have an exact English equivalent and likewise, we do not expect to find a Kirundi equivalent for every English word.

The main task in this chapter is to show that the phenomenon of comparative reference we have been concerned with in the preceding chapter exists in Kirundi. We will precisely try to discuss the nature of this structure and the words that are used. When we talk of comparison, we take into account not only comparison of non-equivalence (lack of equivalence on some scale) but also comparison based on other relationships. One such relationship is that of likeness expressed principally in Kirundi by the particle 'nka' (like).

Comparative reference sets up comparison in terms of likeness and unlikeness; the referent of the comparison may be of two types : it may be in the text and then cohesive or in the situation but the latter is outside our study. Text reference can occur in two ways, i.e., backward reference or forward reference. These are expressed through connections within and between sentences in various ways by adverbs or other connectors which mark a relationship with what went before (anaphora) or with what is to follow (cataphora). We should know that these relationships are not necessarily achieved by grammatical structures and that's where we talk of cohesion. This is more frequent with anaphoric reference.

III.1. Anaphoric reference.

III.1.1. Likeness.

Broadly conceived, likeness between things may take the form of identity where two things are, in fact, the same thing, or similarity where two things are like each other. Likeness in Kirundi can be expressed through adverbs '-rtya' ; '-rtyo' (like this, like that). These adverbs are variable, that is, they must take the same prefix as the word they modify or stand for :

1. Rukwavu ati : Aho muri aho abagore mugira ubwenge buke!Hirya y'ejo nishe ingwe,ab'iwanyu barantuma ko urusato,ejo nica iyindi bantumako ko urundi rusato, none ugira ngo ngarike iyindi.Hanyuma ni namara ingwe z'abandi nzoheza nzirihe iki? Sarugwe ngo yumve irtyo ica iratemesha. Urukwavu rukira rurtyo.(p5)

Transl : Rukwavu said: "You women are stupid! The day before yesterday I killed a leopard and your relatives asked me for the skin. Yesterday I killed another and they asked me for the skin again. What am I going to do if I kill all the leopards? When Sarugwe heard such things he ran away. Rukwavu was saved in that way".

2. Sarukwavu kati mbe wa nyana, ko ngukijije uzompera iki? Ni wemere nze nje ndakwonka. Biba gurtyo. (p7)

Transl : Sarukwavu said: You calf, since I have saved you, what are you going to do to thank me? Allow me to suck you. Things became as said.

It stems from the above examples that in anaphoric reference, we are more concerned with 'gurtyo' (like that) than 'gurtya' (like this), which is more exophoric than endophoric. 'Gurtyo' which is a demonstrative, seems to be more expressing anaphoric reference. This can be interpreted in two ways :

The first interpretation is one whereby 'gurtyo' refers to something which is not present physically. It thus becomes a referent whose source of interpretation lies in the text. In this case, the demonstrative 'gurtyo' points backward to a textually identified referent. So, it is anaphorically used and presupposes something which is in preceding sentences. It therefore achieves a cohesive function as it links the sentence to what precede.

The second interpretation is exophoric : in this case, 'gurtyo' (like that) points to something which is physically present in the environment of the participants (speaker - hearer). Thus, the referent of 'gurtyo' is extra-linguistic and therefore not cohesive.

Likeness can be expressed by the particle 'nka' (like) ; but this one is more frequent with forward reference. This is due to the fact that the particle is always followed by a noun phrase or verb phrase and hence, the referent of 'nka' always comes after. What we have is therefore not anaphoric but cataphoric reference.

III.1.2.Non - likeness.

III.1.2.1. Inferiority.

Inferiority is mostly expressed through a construction of superiority. Sometimes, it seems that forms used in both cases are the same, inasmuch as the comparative of inferiority is at times not rendered directly but indirectly by changing it into that of superiority. Thus, instead of expressing X is less 'quality or property' than Y, we will have Y is more 'quality or property' than X. The pair 'more...than' and 'less...than' shows a relationship where things are mentioned in the opposite order and thus, are in a converse relation. This converseness is quite evident since the relationship existing between the two antonyms is such that one implies and is implied by the other.

Converseness is also characteristic of the relationship existing between active and passive forms of a verb in Kirundi. In fact, inferiority is easily observed through the passive forms of verbs such as 'kurutwa', 'kurushwa', 'gusumbwa' etc... :

3. Ingwe yaranyagiwe n'imvura,yitera mu mwobo w'urukwavu ihasanga Sarukwavu n'umugore warwo iti noneho mpiriwe mu kurushwa.(p5)

Tansl : A leopard walked in the rain and went in Rukwavu's hole, he found Rukwavu and wife and said: "I am less lucky".

Inferiority here stems from the relationship existing between active and passive. The verb 'kurushwa' derives from 'kurusha' which expresses superiority. The suffixes marking the passive are the ones through which inferiority is perceived.

Other forms of inferiority frequent in Kirundi language are for example: 'hanyuma' (after) which derivatively means: inferior, smaller, etc... :

4. Sarukwavu ati inzu nk'iyo ndayifise ariko nifuza iyiri hanyuma

Transl : Sarukwavu said: "I have a house like that but I would like one which is smaller".

III.1.2.2. Superiority.

In Kirundi, comparison is not only rendered through adjectives and adverbs, it can be expressed through 'kuruta', 'kurusha', 'gusumvya', 'gusumba' which roughly mean the same thing, namely, 'to surpass' :

5. Harabaye inka n'ingwe bigasangira umusozi. Maze umunsi umwe biraharira ikiruta ikindi. Ingwe iti ni je nkomeye kuruta. Mbere ushima nkomeye uraza tubirabe.

Transl : Once upon a time a cow and a leopard Lived on the same mountain.One day, they discussed about who is stronger than the other. The leopard said: "I am stronger. If you want to see how,come see me one day and I will show it to you."

'Kuruta' in the obove example, could be replaced by 'kurusha', 'gusumba', 'gusumvya' without any change in meaning. Most important to note is that these verbs must be kept in their active form and not the passive. This because the active and passive forms of those verbs are in a converse relation.

In fact, this sense relation is described in terms of oppositeness : the active form is the converse of the passive form and the passive form is the converse of the active. Then, active and passive forms exhibit relational opposition; they are converses of each other :

Kuruta (X,Y)<=>Kurutwa (Y,X)

This means : NP1 'aruta' NP2 implies and is implied by NP2 'arutwa na' NP1.

In converse relations, the lexical substitution of one term for the corresponding converse is associated with a syntactic transformation which permutes NP1and NP2 and also carries out certain other automatic changes in the selection of the appropriate inflection (or preposition). In Kirundi, we have as morphological change '-u-a' added to the end of the verb and 'na' acting as a preposition.

It can be easily observed that this permutational feature is characteristic of the relationship between active and passive

forms. Note that for our case here, we are concerned with the active form, for the passive expresses inferiority.

Words such as 'cane', 'rwose' can also be subject to comparison in Kirundi. They have to do with degree or intensity in terms of meaning and their exact role is that of scaling the quality upwards.

6. Rukwavu kati ufise inzu nini ariko iyanje ni nini cane.

Transl : Rukwavu said: you have a big house but mine is bigger.

7. Agiye muri wa murima yashe intore mbisi rwose (p36)

Transl : He went in that field and brought eggplants which are very raw.

Adverbs 'cane and 'rwose' modify the adjectives 'nini','bisi' and at the same time, bring about a change in meaning. They always come after adjectives or verbs which they intensify and scale to a higher degree. To express superiority, they function with some adjectives such as '-nini' '-re-re', etc... which denote a gradable property; this is to say that when we add intensifying adverbs to those adjectives, we are upgrading them. However, if we take their opposites '-to, -gufi' and add' cane' or 'rwose', we will be downgrading them and therefore creating the comparative of superiority but in the negative direction. Here, we come to realise how the term ' grading' is bound up with the operation of comparison. Adjectives '-nini', '-re-re' and respectively their opposites '-to' ; '-gufi' are antonyms which, in terms of comparison, are in converse relation. This means that for example '-nini' and '-to' can be handled in terms of relational opposites since if we say that: 'X -nini cane kuri Y', it automatically implies that 'Y-to cane kuri X'. Looked at in this way, we can say that the comparative forms '-nini cane' and '-to-cane' are converses.

Intensification in Kirundi varies in the different forms it takes and in the way it is realised. Apart from the intensifying adverbs 'cane' and 'rwose', another form frequent in Kirundi is the

use of ideophones. According to Rodegem(1967), an ideophone is a word that expresses a feeling, an emotion, a quality or defect. Thus, the word 'pe' for example is an ideophone :

8. Uyu mwana yishura neza, arazi ubwenge pe!

Transl : This student gives very good answers. He is very intelligent.

Ideophones are concerned with upgrading since they express a high degree. They can go with any part of speech and affect very much their meaning with an implication of high degree. As a matter of fact, they give a new meaning to the already existing constituents but which derive from and build upon that of the constituent they act on.

In the above example, 'pe' has a semantic role : that of scaling the features it modifies upwards. It gives a certain intensity to the adjectives, an intensity that they didn't have before. This means that dropping the ideophone would change something in the sentence.

Here, a question may arise : Do ideophones have a superlative meaning?
Normally, we talk of superlative when one is talking about how one person or thing is different from all others; it is often used when comparing more than two things. Then, the superlative is an expression of supremacy of one individual over the group he is member of. So, to talk of superlative is to mean the highest degree. In the above example, we have a different case : 'pe' expresses a high point but does not express the highest degree. This is to say that the student is neither the only intelligent student in his class nor the most intelligent of the class. Hence, 'pe' does not express the superlative; it only has the role of intensifying what it modifies. Consequently, we cannot talk of superlative in Kirundi, what we have is rather intensification.

III.1.2.3. Difference.

Non-likeness is always there to express superiority or inferiority, it can also express difference :

9. Hirya y'ejo nishe ingwe, ab'iwanyu barantumako urusato, ejo nica iyindi bantumako ko urundi rusato, none ugira ngo ngarike iyindi.(p 5)

Transl : The day before yesterday I killed a leopard and your family asked me for its skin, yesterday I killed another and they asked me for another skin, do you want me to kill another?

There are three instances expressing difference in this sentence and all of them are anaphoric. In Kirundi, difference is expressed through words such as 'urundi' (another), 'iyindi' (another), 'abandi' (others), etc..., which agree with the classes of the nouns they replace or modify. They can be adjectives or pronouns depending on how they are used. If they are used alone (without noun), they are pronouns, but if they are used with a noun, they are adjectives. It is worth noting that with the presence of an adjective, the noun loses its augment :

10. Rukwavu ati ni wewe? Nagira ngo ni uwundi muntu.

Transl : Rukwavu said: "Is it you? I thought it was somebody else".

Moreover, whether adjective or pronoun, the meaning is quite the same, and the expression of difference is always there.

III.2. Cataphoric reference.

III.2.1. Likeness.

In this type of reference, the particle 'nka' (like,as in) is the most used. This means 'nka' is always used cataphorically. The explanation to this lies in the structure of 'nka': when comparing in Kirundi, we use 'nka' as this : X predicate 'nka' Y. The thing which serves as the standard of comparison always comes after 'nka' and this standard must exist for we cannot compare one thing only; we must have at least two things. So, the construction of 'nka' requires that the thing which is being referred to comes forward :

11. Umwami ati : Ni mwisoze ntarwo noshobora. Bugingo nya ntambwe igiye kurya wa mugabo, hasokoroka imbeba iti mbega mwa bagabo ni ibiki? Wa mugabo arayiganira ingene vyagenze; ya ntambwe nayo isubira ho ivuga kwa kundi.Imbeba aho yogize nka wa mwami iti hogi. (p9)

Transl : The king said: You can go, I cannot solve your problem. When the lion was going to eat that man, a mouse came and asked :"What's the matter? The man told him the whole story and the lion repeated the same story. Instead of doing like the king, the mouse said: Let's go.

'Nka' is used when it is followed by a word beginning with a consonant. When it is followed by an infinitive or a locative, it becomes 'nko'. When it is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, it becomes 'nk' ' :

12.Ngende mama nkubure nk'uko mama akubura.(p73)

Transl :Let's go to clean as my mother cleans.

The comparative 'nka' can join with personal pronouns, which can take the short or long forms. With the first two persons, it is followed by a short or long form. For the third person, it is a short form which is required :

nka jewe / nkanje - Like me.
nka wewe / nkawe - Like you
nkawe - like him,her
nka twebwe/nkatwe - like us
nka mwebwe/nkamwe / like you
nkabo / like them

'nka' can have other uses which have no relationship with comparison.

13.Nka Yohani ararwaye.
Like John he is ill.

This use doesn't have any meaning of comparison. It is rather a case which seems to be giving an example of something which was said previously. In this case, 'nka' means " for example" .

In Kirundi, comparison is not only rendered through adjectives and adverbs or other particles, it can also be expressed through verbs. The verb 'gusa' ("to resemble", "to be like") is always followed by 'na' and it is used like any other verb :

14. Uyu mwana asa na se.
This child ressembles his father.

We have also the use of 'bene' (like) to express similarity.

15. Umuganga yampaye umuti atari wo.Abantu <u>bene</u> abo bakwiye guhanwa.

Transl : The doctor gave me a wrong medicine.People like that should be punished.

Notice the difference between 'nka','bene' and 'gusa'. They both express likeness (similarity) but they are not exactly the same. Perhaps the difference between them could be explained by their

syntactic behavior : 'nka,' for example, often follows verbs, either the verb meaning "to be" or verbs of action and it is followed by nouns or noun phrases, locatives and infinitives. 'Bene' is neither a verb nor a preposition. It is an expression of likeness which almost always is followed by a demonstrative: 'bene abo'; 'bene uko'. Note that it can be inflected : 'Umuntu mwene uwo'. (a person like that). The verb 'gusa' is often used with the particle 'na'. This one has the role of indicating the other thing which is involved in comparison.

III.2.2. Non-likeness.

III.2.2.1. Inferiority.

Since superiority is expressed by the verb 'kuruta' in its active form, inferiority is expressed in the opposite form, i.e., the passive. So, in the same way as we have verbs expressing comparison in relation to a higher degree, we will also have verbs expressing comparison in relation to a lower degree :

16.Ikimuga kiruta imva. (higher degree)
Imva irutwa n'ikimuga.(lower degree)

There is a notable difference in the frequency with which the active and passive voices are used. The active is generally by far the more common, but there is a variation among text types.

Clearly, two verbs 'kuruta' (active) and 'kurutwa' (passive) are at different locations and the direction of the first relative to the second is the exact opposite of the direction of the second relative to the first. This relationship betwen the active and the passive forms of verbs is a converse relation.

With converses, we can express the relationship between A and B in two logically equivalent ways, taking either the active or the passive as the referent point. So, converseness implies that when one member of a pair is substituted for the other in a sentence, the new sentence can be made logically equivalent to the original one by interchanging two of the noun phrase arguments. This means that inferiority can be expressed implicitly : it may be expressed indirectly by using the active form of the verb denoting superiority :

17.Gukora biruta kuguma wicaye.

Transl.: Working is better than sitting.

Through superiority, inferiority will be paraphrased only by using a contrast of voice. On this evidence, we can affirm that the converse relationship displays a dual semantic nature.

III.2.2.2. Superiority.

The comparative of superiority is rendered by the verb 'Kuruta' :

18. Vyabaye kera arabaza akajambo ati mbega mwami w'i Burundi, ko ufise abamikazi benshi, ukagira abagendanyi, abakevyi, n'abakamyi, uwo ukunda kuruta bose yoba nka nde? (p81)

Transl : After a long time, he asked to the king:You have many queens,you have many courtiers, many housekeepers and many milk-men, whom do you like the most?

19. Harabaye inka n'ingwe bigasangira umusozi. Maze umunsi umwe biraharira ikiruta ikindi.

Transl : Once upon time a cow and a leopard lived together. Then one day they discussed about who is stronger than the other.

Another way to express superiority with forward reference is by the use of 'cane', 'rwose'. The latter admit as heads varied words, be they adjectives, adverbs, verbs or nouns. Their position is fixed : they are always close to their head words. The position of these scaling words, as we observe, is a fixed one, they are closely connected to the words they operate on. Their position is always the post-modifying one.

'Cane' and 'rwose' are intensifying words, in other words, a subject X has a given property to a degree represented or defined by those intensifiers.

Those adverbs do not imply the highest point on a scale and therefore, no denotation of an extreme meaning. They confer to the word they modify an intensive meaning by adding more force to it. This reinforcement has nothing of the highest degree and thus is subject to comparison but not to superlative.

Intensification implies scaling an item to a higher or lower degree; this increase or decrease in intensity and therefore in meaning is related to the notion of gradability. In actual fact, the term gradability is bound up with the operation of comparison in that it shows how two things may be compared with respect to a particular property and that this property is predicated of the one in a greater degree than it is of the other.

'Cane' and 'rwose' do not exactly have the same meaning but they have in common the fact that they have an intensifying effect on the quality involved. The two adverbs can be used at the same time to add more intensity to the head :

20. Arakara <u>cane rwose</u> kuruta abandi.

Transl : He works much more than others.

In terms of degree, the meaning they display increases and this is due to the use of the two intensifiers at the same time; obviously the effect of two intensifiers is much stronger than that produced by one only. In other words, the degree represented by the combination of 'cane rwose' is higher than the one defined by 'cane' or 'rwose'.

Comparison can sometimes be expressed in an implicit way.

21.Uyu mwana avuga rwose nk'uwudakomeye.

Transl.: This child speaks very loud like a madman.

The example above can be interpreted differently and made a comparative of equality or of superiority: The property of speaking loud can be ascribed to the child in two ways: either he speaks to a certain degree which is undoubtedly higher than the normal to the point that one may even take him for a madperson,or he speaks very loud, just at the same degree as a madperson. So, in this case, it is a comparative of equality which is expressed through the particle 'nka'.

III.2.2.3. Difference.

Difference is expressed by some Kirundi adjectives and pronouns :

22. Umwami ati nta <u>wundi</u> nokubwira. Eka ndakunda umwamikazi wanje Bitamo kw'itaba. (p81)

Transl : The king said: "I cannot tell you anybody else, I really love the queen Bitamo kw'itaba.

23. Ntibibaye gurtyo, babiteye umwami.Nawe nta <u>kindi</u> atari ukurira n'ukwiyambagura.

Transl : Things became like that , when the king learnt it, he did not do anything else than crying.

In 22 and 23, they same lexeme is used under different forms. In these examples, it functions as a pronoun which varies according to the nouns it stands for. Note that it is only the prefix that changes, the root is invariable.

Difference can also be expressed by the verb 'gutandukana' (to be different) but it seems to be more expressing internal reference.

III.3. Internal reference.

Like other types of reference, comparative reference may occur either in the text or in the situation, i.e., the referent of the comparison may be found in the situation, it means the outside world or it may be an element of the text. If it is in the text, the reference may be backwards or forwards and it may be nonstructural or structural.

Apart from backwards and forwards reference, we can also have another possibility : the comparison may be internal, the likeness being expressed as mutual likeness, without any referent appearing as a distinct entity. This can be illustrated by some comparative verbs expressing likeness : 'gusa' (to be similar), 'kungana' (to be equal) :

24.Abanyagihugu bose barangana

Transl : All people are equal.

In 24, we have a case where people are being related to each other in terms of likeness. We cannot distinguish the comparative to its referent since the comparison is purely internal. Although the relationship is still a referential one, there is no predominant entity which is appearing as a referent; the specific nature of this comparison is that the things which are being compared are at the same level.

Other cases where we can talk of internal reference are for example with the use of 'bamwe' (the same) :

25.Abana bose ni bamwe.
Transl.: Children are all the same.

'Bamwe' is a Kirundi pronoun with two components : the prefix'ba-' and the root '-mwe'. It is variable since its prefix changes according to the class of the noun it modifies.

SUMMARY.

By way of conclusion on this chapter, we note that in both types of reference , Kirundi comparison system is not built upon morphology, i.e.,. it doesn't make use of affixation, what Poutsma (1914) calls the "terminational mode". Rather it resorts to what he terms "periphrastic mode". Kirundi comparison is thus affected with the use of particles. We have 'nka' (like) expressing likeness, 'kuruta', 'gusumba' for superiority and 'hanyuma' (inferior) for inferiority. Another observation made is that the superlative in Kirundi doesn't exist as such. Adverbs such as 'cane', 'rwose' are intensifiers which have a reinforcing effect on the truth value of the items to which they apply, by ascribing a degree of intensity which is high. So, what we have is rather comparison, not superlative.

Finally, we should note that Kirundi comparison affects nouns,verbs,adjectives as well as adverbs.

CHAPTER IV. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS.

Introduction.

So far much have been said about the two languages. This chapter is undoubtedly the heart of this work inasmuch as it shows in which points the two languages we have been concerned with resemble or differ; in brief, it gives sense to the title of this work : "A contrastive analysis of comparative reference in English and Kirundi".
Now, why is such an important chapter at the end of the work? The method used in this study gives a clear answer. As J.Ellis (1966:1)puts it :

> "One needs to describe languages before doing anything else with them (such as comparing them , teaching their history, or teaching them etc...). So, comparative descriptive linguistics is central to comparative linguistics, inasmuch as one needs to compare descriptions of languages before doing anything comparative with them."

Furthermore, every language presents a unique structure.It is a self- sufficient system in that every element has a value which is uniquely determined by the structural relations of that system.
Consequently, each language has to be analyzed in its own terms before any comparison with another language.

This chapter comprises two parts:

-The first one tells about elements that are similar.
-The second part is about differences.

IV.1. SIMILARITIES.

As Dinneen (1967:219) says :

> "While it is important to stress the differences among languages, it should not be done to such an extent as to suggest that they have nothing in common."

Indeed, English and Kirundi have points of similarity. First, there is a presence, in both language, of this structure of comparison. Both English and Kirundi denote the same degrees in comparison: Superiority, equality and inferiority. More than that, we have in both cases the view that comparison is a referential property. The conceptual content of a comparative construction is elegantly phrased by Small (1929:12) who writes:

> "The speaker who uses comparison as a means of indicating the intensity of a given quality in an object casts in his mind for a second object well known to the hearer which has some quality, perhaps in a greater or lesser degree.".

This is to say that if he (the speaker) happens to hit upon a second object that, to the best of his judgement, has the quality in exactly the same degree as the object he is discussing, he may indicate the intensity of the quality by equating the first object with the second. Hence, this way of pointing out the intensity of a given attribute will be termed 'the comparison of equality.' On the contrary, if the speaker is unable to hit upon a second object or condition that exactly matches the first in the quality observed, or if he wants to contrast the first object with the second, he will call another object having the same quality, but either in a higher or lower degree of intensity. Thus, this will be referred to as 'comparison of inequality.' We used the terms "equality" and "inequality". However, the term 'likeness' seems perhaps a more general concept instead of 'equality.'

Another point of similarity is the use of what we termed: "periphrastic mode". In fact, the existence in English comparative and superlative forms of periphrastic premodifiers 'more' and 'most' has counterparts in Kirundi. The latter has its proper way of rendering comparatives and superlatives by particles such as 'nka' (like) for equality, 'kuruta' (more than) for superiority, etc...
Some particles are used in both types of reference: backward and forward reference. It is the case of 'same' in English :

1. - She flung herself into her arms and with a hoarse cry of passions, he pressed his lips to hers. And at the same moment, he drew a knife... (p20) (anaphoric)
   - So,I've just got to stop thinking about it in case I get really black and fed-up and go the same way as dad. (p37) (cataphoric)

Some others are particular to this or that type of reference. This is the case of 'nka' (like) in Kirundi, for which the construction allows only forward reference :

2. - Umwami ati ni mwisoze ntarwo noshobora. Bugingo nya ntambwe igiye kurya wa mugabo hasokoroka imbeba, iti mbega mwa bagabo ni ibiki? Ya ntambwe nayo aho yogize nka wa mwami iti hogi. (cataphoric)

Transl : The king said : You can go , I cannot solve your problem. When the lion was going to eat that man, a mouse came and asked : "What's the matter"? And the lion instead of doing like the king said : "let's go"

-Uwo ukunda kurusha bose yoba nka nde?
Transl : The one you like the most is like whom?

At this point, we came to realize features shared by both English and Kirundi, related to the way they refer anaphorically or cataphorically.
In fact, they share the characteristic that a relationship in which a previously or subsequently identified item is presupposed by some word or phrase in a previous or following phrase (sentence).

Another point not to be forgotten is the cohesive function of comparative reference in the two languages. Like other types of reference (personal, demonstrative), comparative reference contributes to textual cohesion. However, this type of reference is somehow different from others, as M.A.K.Halliday (1985:295) points :

> "Whereas personals and demonstratives, when used anaphorically, set up a relation of co-reference, whereby the same entity is referred to over again,comparatives set up a relation of contrast."

In fact, in comparative reference, the reference item points to something, not because the same entity is being referred to again, but rather because there is a frame of reference, something by reference to which what I am now talking about is the same or different, like or unlike. It is worthwhile at this point introducing the idea of cohesion achieved by omitted parts in comparative sentences, where we presuppose something by means of what is left out. It may, at first sight, seem paradoxical that the elimination of a part of the message should serve to achieve textual cohesion. Indeed, one expects the opposite to happen, and the speaker or reader to lose the thread. We may explain its opposite effect in terms of the work that the reader or interlocutor has to do. If a writer, speaker omits something, it shows that he values the contribution of the reader (hearer) to

make sense of what is written or said. All we have to realize is that the omission of an item and the use of an anaphoric substitute not only avoids repetition, but is also used as a device to show connectedness :

3. **English.**

Nobody knows why we get as fed-up
as we do.

Instead of : Nobody knows why we get as fed-up
as we get fed-up.

4. **Kirundi.**

Uyu mwana yitonda nka se.

Instead of : Uyu mwana yitonda nk'uko
se wiwe yitonda.

There is a sharp difference in the way reference and ellipsis achieve cohesion : On one hand, reference is a relationship in meaning. When a reference item is for example used anaphorically, it sets up a semantic relationship with something in the preceding text; and this enables the reference item to be interpreted as either identical with the referent or in some way contrasting with it. On the other hand, ellipsis sets up a relationship that is not semantic but lexicogrammatical, i.e., a relationship in the wording rather than directly in the meaning. This because, when there is ellipsis in a sentence for example, one has to supply the word or phrase that is omitted in order to make sense of the sentence. Thus, this substitute serves as a place-holding device, showing where something has been omitted and what its grammatical function would be.

So much with similarities now. As the task we are concerned with is a contrastive analysis, we ought to put more stress on dissimilarities.

IV.2. Dissimilarities.

No two languages can be exactly similar: there are principles which are common to all languages but each one has its own rules as Martinet (1970:12) says :

> "En fait à chaque langue,correspond une organisation particulière des données de l'expérience."

As it has been observed, we can pick up some points of dissimilarity on the basis of the fact that some language require morphological or periphrastic forms in their comparative constructions. In fact, the English language uses both periphrastic and morphological modes whereas in Kirundi, only the former is used. Trying to find a principled way to account for this phenomenon of morphological marking, we would say that '-er, /-est' are used for adjectives that have two or less than two syllables with some exceptions of course, 'more' and 'most' used in case of adjectives that have three or more than three syllables. The different suffixes added to adjectives and adverbs in English do not have counterparts in Kirundi.

Another element that is particular to English is the variation of some principles. In fact, rules of comparison in Present-day English are different from those of Early Modern English. The difference is that today, there is a fairly strict regulation of the use of the two different methods, whereas in early modern English, they were in free variation : as in so many things, the Early Modern English speaker or writer had greater freedom of choice. We say this because, in Early Modern English, almost any adjective can be compared by either the inflectional or the periphrastic method, even by the same speaker or writer.
(Small, G : 1929).

e.g.: Ben Johnson (1906) uses both <u>fitter</u> and <u>more fit</u>.

-Shakespeare (1604) uses both <u>sweeter</u> and <u>more sweet</u>.

The superlative form in English doesn't have any equivalent in Kirundi: to talk of superlative is to mean the highest degree. In Kirundi , we didn't find any particle which could express it; instead, what we have is intensification. Adverbs 'cane' or 'rwose' for example are intensifiers that modify their heads by adding more intensity.

'cane' and 'rwose' can co-occur with adjectives, verbs and adverbs.

e.g. : 1.Afise umutima mwiza cane
2.Arakora cane
or
3.Arakora cane rwose.

In 1, 'cane' follows an adjective, in 2 it follows verb, and in 3 it follows another adverb.

Unlike English adjectives, Kirundi ones are not morphologically inflected for comparison. The Kirundi adjective consists of two parts: a class prefix and a stem. The prefix however is always dependent on that of the head word the adjective is made to modify. The prefix of the adjective is the same as that of the noun :

e.g. Uyo mwana afise umutima mwiza.

There must be an agreement between the modifier and the head. Above, '-mu-' of the noun 'umutima' must appear again in the adjective. The form of the adjective is therefore not totally a fixed one. It is dependent on its head since the class prefix can only derive from the noun which requires that the adjective match its head by having the same prefix. This is totally different from what we observe in English where we have plenty of adjectives, but which are independent and have fixed forms (except for comparison).

Another point of dissimilarity observed between the two languages is that of word-order. In fact, the latter is a fundamental characteristic of languages.We do realize that word-order is a primary determinant of the typology of comparative constructions

because the position of words in a sentence accounts in parts for the meaning of the whole. For example, in Kirundi, the order is that modifiers come after heads (post-modifying position); even with verbs. On the contrary, modifiers come before heads(pre-modifying position) in English :

e.g. English :Mary is more intelligent than her sister.

Kirundi :Arakora cane gusumba abandi.

transl. She works hard and more than others

In Kirundi, some forms do exist which do not exist in English. A verb in Kirundi plays a very central role in comparison. On the contrary, the usual comparative construction in English is through adjectives. Where the English language uses adjectives or adverbs, the Kirundi language uses verbal forms :

e.g.: Your table is bigger than mine.

Intebe yawe iraruta(irasumba)iyanje.

Many linguists who have done research on Kirundi language have underlined this importance of the Kirundi verb. It is the case of Bernard Zuure(1932) who says :

> e.g. "le verbe joue, dans le Kirundi, un rôle de première importance... il sert a former un très grand nombre de substantifs et la plupart des adjectifs et des adverbes. Il sert même a rendre des conjonctions."

Within verbs, reference is shown by personal pronouns which are inserted in the verbal morphology, and these pronouns function as subjects or objects.

In Kirundi, personal pronouns are classified into two groups, i.e., self-standing and bound personal pronouns. Here, we

are concerned with bound personal pronouns which frequently occur in the verbal morphology. Note that these personal pronouns vary according to classes. Below, we give a list of the bound personal pronouns in the object position :

Object marker

1. -mu-
2. -ba-
3. -wu-
4. -yi-
5. -ri-
6. -ya-
7. -ki-
8. -bi-
9. -yi-
10. -zi-
11. -ru-
12. -ka-
13. -tu-
14. -bu-
15. -ku-
16. -ha-

The object marker is the prefix immediately preceding the stem of the verb :

example : Ingwe iti : Je ndakuruta.
n-ra-ku-rut-a.

transl. : The leopard said: "I am greater than you."

In the above sentence, the pronoun '-ku-' refers to a second person singular which is not mentioned. However, the object marker -ku- refers to a noun phrase which is in the preceding text. It is only by going back to what precedes that one can understand the sentence :

> Harabaye inka n'ingwe bigasangira umusozi. Maze umunsi umwe biraharira ikiruta ikindi. Ingwe iti: je ndakuruta. (p6.)

transl.: Once upon time, there were a cow and a leopard which lived on the same mountain. One day, they discussed about who is greater than the other. The leopard said: "I am greater than you."

'ku' presupposes 'inka' which is in the preceding sentence. It is therefore an anaphoric expression and it creates cohesion in the text. Hence 'inka' becomes the reference point as Halliday & Hasan (1967:309) put it :

> "In the comparative type of reference, the presupposed element takes on the role of a reference point. It serves as a standard to which something else is referred in terms of its likeness,in general or particular. In this way, the comparison provides the source of interpretation for the reference item; and where the presupposed element is also in the text, there is cohesion between the two."

Another element which is exclusively found in Kirundi system is the use of ideophones. They are invariable words which always occur close to their head words. The meaning they denote is that of a high point on the intensity scale. We should note that ideophones are concerned with modification: syntactic and semantic modification. Syntactic because ideophones are rendered via syntax; semantic because they have an effect on the meaning since they often scale the feature they modify upwards.

Finally, we should note that Kirundi comparison affects nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs whereas in English, only adjectives and adverbs are concerned.

General conclusion

The focus of this study is on comparative reference and our objective has been to describe English and Kirundi so as to show what are the similarities, and what are the differences. Along this study, we have been trying to find answers to the following questions :

> *Does comparative reference operate in the same way in English and Kirundi?
> *What are similarities, what are the differences?

The study has shown that the two languages have points of similarity related to the way comparison is achieved. However, although there are points of similarity, these ones are very limited and few in number, in other words, these languages are more different than they are alike, and this is quite similar to what S.Pit Corder (1973:231) says :

> "Similarities between languages may be general or abstract on one hand, or superficial and trivial on the other; they are generally only partial, rarely complete."

As to the way the study was organized, it was divided in four chapters. The first one introduced the topic and provided the theoretical framework of the study. The second chapter was concerned with a descriptive account of comparative reference in English. The equative, inequative and superlative forms were analyzed in two types of reference. We arrived to the conclusion that while 'A er than' and the 'A est of' are illustrative of the comparison affected via the morphological mode, 'more A than' and 'the most A of' are illustrative of the periphrastic mode. As for 'as A as' and 'less A than', the item substitutable for A does not change its form whether in expressing likeness or non-likeness. These observations concern both types of reference. The third chapter was concerned with Kirundi.

At the end of the analysis, we arrived to the conclusion that Kirundi comparative reference resorts to what Poutsma (1914:427) terms 'the periphrastic mode'. Kirundi language is thus characterized by the use of particles : we have 'nka' (like) for equality, 'kuruta', 'gusumba' (-er than or more than) for superiority. Some intensifiers like 'cane', and 'rwose' have a reinforcing effect on the truth value of the items to which they apply, by ascribing a degree of intensity which is high. The fourth chapter is a contrastive analysis, it shows similarities and differences between the two languages.

The analysis has shown that the two languages have similarities as well as differences. Similarities have been observed as to the way comparative reference operates, i.e., that it is a relationship by which the presupposed item is being referred to in terms of likeness or non-likeness. As far as differences are concerned, the morphological marking makes a big point of dissimilarity between the two languages since it does not exist in Kirundi. Another point of difference is that the superlative doesn't exist in Kirundi . On the other hand, Kirundi has other uses which are proper to it, this is the case of ideophones which do not exist in English.

As it can be noticed, we have used the theoretical contrastive analysis method in the way Fisiak (1981) defines it, i.e., to describe the languages one after another in order to discover the underlying similarities and differences which give each language its distinctiveness.

Contrastive studies of a system of a foreign language and the mother tongue of the learner have been considered by some linguists as a major contribution to language teaching. This because the result of that study was seen as an inventory of the areas of difficulty which the learner would encounter. And this inventory would serve to direct the teacher's attention to these areas so that he might denote special emphasis in his teaching to predict difficulty.

This work has not dealt with pedagogical implications as such; however, we share the view that the points of similarity and difference can be interesting for the learner of any or both of the

languages. In our view, the use of contrastive analyses in the study of languages is of value in two ways:
First, for linguistics proper because they provide and develop the theory of the languages concerned; second, for practical purposes because they may have valuable pedagogical applications in language teaching. However, the part they can play should neither be exaggerated, nor understated.

To end, we would like to apologize for mistakes, inadequacies and incompleteness contained in this work. We cannot say to have exhausted the topic but we hope we have done something which can be interesting for present and future research. In this study, we have only been concerned with a very small aspect of reference, and so many things are still unexplored. We do maintain the view that so little is known about Kirundi grammar and particularly about the phenomenon of reference.

As to the problems encountered, the major obstacle was the choice of texts used for the analysis : We could not have texts which illustrate all cases, sometimes we have been obliged to use our own examples. Apart from the above limitation, the other problem we faced is about the translation of some Kirundi expressions. As we know, translation carries difficulties in itself, as it is the expression in one language of what has already been expressed in another. We therefore cannot pretend to do it perfectly. Something in the total meaning of the original must be lost because what we have after translation is somehow an interpretation which, of course, may involve recreation. We do apologize for this.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I. THE ENGLISH CORPUS

The Man with the Scar

It was on account of the scar that I first noticed him, for it ran, broad and red, in a great crescent from his temple to his chin. It must have been due to a formidable wound and I wondered whether this had been caused by a sabre or by a fragment of shell. It was unexpected on that round, fat and good-humoured face. He had small and undistinguished features, and his expression was artless. He was a powerful man of more than common height. I never saw him in anything but a very shabby grey suit, a khaki shirt and a battered sombrero. He was far from clean. He used to come into the Palace Hotel at Guatemala City every day at cocktail time and strolling leisurely round the bar offer lottery tickets for sale. If this was the way he made his living it must have been a poor one for I never saw anyone buy, but now and then I saw him offered a drink. He never refused it. He threaded his way among the tables with a sort of rolling walk as though he were accustomed to traverse long distances on foot, paused at each table, with a little smile mentioned the numbers he had for sale and then, when no notice was taken of him, with the same smile passed on. I think he was for the most part a trifle the worse for liquor.

I was standing at the bar one evening, my foot on the rail, with an acquaintance—when the man with the scar came up. I shook my head as for the twentieth time since my arrival he held out for my inspection his lottery tickets. But my companion nodded affably.

"*Qué tal, general?* How is life?"

"Not so bad. Business is none too good, but it might be worse."

"What will you have, general?"

"A brandy."

He tossed it down and put the glass back on the bar. He nodded to my acquaintance.

"*Gracias. Hasta luego.*"

Then he turned away and offered his tickets to the men who were standing next to us.

"Who is your friend?" I asked. "That's a terrific scar on his face."

"It doesn't add to his beauty, does it? He's an exile from Nicaragua. He's a ruffian of course and a bandit, but not a bad fellow. I give him a few *pesos* now and then. He was a revolutionary general, and if his ammunition hadn't given out he'd have upset the government and be Minister of War now instead of selling lottery tickets in Guatemala. They captured him, along with his staff, such as it was, and tried him by court-martial , and he was sentenced to be shot at dawn. He spent the night in gaol and he and the others, there were five of them altogether, passed the time playing poker. He told me he'd never had such a run of bad luck in his life; he never improved more than half a dozen times in the whole sitting and no sooner did he buy a new stack than he lost it. When day broke and the soldiers came into the cell to fetch them for execution he had lost more matches than a reasonable man could use in a lifetime.

"They were led into the patio of the gaol and placed against a wall, the five of them side by side, with the firing party facing them. There was a pause and our friend asked the officer in charge of them what the devil they were keeping him waiting for. The officer said that the general commanding the government troops wished to attend the execution and they awaited his arrival.

"'Then I have time to smoke another cigarette,' said our friend. 'He was always unpunctual.'

"But he had barely lit it when the general—it was San Ignacio, by the way: I don't know whether you ever met him—followed by his A.D.C. came into the patio. The

usual formalities were performed and San Ignacio asked the condemned men whether there was anything they wished before the execution took place. Four of the five shook their heads, but our friend spoke.

"'Yes, I should like to say good-bye to my wife.'

"'*Bueno*,' said the general, 'I have no objection to that. Where is she?'

"'She is waiting at the prison door.'

"'Then it will not cause a delay of more than five minutes.'

"'Hardly that, *Señor General*,' said our friend.

"'Have him placed on one side.'

"Two soldiers advanced and between them the condemned rebel walked to the spot indicated. The officer in command of the firing squad on a nod from the general gave an order, there was a ragged report , and the four men fell. The officer went up to them and into one who was still alive emptied two barrels of his revolver. Our friend finished his cigarette and threw away the stub.

"There was a little stir at the gateway. A woman came into the patio, with quick steps, and then, her hand on her heart, stopped suddenly. She gave a cry and with outstretched arms ran forward.

"'*Caramba*,' said the General.

"She was in black, with a veil over her hair, and her face was dead white. She was hardly more than a girl, a slim creature, with little regular features and enormous eyes. But they were distraught with anguish . Her loveliness was such that as she ran, her mouth slightly open and the agony of her face beautiful, a gasp of surprise was wrung from those indifferent soldiers who looked at her.

"The rebel advanced a step or two to meet her. She flung herself into his arms and with a hoarse cry of passion, he pressed his lips to hers. And at the same moment he drew a knife from his ragged shirt—I haven't a notion how he managed to retain possession of it—and stabbed her in the

neck. The blood spurted from the cut vein and dyed his shirt. Then he flung his arms round her and once more pressed his lips to hers.

"It happened so quickly that many did not know what had occurred, but from the others burst a cry of horror; they sprang forward and seized him. They loosened his grasp and the girl would have fallen if the A.D.C. had not caught her. They laid her on the ground and with dismay on their faces stood round watching her. The rebel knew where he was striking and it was impossible to staunch the blood. In a moment the A.D.C. who had been kneeling by her side rose.

"'She's dead,' he whispered.

"The rebel crossed himself.

"'Why did you do it?' asked the general.

"'I loved her.'

"A sort of sigh passed through those men crowded together and they looked with strange faces at the murderer. The general stared at him for a while in silence.

"'It was a noble gesture ,' he said at last. 'I cannot execute this man. Take my car and have him led to the frontier. *Señor*, I offer you the homage which is due from one brave man to another.'

"The A.D.C. tapped the rebel on the shoulder, and between the two soldiers without a word he marched to the waiting car."

My friend stopped and for a little I was silent. I must explain that he was a Guatemalecan and spoke to me in Spanish. I have translated what he told me as well as I could, but I have made no attempt to tone down his rather high-flown language. To tell the truth I think it suits the story.

"But how then did he get the scar?" I asked at length.

"Oh, that was due to a bottle that burst when I was opening it. A bottle of ginger ale ."

"I never liked it," said I.

On Saturday Afternoon

I once saw a bloke try to kill himself. I'll never forget the day because I was sitting in the house one Saturday afternoon, feeling black and fed-up because everybody in the family had gone to the pictures, except me who'd for some reason been left out of it. 'Course, I didn't know then that I would soon see something you can never see in the same way on the pictures, a real bloke stringing himself up. I was only a kid at the time, so you can imagine how much I enjoyed it.

I've never known a family to look as black as our family when they're fed-up. I've seen the old man with his face so dark and full of murder because he ain't got no fags or was having to use saccharine to sweeten his tea, or even for nothing at all, that I've backed out of the house in case he got up from his fireside chair and came for me. He just sits, almost on top of the fire, his oil-stained Sunday-joint maulers opened out in front of him and facing inwards to each other, his thick shoulders scrunched forward, and his dark brown eyes staring into the fire. Now and again he'd say a dirty word, for no reason at all, the worst word you can think of, and when he starts saying this you know it's time to clear out. If mam's in it gets worse than ever, because she says sharp to him: "What are yo' looking so bleddy black for?" as if it might be because of something she's done, and before you know what's happening he's tipped up a tableful of pots and mam's gone out of the house crying. Dad hunches back over the fire and goes on swearing. All because of a packet of fags.

I once saw him broodier than I'd ever seen him, so that I thought he'd gone crackers in a quiet sort of way—until a fly flew to within a yard of him. Then his hand shot out, got it, and slung it crippled into the roaring fire. After that he cheered up a bit and mashed some tea.

Well, that's where the rest of us get our black looks from. It stands to reason we'd have them with a dad who carries on like that, don't it? Black looks run in the family. Some families have them and some don't. Our family has them right enough, and that's certain, so when we're fed-up we're really fed-up . Nobody knows why we get as fed-up as we do or why it gives us these black looks when we are. Some people get fed-up and don't look bad at all: they seem happy in a funny sort of way, as if they've just been set free from clink after being in there for something they didn't do, or come out of the pictures after sitting plugged for eight hours at a bad film or just missed a bus they ran half a mile for and seen it was the wrong one just after they'd stopped running—but in our family it's murder for the others if one of us is fed-up. I've asked myself lots of times what it is, but I can never get any sort of answer even if I sit and think for hours, which I must admit I don't do, though it looks good when I say I do. But I sit and think for long enough, until mam says to me, at seeing me scrunched up over the fire like dad: "What are yo' looking so black for?" So I've just got to stop thinking about it in case I get really black and fed-up and go the same way as dad, tipping up a tableful of pots and all.

Mostly I suppose there's nothing to look so black for: though it's nobody's fault and you can't blame anyone for looking black because I'm sure it's summat in the blood. But on this Saturday afternoon I was looking so black that when dad came in from the bookie's he said to me: "What's up wi' yo'?"

"I feel badly," I fibbed . He'd have had a fit if I'd said I was only black because I hadn't gone to the pictures.

"Well, have a wash," he told me.

"I don't want a wash," I said, and that was a fact.

"Well, get outside and get some fresh air then," he shouted.

I did as I was told, double-quick, because if ever dad goes as far as to tell me to get some fresh air I know it's time to get away from him. But outside the air wasn't so fresh, what with that bloody great bike factory bashing away at the yard-end. I didn't know where to go, so I walked up the yard a bit and sat down near somebody's back gate.

Then I saw this bloke who hadn't lived long in our yard. He was tall and thin and had a face like a parson except that he wore a flat cap and had a moustache that drooped, and looked as though he hadn't had a square meal for a year. I didn't think much o' this at the time: but I remember that as he turned in by the yard-end one of the nosy gossiping women who stood there every minute of the day except when she trudged to the pawnshop with her husband's bike or best suit, shouted to him: "What's that rope for, mate?"

He called back: "It's to 'ang messen wi', missis," and she cackled at his bloody good joke so loud and long you'd think she never heard such a good 'un, though the next day she cackled on the other side of her fat face.

He walked by me puffing a fag and carrying his coil of brand-new rope, and he had to step over me to get past. His boot nearly took my shoulder off, and when I told him to watch where he was going I don't think he heard me because he didn't even look round. Hardly anybody was about. All the kids were still at the pictures, and most of their mams and dads were downtown doing the shopping.

The bloke walked down the yard to his back door, and having nothing better to do because I hadn't gone to the pictures I followed him. You see, he left his back door open a bit, so I gave it a push and went in. I stood there, just watching him, sucking my thumb, the other hand in my pocket. I suppose he knew I was there, because his eyes were moving more natural now, but he didn't seem to mind. "What are yer going to do wi' that rope, mate?" I asked him.

"I'm going ter 'ang messen, lad," he told me, as though he'd done it a time or two already, and people had usually asked him questions like this beforehand.

"What for, mate?" He must have thought I was a nosy young bogger .

"'Cause I want to, that's what for," he said, clearing all the pots off the table and pulling it to the middle of the room. Then he stood on it to fasten the rope to the light-fitting. The table creaked and didn't look very safe, but it did him for what he wanted.

"It wain't hold up, mate," I said to him, thinking how much better it was being here than sitting in the pictures and seeing the Jungle Jim serial .

But he got nettled now and turned on me. "Mind yer own business."

I thought he was going to tell me to scram , but he didn't. He made ever such a fancy knot with that rope, as though he'd been a sailor or summat, and as he tied it he was whistling a fancy tune to himself. Then he got down from the table and pushed it back to the wall, and put a chair in its place. He wasn't looking black at all, nowhere near as black as anybody in our family when they're feeling fed-up. If ever he'd looked only half as black as our dad looked twice a week he'd have hanged himself years ago, I couldn't help thinking. But he was making a good job of that rope all right, as though he'd thought about it a lot anyway, and as though it was going to be the last thing he'd ever do. But I knew something he didn't know, because he wasn't standing where I was. I knew the rope wouldn't hold up, and I told him so, again.

"Shut yer gob ," he said, but quiet like, "or I'll kick yer out."

I didn't want to miss it, so I said nothing. He took his cap off and put it on the dresser , then he took his coat off, and his scarf, and spread them out on the sofa. I wasn't a

bit frightened, like I might be now at sixteen, because it was interesting. And being only ten I'd never had a chance to see a bloke hang himself before. We got pally, the two of us, before he slipped the rope around his neck.

"Shut the door," he asked me, and I did as I was told. "Ye're a good lad for your age," he said to me while I sucked my thumb, and he felt in his pockets and pulled out all that was inside, throwing the handful of bits and bobs on the table: fag-packet and peppermints, a pawn-ticket, an old comb, and a few coppers. He picked out a penny and gave it to me, saying: "Now listen ter me, young 'un. I'm going to 'ang messen, and when I'm swinging I want you to gi' this chair a bloody good kick and push it away. All right?"

I nodded.

He put the rope around his neck, and then took it off like it was a tie that didn't fit. "What are yer going to do it for, mate?" I asked again.

"Because I'm fed-up," he said, looking very unhappy. "And because I want to. My missus left me, and I'm out o' work."

I didn't want to argue, because the way he said it, I knew he couldn't do anything else except hang himself. Also there was a funny look in his face: even when he talked to me I swear he couldn't see me. It was different to the black looks my old man puts on, and I suppose that's why my old man would never hang himself, worse luck, because he never gets a look into his clock like this bloke had. My old man's look stares at you, so that you have to back down and fly out of the house: this bloke's look looked through you, so that you could face it and know it wouldn't do you any harm. So I saw now that dad would never hang himself because he could never get the right sort of look into his face, in spite of the fact that he'd been out of work often enough. Maybe mam would have to leave him first, and then he might do it; but no—I shook my head—there wasn't much

chance of that even though he did lead her a dog's life.

"Yer wain't forget to kick that chair away?" he reminded me, and I swung my head to say I wouldn't. So my eyes were popping and I watched every move he made. He stood on the chair and put the rope around his neck so that it fitted this time, still whistling his fancy tune. I wanted to get a better goz at the knot, because my pal was in the scouts, and would ask to know how it was done, and if I told him later he'd let me know what happened at the pictures in the Jungle Jim serial, so's I could have my cake and eat it as well, as mam says, tit for tat. But I thought I'd better not ask the bloke to tell me, and I stayed back in my corner. The last thing he did was take the wet dirty butt-end from his lips and sling it into the empty firegrate, following it with his eyes to the black fireback where it landed—as if he was then going to mend a fault in the lighting like any electrician.

Suddenly his long legs wriggled and his feet tried to kick the chair, so I helped him as I'd promised I would and took a runner at it as if I was playing centre-forward for Notts Forest, and the chair went scooting back against the sofa, dragging his muffler to the floor as it tipped over. He swung for a bit, his arms chafing like he was a scarecrow flapping birds away and he made a noise in his throat as if he'd just took a dose of salts and was trying to make them stay down.

Then there was another sound, and I looked up and saw a big crack come in the ceiling, like you see on the pictures when an earthquake's happening, and the bulb began circling round and round as though it was a space ship. I was just beginning to get dizzy when, thank Christ, he fell down with such a horrible thump on the floor that I thought he'd broke every bone he'd got. He kicked around for a bit, like a dog that's got colic bad. Then he lay still.

I didn't stay to look at him. "I told him that rope wouldn't hold up," I kept saying to myself as I went out of the house, tut-tutting because he hadn't done the job right, hands

stuffed deep into my pockets and nearly crying at the balls-up he'd made of everything. I slammed his gate so hard with disappointment that it nearly dropped off its hinges.

Just as I was going back up the yard to get my tea at home, hoping the others had come back from the pictures so's I wouldn't have anything to keep on being black about, a copper passed me and headed for the bloke's door. He was striding quickly with his head bent forward, and I knew that somebody had narked. They must have seen him buy the rope and then tipped-off the cop. Or happen the old hen at the yard-end had finally caught on. Or perhaps he'd even told somebody himself, because I supposed that the bloke who'd strung himself up hadn't much known what he was doing, especially with the look I'd seen in his eyes. But that's how it is, I said to myself, as I followed the copper back to the bloke's house, a poor bloke can't even hang himself these days.

When I got back the copper was slitting the rope from his neck with a pen-knife, then he gave him a drink of water, and the bloke opened his peepers. I didn't like the copper, because he'd got a couple of my mates sent to approved school for pinching lead piping from lavatories.

"What did you want to hang yourself for?" he asked the bloke, trying to make him sit up. He could hardly talk, and one of his hands was bleeding from where the light-bulb had smashed. I knew that rope wouldn't hold up, but he hadn't listened to me. I'll never hang myself anyway, but if I want to I'll make sure I do it from a tree or something like that, not a light fitting. "Well, what did you do it for?"

"Because I wanted to," the bloke croaked.

"You'll get five years for this," the copper told him. I'd crept back into the house and was sucking my thumb in the same corner.

"That's what yo' think," the bloke said, a normal

frightened look in his eyes now. "I only wanted to hang myself."

"Well," the copper said, taking out his book, "it's against the law, you know."

"Nay," the bloke said, "it can't be. It's my life, ain't it?"

"You might think so," the copper said, "but it ain't."

He began to suck the blood from his hand. It was such a little scratch though that you couldn't see it. "That's the first thing I knew," he said.

"Well I'm telling you," the copper told him.

'Course, I didn't let on to the copper that I'd helped the bloke to hang himself. I wasn't born yesterday, nor the day before yesterday either.

"It's a fine thing if a bloke can't tek his own life," the bloke said, seeing he was in for it.

"Well he can't," the copper said, as if reading out of his book and enjoying it. "It ain't your life. And it's a crime to take your own life. It's killing yourself. It's suicide."

The bloke looked hard, as if every one of the copper's words meant six-months cold. I felt sorry for him, and that's a fact, but if only he'd listened to what I'd said and not depended on that light-fitting. He should have done it from a tree, or something like that.

He went up the yard with the copper like a peaceful lamb, and we all thought that that was the end of that.

But a couple of days later the news was flashed through to us—even before it got to the Post because a woman in our yard worked at the hospital of an evening dishing grub out and tidying up. I heard her spilling it to somebody at the yard-end. "I'd never 'ave thought it. I thought he'd got that daft idea out of his head when they took him away. But no. Wonders'll never cease. Chucked 'issen from the hospital window when the copper who sat near his bed went off for a pee. Would you believe it? Dead? Not much 'e ain't."

He'd heaved himself at the glass, and fallen like a stone on to the road. In one way I was sorry he'd done it, but in another I was glad, because he'd proved to the coppers and everybody whether it was his life or not all right. It was marvellous though, the way the brainless bastards had put him in a ward six floors up, which finished him off, proper, even better than a tree.

All of which will make me think twice about how black I sometimes feel. The black coal-bag locked inside you, and the black look it puts on your face, doesn't mean you're going to string yourself up or sling yourself under a double-decker or chuck yourself out of a window or cut your throat with a sardine-tin or put your head in the gas-oven or drop your rotten sack-bag of a body on to a railway line, because when you're feeling that black you can't even move from your chair. Anyhow, I know I'll never get so black as to hang myself, because hanging don't look very nice to me, and never will, the more I remember old what's-his-name swinging from the light-fitting.

More than anything else, I'm glad now I didn't go to the pictures that Saturday afternoon when I was feeling black and ready to do myself in . Because you know, I shan't ever kill myself. Trust me. I'll stay alive half-barmy till I'm a hundred and five, and then go out screaming blue murder because I want to stay where I am.

APPENDIX II. THE KIRUNDI CORPUS

1. The Texts.

5

INGWE N- ÚRUKWÂVU.-

Ingwe yarányâgiwe n-îmvúra, yîtêra mu mwôbo w-úrukwâvu ihasânga Sarúkwâvu n-úmugóre wârwo. Iti nônehó mpîriwe mu kurushwa! Bugîngo irí ko irakârisha iryînyo, mukâ Sarúkwâvu aberire Sarúkwâvu ati Bimenye ga ní wewé umugabo ngâha!

Rukwâvu ati ahó murî aho abagóre mugira ubwênge buké! Hîryayêjo nîshe ingwe, ab-íwânyuberântuma kó urusâto, ejó nîca iyîndi bântuma kó urûndi rusâto, nônê ugira ngo ngaríke iyîndi. Hênyuma ní namará ingwe z-ábândi nzôheza nziríhe ikí?

Sarúgwe ngo yumvé îrtyo ica iratêmêsha. Urukwâvu rukira rúrtyo.

INKÁ IHÍGA N-ÍNGWE.-

Hărabâye inká n-íngwe bigasāngira umusózi. Máze umŭsi umwé birahârîra ikirúta ikîndi. Ingwe iti Je ndakuruta. Ybére ushîma nkúruta urâza tubirăbe. Nŭtōre ushâtse kwîrirwa urarîsha utánywa, câburé wîrírwe uranywá amâzi ntŭrîshe umŭsi wöse, ushâtse ukūránye. Ní naboná urírēnze nzōkwîca, ubîmbōnye kó năwe uzōndya. Umuhigo uba uyo biravyêmeranya. Umŭsi wā mbere inká irarîsha itāha yâsáragaye n-înyôta; ingwe yó yîrirwa mu mwônga ínywa, aríko ikaja iramira ivyătsi kū nkēngēra y-ûrûzi.

Umŭsi ugirá gatatu yâ ~~nká~~ birânka imira utûzi tubiri. Ingwe iti Ehéée! uranyôye, uranyôye! Ubwâwé burahéze. Inká iti Ngirira imbabázi sínzōsúbīra. Ingwe iratá agáti iti Ihí bămbewé.

Yâ nká iti Bānza undéke nābíre. Nayó yarí yâbwîye inyána yâyo iti : Ukūmva nâbiye nzōba mpwêreye kukó mfisé umubâno mubí. Ngo yābîre inyána yâyo irabimenya, ivutura ikiziriko yîruka mū nzu ya yâ ngwe yarí ko iraryá nyina, igira ubwâna bw-íngwe irahonyānga irîca, ~~irca~~ irahūnga.

Yâ ngwe igárutse isānga abâna bâyo kĕra, ica ahó iboná ibinōno vyā yâ nyána.

Yâ nyána itêye imbere yîkina amatavu ihūra n-ábāntu bati hūmura hûmurâ wā nyána y-úmwămi. Nayó iti Ingwe yanyiciye māmá ndayîcira abâna, nōné iri inyuma yānje.

Bati gēnda hûnga...

Ngo batēré imbere bahūra na Rugwe, nayó iti Ntā nyána y-înká muhūyé?

Bati Wayibariza iki ?

Iti Yanyiciye abâna nōné ngōmba kwîhōra.

Bati Irarênze gênda.

Nōnehó yâ nyána ihūra n-ágakwâvu ikīgānira ingéne vyābāyé. Gaca karayîhisha. Sarúgwe ruca rurashika, ruti Sarúkwāvu, ntā nyána y-înká umbonéye ? - Wayibariza iki ? - Yanyiciye abâna. - Ntayo mbōnyé.

Rugwe ibona ibinōno birorá mu mwōbo. Ibwîra Sarúkwāvu : Nyereka níngoga cânké nkúrye. Agakwâvu kîruka mu mwōbo wâko kāzana uruhú rw-îfúku, kati N-ŭyu yarí umugabo yámará naramwîshe. Yâ ngwe ivyūra umugāra. Sarúkwāvu karîruka kāzana uruhú rw-íngwe. Rugwe ngw-iboné urwo ruhú, rucîka ivútu rurîruka ntîrwāba rúkigaruka.

Sarúkwāvu kati Mbĕ wā nyána, kó ngukijíje uzōmpēra iki? Niwēmére nzê njé ndakwônka. Biba gúrtyo n-ŭbu urukwâvu rwāma rwônka inká.

Máze umŭsi umwé yâ nká yahóra yîrirwa irarîsha, urukwâvu rúyōnka itōrwa n-úmūntu ayijāna mu rugó rwîwé. Segákwāvu kayisānga yó mu gatôndo kuyônka. Nyené urugó azana ubuhiri kugákubita. Yâ nká ica ikaryāma kó iragáhisha. Barakúbita yâ nká, măbu kó yōvyūká. Baratéba barahéba. Inká ikiza gúrtyo Sarúkwāvu.

Ico ní co cătumye ingwe yânkana n-înká, urukwâvu na rwó rwâma

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UBWENGE BUVA HÂSÍ.-

Umutêma yagîye inêma n-úmuhûngu wîwé bîba inká. Barayishikanye berayíbâze, inyama zimwé barataze izîndi beratêtse. Búkêye umutêma aja kû mbúga kwôta akazûba. Atumye umuhûngu kûzana akanyama ngw-abé aratámira. Ngw-ataramure amêso abona bêne inká baratûye, bâje ku rwâra rw-inká.

Kyâ bagabo bati eka nî uryá mutêma yayîvye ntimwîrirwe muramúsâmbîsha. Aha bakivyôngoreranire kw-îrêmbo umuhûngu newé arí inyuma y-ínzu mû ndâro iyó inyama zirûnzé, ebeza sé ngo mbêga dâ! nzáné mbísi cânké izûmye? Sé newé ngw-êwe mwânênje, zana izó mbônyé ntáco zikitumaríye. Inyuma y-ínzu hârî hó umuríma w-íntore. Wâ muhûngu arîyumviriye, agîye murí wâ muríma yâshe intore mbísi rwôse n-ízîndi zikavyé, azaniye sé. Bâ bagabo ntíbâramutsa n-úkuramutsa. Bîsubiye kó bati eko gatêma kazîndúkiye kû ntore ní ko kôbá kârâye kábâze inká? Bîsubiriye inyuma. Wâ mutêma ati êwe mwânânje uri umugabo! Urânkûye mu vyêra vy-íngwe. Bava hâsí baja gukégeta zâ nyama atâ nkómânzi.

IMITÍMA Y-ÍMIHUSHANE.-

Umûsi urî izína umupfúmu yagîye i bwâmi. Vyâbâye kêra arabáza akajâmbo ati Mbêga mwâmi w-í Burûndi, kó ufisé abâmikazi bênshi, ukagira abagêndanyi, abakevyi n-ábakámyi, uwó ukûndá kuruta bôse yôba nkâ nde? Umwâmi ati Jêwé ntâ wûndi nôkubwîra, eka ndakûnda umwâmikazi wânje Bitamo kw-Itâba. Wâ mupfúmu aca arîruka nó kwâ wâ mwâmikazi, ati Mbêga mwâmikazi, kó harí umwâmi, incoréke n-ábândi bântu, uwó wûmvá agushíka ku mutíma yôba ndé? Wâ mwâmikazi ati Umûntu nôburá nkamúkurikira ní Nyamônde kw-Ishâmba. Aho rêró avuga umusuku wâbo abá kw-Ishâmba. Ntashitsé, baranihije ikiyâgo. Bâtevye ati Mbêga Nyamônde ukûnda ndé kuruta abândi? Nawé ati Jêwé ndakûnda impfîzi yânje Ruhoróro. Umupfúmu aca yîgîra muhíra. Amáze utûnsi atuma inkúba yâ mpfîzi Ruhoróro. Impfîzi ahó wayíbônye kêra, baca bábibwîra Nyamônde. Nyamônde ngw-avyûmve, arabúra iyó yîkwîza, arîha umugózi. Uwo apfûye, wâ mupfúmu yîruka kwa wâ mwâmikazi Bitamo kw-Itâba, ati Nyamônde ahó wamúbônye kêra. Umwâmikazi amôsozi amutânga hâáî ararira ubutágihozwa ati Jêwé Nyamônde ntíyônsiga hêjuru, arahava arîyahura aramúhâmvya. Ntibibâyé gúrtyo, babitêye umwâmi. Nawé ntâ kîndi atári ukurira n-Ckwîyambagura. Arafâba imigózi ngo yîyáhure, abândi baramugumya, baramujâna mu kigó bamugumiriza hó.

Wâ mupfúmu arasaba ijâmbo, ararênguka i bwâmi ati Mbêga mwâmi ugômba kwîha umugózi ubíkûra gukí? Ugômba gukúrikira ûtâgukûnda? Ugômba kwîhebera uwîyahuriye uwûndi. Umwâmikazi yîhâye umugózi kubêra umusuku ní we ugômbá kwîyahurira. Umwâmi ngw-avyûmve ati Erega nahora nkûnda ikitânkûnda!

2.The English translation.

2.1. A cow bets with a leopard.

Once upon a time, a cow and a leopard lived on a same mountain. One day they discussed about who is stronger than the other. The leopard said: "I am stronger than you. If you want to see how, come one day."Choose between grazing the whole day without drinking water or drinking water the whole day without grazing. If you don't respect this, I will kill you and if I don't respect, you will have the right to kill me too. That's what the bet was about. The first day, the cow grazed and retourned home very thirsty; and the leopard spent the whole day drinking water in the river, but it sametimes ate grass on the bank of the river.

The third day, the cow was extremely thirsty, it drank a few water. The leopard exclaimed: "You are drinking, you are drinking; it's finished with you." The cow apologized : "Please, excuse me, I won't do it again." The leopard refused. The cow said: "please let me low." It had told its calf this : "If you hear me lowing, be sure I will be dying because I am not in good terms with my neighbors. When the cow was lowing, the calf heard it, it pulled the rope, ran to the leopard's house, killed all the leopard's young and fled. When the leopard came back, it found all its young dead.

The calf met the hare and said what happened and the hare hid it. After a short while, the leopard arrived and asked to the hare: "Did you see a calf?" The hare answered: "No I didn't." The leopard told the hare : "Show me immediately where the calf is, otherwise I kill you." The hare went in its tunnel, brought a mole's skin and said : "This was a great man but I killed him." The leopard got furious. The hare went back and brought a leopard's skin. When the leopard saw it, it fled and didn't come back.

The hare told the calf: "Since I saved you, what are you going to do to thank me? Allow me to suck you." Things became as said : from that till now, hares suck cows.

2.2. The leopard and the hare.

A leopard walked in the rain and went in Rukwavu's hole, he found Rukwavu and wife and said: "I am less lucky." Rukwavu said: "You women are stupid! The day before yesterday I killed a leopard and your relatives asked me for the skin. Yesterday I killed another and they asked me for the skin again. What I am going to do if I kill all the leopards? When Sarugwe heard such things, he ran away. Rukwavu was saved in that way.

2.3. Intelligence rises from childhood.

An old man and his son planned to steal a cow. When they arrived home with the cow, they killed it. They roasted some meat and they cooked the remaining. The following day the old man went in front of his house for the sun. He asked his son to bring him meat so that he could eat. At that time, he saw the owners of the cow arriving to ask for it. Those men told each other: "It is this old man who stole it. You shouldn't lose your time asking him." When they were still whispering to each other at the other side of the house, the old man's son who was on the other side of the house where the meat was stored asked his father: "Father, do you want the ones which are raw or the ones which are ripe?" The father said: "my son, bring whatever you can , it's getting too late". On the other side of the house, there was a field of eggplants. The young man went in the field, took eggplants which were very much raw and others which were much ripe, and brought them to his father. The men who hadn't even greeted anybody changed their mind and said : "This old man who is eating eggplants now cannot have killed a cow yesterday." They went back. The old man said : "My son, you are intelligent. You have saved me from the leopard's clutches." They stood up and went to eat the meat without problem.

2.4. Contrasting hearts.

One day, a witch doctor went to the king's court. After a long time, he asked the king : "You have many queens, you have many courtiers,many housekeepers and many milk-men, whom do you like the most? The king replied: "I cannot tell you anybody else, I really love the queen Bitamo kw'itaba. The witch doctor ran to the queen and said: "Between the king, housekeepers and other people, whom do you like more than others? The queen said: "The one whose death I wouldn't support is Nyamonde kw'ishamba." She was talking of her houseworker. The witch doctor went to see Nyamonde. After they have chatted, he asked to the houseworker: "Whom do you like the most? He replied: "I like my bull Ruhororo." The witch doctor returned home. After some days, he sent the lightning to strike down the bull Ruhororo. The bull died. When Nyamonde learnt it, he couldn't control himself; he hung himself.

When the witch doctor saw that, he ran to the queen and told her about Nyamonde's death. The queen bursted out crying and said: "I cannot live without Nyamonde." She killed herself. When the king learned it, he cried a lot. He was going to kill himself when people stopped him. The witch doctor asked to talk to the king. He came and asked the king : "Why do you want to kill yourself? Do you want to follow the one who didn't love you? The queen killed herself because of the houseworker's death. Is it for her that you want to die?" When the king heard that, he said: "I loved the one who didn't love me."