

Rwandan Plant Names : Evidence for the Iconicity of Language

by Alexandre Kimenyi

Rwandan plant names, strongly support the concept of the iconicity of language. Linguistic signs are supposed to be arbitrary. This view which originates from Ferdinand de Saussure is held by the majority of linguists. Looking at the structure of Rwandan plant names, however, shows that there is an intrinsic relationship between linguistic form and meaning.

The majority of plant names belong to class 3 and 4. A lot of plant names appear in reduplicated forms. Others have human proper names. Other plant names also describe their form or function. Only a small number has opaque meanings. The majority of the scientific names are from G.Troupin. Others are taken from Coupez et al and Lestrade. Some Kinyarwanda plant names don't have scientific names because they are not available. They were listed, however, to show their iconic phonetic shape or their semantic transparency.

1. Plant names with reduplicated forms

Reduplication in Kinyarwanda consists of repeating the initial syllable of the word stem or the whole stem. Plant names below appear in reduplicated forms.

umubagabaga	cassia didymobotrya
imbátabáta	plantago palmata/lannea edulis
umugobógobo	
umufuumbafuumba	rumex abyssinicus
umugweegwe	euphorbia grantii
umugweegwe	sansevieria dawei
urukoyokoyo	pavetta schumanniana
urutiintibo	alchornea birtella f. glabrata
urubuyabuya	allophylus kiwuensis
uruziroziro	vitex doniana
umuzibaziba	mitragyne rubrostipulosa
umuvutavuta	cadaba farinosa s.l.
umuvuungovuungo	coccinea mildbraedii
	kigelia africana
umuturuturu	schefflera goetzenii
umutoratora	hippocratea apocynoides
umutiti	faurea saligna
umutobótobo	englerina schubotziana/solanaceae/solanum sp.
umutete	solanum aculeastrum
umutiritiri	pancovia golungensis
umushyoshyo	polygala ruwenzoriensis
umushishi	symphonia globulifera
umushirashira	annona senegalensis
umusheshe	rhammus staddo

umushayishayi	hangurana montana
umushabishabi	asparagus falcatus
umusasa	campylospermum vogelii
umunyegeyege	aeschysomena schimperi/sesbania macrantha sesbania div. spp.
umuunzeenze	olea europea spp.africana
umuroondoroondo	secamone africana/gongronema angolense
umurukuruku	tephrosia vogelii
umusáasá	limenia caffra
umusaasa	
umusakasaka	pavetta gardeniifolia s.l.
umukoyokoyo	combretum collinum
umukoondokoondo	canthium lactensens rubiaceae div.spp.
umuhebehebe	rhynchosigma racemosum
umugobagoba	psendarthria hookeri
umugege	myrica kandtiana
umugayigayi	lepidotrichilia volkensii
umugaragara	vernonia auriculifera vernonia subuligera
ubugetugetu	hedythysus thamnoideus
umubaribari	tabernaemontana johnstonii
umubazibazi	smithia elliotii
umubónobóno	croton macrostachysus galiniera coffeoides chassalia subochreatea/psychotria div.spp.
ikibónobóno	
ikibírábíra	
urubuumburi	dasylepis racemosa/rapanae melanophloes
igicuúnshu	salva sp./ocimum sp.
umubugabuga	clerodendrum laxicymosum
umubuungobuungo	embelia libeniana
umubwabwa	clerodendrum laxicymosum
umucuucu	solanum incanum
umudwedwe	euphorbia grantii
ikeembekembe	bethriocline longipes
umucaáca	cynodon dactylon
igicumucumu	bothriocline ugandensis
igiheriheri	vernonia lasiopus
igishigishigi	alsophila manniana
igishurúshuru	triumfetta pilosa ver. nyassana
igitamatama	bothriocline nyungwensis senecio trichopterygius
ikijagajaga	pavetta urundensis
ikibugúbugu	senecio trihoptygius
ikibónobóno	chassalia subochreatea
inteembeteembe	ensette ventricosum
umuteembeteembe	musa entete
ikinetenete/igitenetene	kalanchoe beniensis/crassulaceae

intiritiri	cassipourea gummiflua
intyintyi	allophyus channostachys
imvuvu	canthium glabriflorum
urutaratara	cyperaceae: cyperus dereilema
umuvúmovúmo	vernonia div.ssp.
umuvuungavuungo	goccinea mildbroedi/kigelia africana
umuvútavúta	cadaba farinosa s.l.
umuziroziro	vitex doniana
igitaamataamba	bothriocline nyungwensis/senecio trichoptergius
umutégeengerí	dovyalis macrocalyx'
umusháabisháabi	asparagus falcatus
umuseríseri	dichaetanthera corymbosa
igishikashike	guizotia scabra
umusoombosoombo	allophyllus griseotementonus
umuseríseri	dichaetanthera corymbasa
umukúukúuyu/umukóoyokóoyo	
igikuyokuyo	rhynchosia sublobato
	rhynchosia procurrens
ikimoomo	echinops amplecaulis
	echinops gigantens
umukóbokóbo	
ikóobokóobo	
urukobekobe	
umuráandaráanda	vigna oblongifolia var.parviflora
umukéenjakeénja	
inganigani	monanthotaxis orophila/rhynchosia hirta
umubaríbari	hyparrhenia cymbaria
ikigéembégéembe	carduus sp.
umukáarakára	nuxia floribunda
umukéenkakéénja	
umukizikizi	
urukobekobe	
umukóbokóbo	
igikuubokuubo	
igikubukubu	
ikimoomo	echinops amplexicaulis/echinops gigantens
umukóondokóondo	tarenna graveolens/vangueria apiculata/bangueria volkensis
ingobagoba	
umugobogobo	
umugájagája	musanga leo-errarae
ikigájagája	pavetta urundensis
umugaragara	vernonia auriculifera/vernonia subuligera
irebérebe/irebárebe	
ikiyuundoyuundo	
ikiribúribu	ensete ventricosum
uruhóombohóombo	coleus
igihérihéri	vernonia lasiopus
umunyégenyége	aeschynomena schimperii

umuvútavúta	cadaba farinosa
umushaayishaayi	hangurana montana/hangurana madagascariensis
umushyímboshyímbó	dolichos formosus
umusoombosoombo	allophyllus griseo-tomentosus
umushéeshé	osyris wightiana
igiséengeséenge	hermarthria
umusákasáka	pavetta gardeniifolia s.l./tricalysia rwandensis/trimaria grandifolia ssp.tropica
ururoondoroondo	
umuvuungovuungo	
umubogóbogo	
urunugunugu	clerodendrum laxicymosum
umuteembeteembe	
intábaatába	
ikizovuzovu	
umuziroziro	Vitex doniana
umuzíbazíba	Mitragyna rubrostipulacea
igitsinatsina	
umuvúmavúmo	
umuvútavúta	‘Cadala farinosa’
umusoombosoombo	Allophyllus griseo-tomentosus
umushyoóshyo	Polygala ruwenzoriensis
igishurúshuru	Triumfeta pilosa
umuráandaráanda	Vigna oblongifolia/parviflora
umureendareenda	
umuribúribu	Ensete ventricosum
umuroondoroondo	Gongronema angolense/Secamone africana
umuryáabaryáaba	
umusákasáka	Trimera grandifolia subsp tropica
igiséengeséenge	Hemarthia
igiseengoseengo	Anthriscus sylvestris
umusháabisháabi	Asparagus falcatus
umusherísheri	Dichoetanthera corymbosa
umushéeshé	Osyris lanceolata
igishígishígi	Cythea manniana
ikinyuundonyuundo	Kalanchoe marmorata
igishikashike	Guizotia scabra
umushíishi	Symphonia globulifera
ikinyégenyége	Sesbania macrantha/diimeri/sesban var nubica/
umukáarakára	Nuxia floribunda
umukóondokóondo	Canthium lactensens/Vangueria apiculata
igikuubokuubo	
igikuyukuyu	Rhynchosia procurrens subsp latisepala
umukúuyukúuyu	
imáanamáana	Herichrysum cymosum
umubaríbari	Tabernaemontana johnstonii
ikibaríbari	Anthocleista schweinfurthii
intábatába	Plantago palmata/Lannea edulis

umubázibázi	Smithia elliottii
umubógobógo	Cardiospermum halicacabum
umubóombobóombo	Cyphostema adenocaulum
ikibónobóno	Psychotria palustris/Psychotria peduncularis/Chassalia subochreatea/Psychotria mahoni var.puberula/Ricinus communis/Croton macrostachus
umubónobóno	Galiniera coffeoides
umubúgabúga	Clerodendrum laxicymosum
umubuungobuungo	Embelia libeniana
umucáaca	Cynodon dactylon
igicúmucúmu	Leonitis nepetaefolia/Leonitis mollissima
umudweedwe	Euphorbia grantii
urugáagá	Cyperus dives
inganigani	Monanthotaxis orophila/Rhynchosia hirta
ikigéembegéembe	Sonchus oleraceus/Sonchus asper/Sonchus luxurius
igírigíri	Balanites aegyptia
ingobagoba	Pseudarthria hokeri
ubugobogobo	
umugweegwe	Agave sisalana
igihoondohoondo	Dracaena steudneri

2. Plant names with proper Names

Proper names are obtained by deleting the preprefix or by adding to the word (noun, verb, adjective) the onomastic prefixes namely nya-, munyá-, mukáa-, nyirá-, sée-, s(h)á-, káa-, rwáa-,

karuungu	gladiolus psittanicus
bushya	dischoriste radicans
rubeerwá	althea rosea
ngiingwijana	rubiaceae/borreria stricta/hypodematium aff. sphaerostigma
kayogera	crotalaria spinosa
kaziraruguma	ageratum conyzoides
rwiiziriingá	datura stramonium
bugaangabukarí	asteranantha longifolia
mukurú	asclepias sp.
gisaaayuura	acanthaceae/thunbergia alata
kazibannyo	ronunculus multifidus
nyirámukó	rumex bequaertii
baambubá	irigeron sumatrensis
sényamigaanda	Phryganea sp.
nyirámukó	Rumex bequaertii/Rumex ruwenzoriensis
nyirámutebe	Yephrosia aequilata
nyirámagaáandu	

nyirámasaká	
nyirakayogera	Crotalaria incana sbsp purpurascens
nyirábutí	Stendelii/Conyza welwitshii/Hedythyrus thamnoideus
nyirábutúumbwe	
nyirábutúutú	
nyirabuyugi	
nyiragashuheezi	
nyirágasogéreza	Cleome schimperi/Cleome hirta/Cleome monophylla
nyiragashuheezi	
nyirágakúryi	
nyirágasaámbu	Trichodesma zeylanicum
nyirábahayá	
nyarisoonga	Ocimum canum
nyarúbaámba	
nyaruboombwe	Xymalos monospora
nyaantuku	Euphorbia hirta
rwiiziriingá	Datura stramonium
kamaramahano	Epilobium stereophyllum
kamenamaseeke	Polygala luteo-viridis
kaaingáshya	Oenanthe palustris/Ranunculus bequartii/Ranunculus multifidus
musaagimbéché	Cleome monophylla
mutaranuuka	Helychrysum adoratissimum/Ethulia conyzoides
ndimugashaanga	Lythrum rotundifolium
ndiiriyinká	Elaeodendron buchananii
basyitaka	Craterostigma
mahiinda	Astipomoea malvaca

3. Plant names with meanings

Some of the plants listed below are either medicinal plants or plants used in certain rituals such as birth, wedding, divination, healing, initiation, burial, coronation, etc. The names describe their functions. Other names describe their physical features or their use.

umugaanza	'the victorious'
umusugí	'the pure'
umutúurírwa	'the unclimbable'
umuneesha	'the winner'
umuremeera	'the heavy'
umuruta	'the stronger'
icyuunamyi	'the head bower'
umukenya	'the youth destroyer'
umuriinzi	'the guardian'
umutaráanzá	'the undefeatable'
umutágoká	'the one who is immune to bad luck'
umugoboka	'the savior'

ingurukizi	'the one which occurs accidentally'
umuhurura	'the helper'
umukúundé	'the one who inspires love'
umwaángo	'the one who inspires hatred'
umugwaampóro	'the pacifier'
nkuurimwóonga	'the one that pulls from danger'
umuhaánga	'the smart one'
umuhé	'the luck carrier'
umuhiíre	'the lucky one'
umuhiíndire	'the pacifier'
ishyá	'luck'
ishyóoza	'the one which gentle'
umureémbé	'the sick one'
kaziraruguma	'the one which immune to wounds'
bugaangabukarí	'strong medicine'
ikizimyamuriro	'the one which stops fever'
kamenamaseke	'the breaker of
umwúungabéere	'the one that fixes breasts'
isoonga	'the tip'
umusabanyama	'the begger of meat'
ireké	'leave alone'
umugóombé	'the must'
umucyúuro	'the one which brings back the cattle home'
rugaara	'the large'
rurirá	'the weeper'
umuzibuura	'the clearer'
umubímbafúro	'the producer of foam'
umukúzanyána	'the one which makes calves grow'
umuseeno	'the polisher'
kazibannyo	'the cover of the anus'
kamaramahano	'the terminator of problems'
umukúbayóka	'the folder of intestine parasites'
umwíicanzóka	'the killer of snakes'
umuramá	'the survivor'
umugabudásuumbwá	'the man who is not surpassed by anybody'
musáazugóna	'the old man who snores'
umugabutáreengwá	'the man who cannot be passed over'
abahánampabuka	'the punishers of Mpanuka'
umugoombooro	'the anti-venom'
rurirá	'the weeper'
umwaanzuranya	'the interruptor'
imbóni	'sight'
urubabáza	'the one causes pain'
umubázi	'the interrogator'
umubeérwa	'the elegant'
uruburamajyo	'the one which lacks clay pots pieces'
umucaáca	'the crawler'
umucaasúka	'the breaker of the hoe'

umucúungwé	'the subject'
umudáhweerá	'the irresistable to death'
indarama	'the one which is expecting'
urudátebwá	'the one who refuses to wait'
umufátaangwe	'the catcher of leopards'
ifurwe	'curse'
umugánashyá	'the leader to happiness'
urugarura	'the one that brings back'
ingese	'rust'
gisabo	'milk calebash'
gisaayuura	'débourbeuse'
umuhoró	'calm/cold'
umuhuúhe	'the blower'
umwíifuuzo	'the desired one'
impoosha	'the calmer'
umwiitsa	'echo'
umwiiha	'the one that gives itself'
umukámambógo	'the milker of buffaloes'
kamenamabuye	'the breaker of stones'
umuhuúngwe	'the escapee'
umuhuna	'the somnifer'
uruheéza	'the one which keeps people away'
umuhaanda	'the thorny one'
umugosoora	'the filterer'
umuhaandanzovu	
umuréengarútare	
mugorénamugabo	'man and woman'
kayogera	
umumara	'the useful'
ikimara	'the useful'
umunyágisózi	'the one from the hill'
inyamaheri	'la galeuse'
akanyámapfúundo	
inyánzi	'the hater'
umunyúragísaká	
iraaba	
urunyámavúta	'the oily one'
irarire	'spend the night'
ikiráaro	'lodging'
umupfunyantoki'	the folder of fingers'
umuréengarútare	'the one which goes over the rock'
umurérabáana	'the raiser of children'
umuribata	'the foot dragger'
umuroonzi	'the washer'
umuryáanyoni	'the eater of birds'
umuryawábasáaza	'the cord of old people'
rwiziringá	'the trouble maker'
igishókoro	'la colleuse'

umushoohera	'the problem curer'
umusunuunú	'la loupe'
umusiba	'the eraser'
umusubyo	'the purifier'
umushyigura	'the mover'
umutaanga	'the giver'
intáreyíruungu	'the solitary lion'
urutóozo	'l'habituante'
igitúguungúru	'false oignon'
ubutwíiko	'body burn'
umúunnyuwíntaama	'sheep's salt'
umuvúgo	'poetry recitation'
ikizíranyéenzi	'immune to coachroaches'
ikiyuundo	'large hammer'
umuvúmo	'curse'
imvúridáhitá	'the unending rain'
umuzígangóre	'the thing that women use for make-up'
umuseké	'the favorable one'
umukúundé	'the love plant'
umutágara	'the smart one'
igitáambitáambi	'the crawling one'
umutáraazá	'the one that doesn't to survive the night'
igitegamajaanja	'the one which presents its palms'
intoorome	'the fast growing one'
umutaanga	'the fast one'
umutúkampuungwe	'the one who insults mpungwe'
umutsíinduka	'the winner'
umuzirandondwe	'the one which hates bugs'
umuzígamfíizi	'the one which paints bulls'
umuzígangore	'the one which paints maternity crowns'
umuyuumbu	'the one which grows thich'
ubwuungo	'the one which fixes broken bones'
mutuúmbi	'the fat one'
umutúramugina	'the one which leaks from the ground'
umutúrabúguma	'the one that leaks old age'
umuvúgangoma	'the drum that speaks'
umuvúnaánka	'the one that rescues cows'
umuzibuura	'the one that cleans cloaged things'
umuzíbazíba	'the one that blocks the exit'
umutsina	'the one which cut from the bottom'
umutíma w'íisi	'the earth heart'
umutíma w'íkimasá	'the bull's heart'
umutáambashá	'the deer dancing'
umuyoora	'the one that picks up'
umuvuvu (kuvuvagura)	
umuyaza	'the one that makes body boil'
umuvíivi	'the survivor'
umuyeenzi (kuyeenza)	

umusáangé	'the one that joins others'
umushíranyóota	'the one that quenches thirst'
ishárankíma	'the ugly one'
umuságaambá	'the growing one'
umushóomorankóko	
umushámarankóko	
umusékera-suka	'the one that smiles for the hoe'
seka-baazané	'smile so that they bring (food)'
urusána-nzúki	'the one that repairs bees'
insesa-birago	'the one that moves straw mats'
umukuundakwaaka	'the one which burns easily'
umucáasuká	'the one that breaks the hoe'
umukúragícuku	'the one which grows fast'
umuménamabuye	'the one which breaks stones'
umuríra-ngéenda	
inyoga-nyaanja	
umuryámira-bákoóbwa	
ikiryaa-bashuumba	
ruvug-amadáago	
ruvug-amahoóombo	
umuruta	
urunyámavúta	'the one with oil/fat'
umuságaambá	'the one that grows spreading'
umunywáandé	'who should drink it ?' <i>Ilex mitis</i>

4. Names from class 3

Words in class 3 use class 4 to mark the plural. The class marker for class 3 is the prefix -mu- and the preprefix or augment is the copy of the prefix vowel ,namely u-. Class 4 is marked by the prefix -mi- and the preprefix i-.

umunyinyá	<i>Acacia abyssinica</i> subsp <i>calophyllia</i> / <i>Acacia sieberana</i> var
vermoesenii	
umunyúra	<i>Dodonaea viscosa</i>
<u>umutárishóonga</u>	<i>Cluytia abyssinica</i>
umutaráma	<i>Gardenia ternifolia</i> ,subsp <i>jovis-tonantis</i>
umutánuuká	<i>Dichrocephala bicolor</i>
umutaanga	<i>Lagenaria</i> dv.spp
umuteembe	<i>Rorippa cryplantha</i>
umuteekampengeri	<i>Mentha aquatica</i>
umutáambashá	<i>Magnistipula butayei</i>
umutágara	<i>Grassocephalum multicorymbosum</i>
umutabana	<i>Indigofera roseo-caerulea</i>
umutoryi	<i>solanum melongena</i>
umutsina	<i>Sporobolus pyramidalis</i>
umutooyi	<i>Chrysophyllum gorungosanum</i> / <i>Aningeria adolphi-friderici</i>

umusurí *Beilschimidia rwandensis/Oxyanthus speciosus subsp*
stenocarpus/Garcinia volkensii
 umusuumbarukeenke *Panicum maximum*
 umusiibyarugeendo *Apodytes dimidiata*
 umushoshwe *Hibiscus ludwiigi/Abutilon angulatum*
 umuraangara *Croton macrostachyus/Croton megalocarpus*
 umusagávu
 umusakávu *Fagara sp*
 umusámanzúki *Hypericum revolutum*
 umunyamabuye *Fadogia ancylantha*
 umunyakayuumbu *Psychotria*
parvistipulata/Macrotylomaaxillare/Tephrosia elata/Diospyros
gabonensis
 umunyakabáruká *Hymenocaria*
 umunége *Croton megalocarpus*
 umugóombé *Chenopodium ugandae*
 umusíine *Peddiea rapaneoides/Peddiea*
orophila/Vaccinium stanleyi
 umusáduká *Hibiscus aethiopicus*
 umusagára *Rhos longifer*
 umusaande *Urera cameroonensis*
 umusaandi *Cassia mimosoides*
 umusáangé *Entada abyssinica*
 umusaángu *Haronga madagascariensis*
 umusáraba *Crotalaria vallicola*
 umusárabátemye *Ryrgynia kivuensis*
 umusáareendá *Triumfetta cordifolia*
 umusáasá *Nuxia congesta/Nuxia floribunda/Olinia*
rochetiana/Campylosperum vegelii var.poggei/Ximenia caffra/Rhamnus
prinoides/Polygala ruwenzoriensis/Dodonaea viscosa
 umusásankwáaré *Hypericum revolutum*
 umusé *Urera cameroonensis/Urera hypselodendron*
 umusebéya *Albizia grandibractea/Albizia adianthifolia/Albizia*
gummifera
 umuseké *Phragmites mauritanus*
 umusekera *Pittosporum spathicalyx/Macaranga*
kilimandscaria/Ximenia caffra/Platostoma denticulatum
 umuseena *Ficus asperifolia/*
 umuseene *Ficus*
 umuséengesi *Myrica mildbraedii/Myrica salicifolia/Rapanea*
melanophloeios/Balthasarea schlibenii
 umushábarará *Rytiginia bridsonii/Rytiginia Kigeziensis/Rytiginia*
kivuensis/Rytiginia beniensis/Canthium ruwenzoriense
 umushámi *Haplocoelum gallaense*
 umushaanga *Adhatoda engleriana*
 umusháranyóota *Lanea humilis*
 umushaariita *Cyphostemma adenocaulis*
 umusháashi *Cripophyllum rwandense/Canthium sp./Bridelie*

micrantha/Hippocratea goetzei/Salacia erecta
 umushaayishaanyi Harungana madascariensis
 umushiba Rhynchosia resinosa/Eriosema nutans
 umushírabwíiko Vaccinum stanleyi
 umupfúurankwáavu Tephrosia aequilata
 umupfunyantpke Eriosema
 psoraleoides/E.scioanum/E.montanum
 umunyerére
 umunyéreéri
 umunyarugabo Helichrysum odoratissimum
 umunýárugéerá Acacia moberana var kagerensis
 umunýárugoóndo Rhamnus staddo
 umunýáruhehá Ranunculus stagnalis
 umunyarenda Acalypha manniana
 umunyarubaanda Cleome monophylla
 umunyarubobi Trimeria grandifolia subsp tropica
 umunýáanzíigirirá Commicarpus plumbagineus
 umunyana Thunbergia mildbraediana
 umujugurira Boerhavia diffusa/Cammicarpus plumbagenius
 umukaanja Ochna schweinfurthiana
 umukaragata Embelia schimperi
 umukárara Agauria salicifolia
 umukeenke Hyparrhenia div.sp./Themeda trianda
 umukérakéenja Pennisetum trachyphyllum
 umukéreko Newtonia buchananii
 umukéreenké ozoroa reticulata
 umukeéri Rubus div.sp.
 umukíindo Phoenix reclinata
 umukiingabagabo Tephrosia elata/Tephrosia pamila
 umukíryi Virectaria major
 umukó Erytrina abyssinica
 umukómagoré Grewia similis
 umukoondo Isoglossa laxiflora/Mimulopsis solmsii
 umukóongwá Dombeya bagshawei/Hibiscus calyphyllus
 umukoni Synadenium synadenium grantii
 umukoonji Acacia senegalensis
 umukoonjoro Piper capense
 umukóre Dombeya rutindifolia/Dombeya kirkii
 umukorokoombe Capparis sepiaria/Capparis tomentosa
 umukúbagwá Psorospermum febrifugum
 umukúumbugurú Clerodendrum johnstonii/Clerodendrum
 buchholzii
 umuruundambaazo Markhamia tusifolia/Alangium chinense/Ehletia
 cymosa/Grewia mildbraedii
 umukúundé Cajanus cajan
 umukuúngerí Abutilon mauritianum
 umukúraazo Vernonia hochstetteri
 umukurú Pachycarpus schweinfurthii/Raphionacme

	mediensis/Xysmalobium pedunculatum	heudoletiatum/Staphmostelma
umukurura	Capparis fascicularis/elaegnoides	
umumara	Pseudosabisea arborea subsp bequaertii	
umuména	Pappea capensis	
umuméno	Maerua angolensis	
umumeéyu	Albizia petersiana	
umumuúna	Lannea schimperi	
umumuri	Olea europea var africana	
umunaaba	Triumfeta cordifolia	
umunanira	Jaundea/Rhamnus prinoides	
umunaniranzovu	Solanum aculeastrum/Jaundea pinnata/Milletia psilopetala/Albizia amara sbsp. sericophala	
umunaáyo	Brillantaisia cicatricosa/Mimulopsis solmisii/Dicliptera colorata	
umunazi	Parinari curatellifolia/	
umwáhuro	Periploca linearifolia/Rhyncostigma racemosum	
umwaamirangabo	Hymenodictyon floribundum	
umwaamiya	Alangium chinense	
umwáanyá	Neoboutonia macrocalyx	
umwaasa	Pentadesma reyndersii/Zanthoxylum mildbraedii	
umwaasha	Balthasarea schliebenii	
umwáatashyári	Trimeria grandiflora subsp tropica	
umubaánga	Schrebera elata/Pericopsis angolensis	
umubáruká	Pavetta gardenifolia/Tricalysia ruandensis/Cantium schimperianum	
umubázi	Monechna subsessile/Dyschoriste clinopodioides/Ruellia patula	
umuberánya	Typha angustifolia	
umubúmbafúro	Helinus mystacinus/Gouania longistipicata/Vernonia pogosperma	
umubiriizi	Vernonia amygdalina	
umuboómbó	Cayratia gracilis	
umububá	Albizia versicolor	
umubugú	Salacia erecta	
umubúunda	Casuarina equisetifolia	
umubyáazamásekérume	Maerua triphylla var johannis	
umucuundura	Erythrococca fisheri/Waltheria indica/Triumfetta rhomboidea/Triumfetta tomentosa/Maesalanceolata/Hibiscus berbedifolius/Sida div.spp.	
umucúungwé	Celosia anthelmintica	
umucyúuro	Cassia didymobotrya/Oreosyce africana/Momordica foetida	
umudáhaandá	Orthosiphon suffrutescens	
umudáhweerá	Commiphora madagascariensis/	
umudóboóri	Trema orientalis	
umweena	Satureja pseudosimensis	
umweenya	Ocimum suave/Ocimum urticifolium	

umufátaangwe	Mezoneuron angolense/Caesarlpinia decapelata/Pterolobium stellatum/Harrisonia abrusinica
umufú	Podocarpus usambarensis
umufuumba	Rumex abyssinicus
umufuumbageshi	Rumex usamberensis
umufúunzo	Cyperus papyrus
umufúura	Boehmeria nivea/Laportea ovalifolia
umugabudásuumírwa	Carduus nyassanus/Carduus leptacanthus
umugabudásunikwá	Oxalis latifolia
umuganáshya	Cussonia holstii/Peucedonum nyassicum
umugaango	Pergularia daemia
umugano	Arundinaria alpina
umugaanza	Ocotea michelsonii
umugaanzacyaaro	Harrisonia abyssinica/Ziziphus abyssinica micronata
umugarura	Ammania baccifera/Acollanthus repens
umugasá	Scutia myrtina
umugeendajoro	Cassipourea gummiflua, var ugandensis/Lepidotrichilia volkensii/Maytenus undata
umugéengé	Acacia hockii
umugeeti	Hagenia abyssinica
umugeyo	Pterolobium stellatum/Mimosa pigra/Acacia brevispica
umugiĩmbu	Bridelia brideliifolia/Bridelia micrantha
umugiingo	Psychotria mahonii/Psychotria buyoyensis var rugensis
umugomera	Fagaropsis angolensis/Cantium vulgare
umugónampíri	Acalypha villicaulis
umugoóte	Syzgium parvifolium
umugú	Acacia polyacantha
umuguunga	Acacia gerrardii
umugwáampóre	Ficus glumosa/Trema orientalis
umuhagatangima	Cissus humertii
umuhaánda	Casearia runsorica/Stephania abyssinica
umuhánurankúba	Phyllanthus nummulariifolius
umuhárankuukú	Lablab purpureus/Rhynchosia hirta/Vigna parkeri/Rhynchosiakilimandscharica/Rhy nchosia sublobata/Rhynchosia minima var prostrata/
umuháshya	Monanthotaxis orophila/Dalbergia lactea/Leptoderris harmisiana
umuháati	Dracaena afromontana
umuháto	Astripomoea grantii
umuhaátu	Pavonia patens/Abutilon asiaticum
umuhatura	Abutilon angulatum
umuheengeri	Lantana trifolia/Geniosporum rotundifolium
umuhíhí	Echinochloa colunum
umuhokó	Phytolacca dodecandra
umuhoróro	Premna angolensis

umuhótorá schimperi/Xymalos,	Jasminum fluminense/Jasminum dichotomum/Jasminum, monospora/Mikaniopsis
umuhuba	
umuhuúhe	Croton dichogamus
umuhuumbo	Ficalhoa laurifolia
umuhúunga	Aeschynomene schimperi/Kotschya africana var bequaertii/Kotschya aeschynomenoides
umuhúuriizi	Podocarpus milanjianus
umuhurura	Achyranthes aspera

5. Plant names from other classes

isáandi	Blepharis integrifolia
igikákarúbaámba	
ishyóongoóshyo	Thunbergia mildbraediana
ubushyírahámwe	Capsella bursera-pastoris
ishóki	Blepharis maderaspatensis
igishókoonkoro	Cynoglossum lanceolatum
igishókorampoongo	Crassophalum sp./Emilia coccinea
ishoombosho	Trachomeria macrocarpa
iraáriire	Senecio cydoniifolius
uburyóoheramfizi	Dyschoriste perrottetii
ikiryooheramuhoro	Annona senegalensis/Galiniera coffeoides/Psychotria lauracea/Tricalisia rwandensis/Psychotria miahonii/Psychotria palustris/Psychotria
	peduncularis
isagara	Pentas decora
isakara	Oldenlandia herbea
igisámutóbwe	Mimulopsis arborescens
isaanda	Trichodesma zeylanicum
isaánzu	Ochna afzeli/Vepris stolzii/Chrysophyllum pruniforme/Eugenia capensis sub sp nyassensis/Anisepalum humbertii
isaayuura/igisaayuura	Allophylus rubifolius
uruseende	Solanum nigrum
akanyamwiiga	Dychnostachys coerulea
igishéhe	Chrysophyllum rwandense/Ardista kivuensis
inshiingati	Stapfiella urugurica/Stapfiella lucida
icyooganyaanja	Dissotis senegambiensis/Suffrutex Bothriocline longipes
akanyarubira	Peperomia blanda var. Leptostaschya
inyaanzi	Tephrosia interrupta sbsp mildbraedi
ikinyáankúrwe	Clerodendrum formicalum/fuscum/johnstonii
ikinyamucuucu	Hypericum revolutum
ijoojwe	Asytasia gangetica/Asytasia schimperi/Justicia

	striata/Justicia uncinulata/Justicia flava/Hypoestes forskalei/Phaulopsis imbricata
injugúshu	Nephrolepis undulata
injuujú	Evolvulus alsinoides
inkabukira	Coryza bonariensis
igikákarúbaámba	Aloès dawei/Aloès volkensii
igikángaga	Cyperius latiflorus
urukéembagúfa	Stachys aculeolata/Geranium div ssp.
urukeenke	Dracena laxissima
ubukikíri	Lepidagathis andersionana
inkookera	Strychnos lucens
inkonoondwe	Crambe hispanica
inkóorí	Vigna unguiculata
ubukuubo	Vernonia perrottetii/Vernonia schweinfurtithii
inkúundabúrimi	Momordica pterocarpa
umukuungu	Parinari excelsa
inkúruba	Agelatum conyzoides /Haumaniastrum galeopsifolium
imáanayeezé	Helichrysum sp dv.
ikimaanja	Clotalaria karagwensis
imari/ikimari	Garinsoga parviflora
akamaatiira	Adenostemura mauritianum
ikimezá	Hedythyrus thamnoides
inaánka	Helichrisum mildbraedii/Eriosema mucans
ineembo	Maytenus acuminata/Tarenna rwandensis
ikineesha	Ixora burundensis/Pavetta bagshawei/Psychotria chalconeura/Rauvolfia manii/Pleiocarpa pycnantha
urwaakaara/inyaakaara	Isodon ramosissimus/Plechranthus fimbriatus/Solenestemon sylvaticum
urwaamba/inyaamba	Flabellaria paniculata/Lasiantus kilimandscharicus
icyaangwe	Luffa cylindrica
icyáanjogo	Psilotrichum elliottii
icyaánya	Musanga leoerrerae
urwaarikafuundi	Rhynchelytrum roseum
akaataburiingi	Plumbago zeylanica
ikibabanzovu	Girardinia bullosa
urubabára	Combretum orophilum
urubabáza	Pyllantus div.sp./Desmodium
ikibábo	Peucedanum aculeolatum
urubeba	Vigna racemosa
urubeerwá/imbeerwá	Hibiscus cannabinus/Hibiscus diversifolius
urubiingo	Pennisetum purpureum
iboórebee	Morus alba var indica
ikiboombwe	Cyphostemma cyphopelatum
imbóno	Diplocyclos palmatus
ikiborooza	Girardinia condensata
urubwíjja	Amaranthus hybridus
incáabugufí	Becium abovatum

igicuúnshu	Salvia sp./Ocimum sp.
indásigárizá	Helichrysum ellipticifolium
idegége	Cucumis aculeatus
ikidóboóri	Ficus vallis-choudae
idoóma	Gutenvergia cordifolia
ikidúha	Euphorbia candelabrum
icyeegeera	Plectranthus longipes/Selecio angulatus
akeendajoro	Nesaea schinzii
icyeera	Conyza hochstetteri
igifáshi	Cyathula polycephala/Cyathula schimperana/Cyathula uncinulata/Pupalia grandiflora/Pupalia lappacea
igifuraniinda	Crassophalum montuosum
ifurwe	Laportea alatipes
inganáshya	Cossyza subscaposa
igaangabukári	Hygrophila auriculata
ingarikabigaanza	Euphorbia inaequilatera
akagiingo	Kohaytia coccinea/Silene burchellii/Justicia anselliana
ngiingwiijana	Oldenlandia scopulorum/Spermacoce spucilla/Spermacoce subvulgata/Spermacoce princeae
ubugoombooro	Thalictrum rynchocarpum/Peucedanum runssoricum
ingomwá	Beilschmiedia troupinii/Ocotea kenyensis/Dasylepsis racemosa/Beilschmiedia rwandensis
igóondé	Sesamum angolense/Sesamum angustifolius/Conyza hochstetteri
ingorámure	Pausinystalia ituriense/Pauridiantha paucinervis
igorogoonzo	Polygonum div.sp
ingosoora	Tagetes patula
uruguhú	Miscanthidium violaceum
ikigwáarará	Berkheya spekeana/Garduus/Echinops
akagwáarará	Blepharis cristata
agahagi	Brachystephanus africanus
agahago	Physalis micrantha
agahaandanzovu	Tribulus terrestris
iháangarúhiirá	Ruellia patula
ruharwá	Opila celtigifolia
ihenérane	Caralluma schweinfurthii
igiheehe	Bothriocline longipes/Bothriocline nyungwensis
uruhoómbo	Vernonia/Vernonia angulifolia/Vernonia hochstetteri/Vernonia purpurea/Vernonia karagwensis
ihónoranzóbe	Ocimum trichodon
impoóshya	Drymaria cordata/Lemna paucicostata
ihuumbu	Hysanthes pusilla
impuúmbya	Veronica abyssinica
umuhúunga	Aeschynomene schimperi
igihuúngerí	Philippia benguellensis/Philippia johnstonii/Protea

	mediensis
igihwaápfu	Mimulopsus excellens
urunyarunyuundo	Vernonia holstii
akanyamabaya	Dyschoriste trichocalyx
ikinyamagaanga	Plectranthus sarrulatus
igitovu	acanthus pubescens
icyúumyá	Guitozia scabra/Melanthera scandes/Aspilia pluriseta/Salivia nilotica

Conclusion

Kinyarwanda plant names are either icons or metonymies. They indicate the similarity or the association between the linguistic sign and the plant. Many appear in reduplicated forms because of their forms. They suggest their length, height and movement. It is also clear that class 3 and class 4 were natural classes reserved for plants and later on started including nouns referring to other semantic categories. All linguistic signs usually start as icons but lose their semantic transparency later on.

The iconicity of plant names is due to the fact that they are seldom used in every day vocabulary thus keeping their original forms. It is linguistic expressions which are used more often which have tendency to develop more meanings, change meanings or shrink phonetically.

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