

Ukwitabwaho guke kw'ikinyarwanda muri politiki nshya y'indimi mu Rwanda

by

Straton Rurangirwa, Ph.D.

srurangirwa@nur.ac.rw

Agashami k'Indimi Zivugwa, Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda,

Agasanduku k'iposita no 56 Butare, Rwanda

Inshamake

Ikinyarwanda kivugwa n'abanyarwanda bagera kuri 99,4% (Ibarura ryo muri 2002). Ni ururimi rw'igihugu ndetse rukoreshwa no mu nzego za leta mu Rwanda. Biratangaje rero ko ikinyarwanda kigenda kirushaho kubura umwanya mu biganirompaka bivuga ku bibazo by'indimi mu Rwanda. Mu by'ukuri ibiganirompaka n'ibyemezo bifatwa ubu ku byerekeye imikoreshereze y'indimi usanga byibanda cyane cyane ku kibazo kiri hagati y'icyongereza n'igifaransa.

Gutinda kuri iki kibazo cy'izi ndimi ebyiri mvaburayi bituma ikibazo cy'ikinyarwanda kibagirana mu mirimo ya politiki y'indimi mu Rwanda. Kuba ikinyarwanda ari ururimi kavukire rw'abanyarwanda bose, biba nk'urwitwazo rwo kwirengagiza impinduka ziri kuba muri uru rurimi ndetse n'uko hagombye gushyirwaho amategeko ahamye agenga imikoreshereze yarwo. Mbese wagira ngo ikibazo cyo gutunganya no guteza imbere ikinyarwanda cyarakemutse burundu. Kandi nyamara iki kibazo cyerekeye ikinyarwanda si icya none.

Muri iyi nyandiko, ndavuga ku kamaro k'ikinyarwanda, uruhare rwacyo mu iterambere, n'agaciro benecyo bagiha. By'umwihariko, ndagerageza kwibaza ku mwete muke ugaragara ku bashakashatsi ndetse n'abafata ibyemezo ku birebana n'iki kibazo, ibi nabyo bikamfasha gusobanura no kurushaho kumvikanisha uburemere n'imbogamizi iki kibazo giteye.

Intangiriro

Biratangaje kobona ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda rutagaragara cyane mu biganirompaka bikorwa ku bibazo by'indimi mu Rwanda. Nk'uko bigaragara, gahunda y'indimi mu Rwanda ndetse n'ibiganirompaka biriho ubu byibanda ku kibazo kiri hagati y'icyongereza n'igifaransa. Gushaka gukemura ikibazo cy'izi ndimi ebyiri mvaburayi rero usanga bisa n'aho bipfukirana ibindi bikorwa bya politiki y'indimi. Ibi kandi si ukubera gusa ko ikibazo cyahinduye isura, ahubwo binaterwa n'uko n'abo bireba nabo ubwabo bahindutse.

Ibi tuvuze hano ubwabyo ari ikimenyetso cyerekana ko ikinyarwanda kititaweho bihagije mu bijyanye na politiki y'indimi mu Rwanda. Mu zindi nyandiko zanjye (Rurangirwa, 2010:459) nagiye ngaragaza ko kuba ikinyarwanda ari ururimi kavukire rw'abanyarwanda bose, bishatse kuvuga ko kivugwa na buri wese, harimo n'abatarageze mu ishuri, ibi bikaba bitandukanye n'iby'icyongereza ndetse n'igifaransa, byabaye nk'urwitwazo rwo kutita ku mpinduka ziriho ziba muri/kuri uru rurimi rw'ikinyarwanda ndetse no kudashyirwaho kw'amategeko ahanye agenga imikoreshereze yarwo. Wagira ngo mu by'ukuri ikibazo cyo gutunganya no guteza imbere ikinyarwanda cyaracyemuwe burundu. Ibwiriza ry'imyanzuro y'inama y'abaminisitiri yo kuwa 8 Ukwakira 2008 ryatumye icyongereza kiba ururimi rukoreshwa mu mashuri ku nzego zose rigira riti: *“Inama y'abaminisitiri yasabye Minisitiri w'Uburezi gushyira mu bikorwa gahunda yihutirwa yo kwigisha mu cyongereza mu mashuri yose abanza, ayisumbuye n'amashuri makuru ya leta n'afashwa na guverinoma (1).”* Nk'uko bigaragara hano ntacyivugwa ku kinyarwanda, nk'aho icyongereza cyahise kiba ururimi rukoreshwa mu burezi rwonyine mu Rwanda. Ibi kandi si ibya none ku rurimi rw'ikinyarwanda nk'uko turi buze kubibona muri ubu bushakashatsi.

Kuri jye, imikoranire hagati y'abafata ibyemezo n'intiti mu by'indimi ni rimwe mu mahame shingiro rikwiye kugenga politiki y'indimi inoze. Icyakora, iri hame na none hari ikindi risaba: ubumenyi bwimbitse ku kamaro k'indimi mu mibereho y'umuturage ndetse by'umwihariko akamaro k'ururimi rw'igihugu. Birumvikana ko ururimi rw'igihugu cy'u Rwanda, arirwo kinyarwanda, ruvugwa hafi n'abaturage bose. Twibwira rero ko kuba ikinyarwanda kititabwaho bihagije muri politiki y'indimi biterwa rimwe na rimwe no kutamenya agaciro nyako k'ururimi rw'igihugu.

Muri iyi nyandiko, turavugaga ku kamaro k'ikinyarwanda, uruhare rwacyo mu iterambere n'agaciro ba nyiracyo bagiha, by'umwihariko turagerageza gusobanukirwa no gusesengura ubushake buke bugaragara ku bafata ibyemezo ndetse n'inzobere mu by'indimi mu byerekeye kwita ku rurimi rw'ikinyarwanda, ibyo biradufasha kumva uburemere bw'ikibazo n'imbogamizi gitewe ndetse n'ingaruka zacyo. Iyi nyandiko mu by'ukuri igamije kurushaho kugaragaza ukutitabwaho guhagije kw'ikinyarwanda muri gahunda y'indimi mu Rwanda. Byongeye kandi, iragaraza uburyo iyi myumvire ku byerekeranye n'ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda iteye impungenge zikomeye.

Uburyo bwakoreshejwe muri ubu bushakashatsi

Iri sesengura rishingiye cyane cyane ku byavuye mu bushakashatsi nakoze ku byanditswe no ku bitekerezo byatanzwe n'abanyarwanda mu bushakashatsi nakoze mu rwego rw'impamyabumenyi y'ikirenga mu mwaka wa 2010. Rishingiye kandi ku biganiro bisanzwe nagiranye na bagenzi banjye dukorana n'inzobere mu iyigandimi na politiki y'indimi, ndetse no ku byo mbona nk'umunyarwanda w'umwalimu mu gashami k'indimi muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda, usanzwe n'ubundi ahura n'ibibazo by'indimi mu Rwanda mu buzima bwa buri muni.

Ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi

Ubushakashatsi bwanjye bwashimangiye ibyo natekerezaga navuze haruguru, ibyo kandi ni nako bibonwa n'abahanga mu by'indimi ndetse n'abanyapolitiki. Kuba nta ubushashatsi buhagije bukorwa ku byerekeye uko indimi zikoreshwa mu Rwanda ndetse ikinyarwanda ntigishakirwe amagambo akenewe bigaragaza ibintu bibiri by'ingenzi. Icyamba mbere ni uko abantu bashobora kuba batumva bihagije akamaro k'ururimi rw'igihugu mu buzima bw'abaturage bwa buri muni. Icyamba kabiri ni uko nta bikorwa, ndetse n'ihuzabikorwa mu mirimo y'ubushakashatsi, ibi nabyo bikagaragaza ko nta ngamba n'uburyo busobanutse bwo gushyira mu bikorwa imyanzuro ifatwa mu birebana n'indimi. Ndetse uko kudasonukirwa n'ibibazo nabyo twavugaga ko bituma imikoranye hagati ya bya byicyiro bibiri by'abafatanyabikorwa twavuze haruguru nayo idashoboka kandi twabonye ko ari rimwe mu mahame atuma politiki y'indimi iyo ariyo yose igerwaho.

Ibisobanuro birambuye

Twavugaga ko politiki y'indimi ihari ubu mu Rwanda ijyanye n'uburyo abahanga bita "ntambike" (horizontal). Ku bwa Abolou (2008), ibi bisobanura gahunda yita ku iterambere ry'indimi nyafurika, yaranzwe n'ibyerekezo bibiri by'ingenzi aribyo: "Panafrikanism" na "Linguistic partnership". Icyamba mbere cyabayeho mu myaka ya za 30 kikaba gishamikiye ku bitekerezo by'abo bita "Abapanafrikanist" bishingiye ku kurwanya ururimi rw'abakoronu n'ikandamizwa ry'indimi nyafurika. Icyamba kerekerezo rero kikaba gishingiye ahanini ku kudatana kw'inyabubiri y'umuco n'ururimi. Aha ururimi rufatwa nk'intwari yo kwibohora iterabwoba ry'igitugu cy'indimi z'abakoronu. Kwinjiza indimi nyafurika mu nzego zose z'ubuzima bw'igihugu ni inshingano y'ibihugu by'Afurika. Ndetse bamwe mu banditsi, nka L. Kesteloot (1983) bifujye ko habaho ururimi rusange rw'Afurika. Icyerekezo cya kabiri rero cyo ni icyamba vuba cyane kandi kigendanye n'igihe cy'ubu cy'ikusanyabukungu. Ibi byo nta n'aho umuntu yabihungira ndetse umuntu yabibona nk'inzitizi z'ubwigenge bw'indimi nyafurika.

Ibyo ari byo byose ibi usanga ari ibitekerezo biharanira iterambere ry'indimi nyafurika mu bihe bigaragaramo cyane ubwiganze bw'imyumvire y'abanyaburayi mu by'umuco n'indimi zitandukanye. Ugendeye kuri ibi bitekerezo usanga indimi nyafurika zidatezwa imbere ku bw'umumaro wazo ku isoko ry'itumanaho no mu iterambere ry'ibihugu, ahubwo kubera nk'impamvu zo kuzigirira impuhwe gusa.

Muri gahunda nshya y'ikusanyabukungu indimi nyafurika zikwiye gutezwa imbere mu rwego rwo guha imbaraga no kusigasira umurage w'umuco n'ururimi, kugira ngo bitayoyokera mu byo twita ibigezweho. Ibi byo gufata abanyafurika nk'abagomba kugirirwa impuhwe bishobora kuba bibi cyane, by'umwihariko mu gihe abanyafurika, bazananirwa guha ibintu agaciro kabyo, ni ukuvuga, kumenya akamaro k'indimi nyafurika mu iterambere ry'ibihugu byabo. Birumvikana, nk'uko Abolou (2088:67-68) yabigaragaje, ko “*abayobozi benshi bo muri Afurika bataramenya kamere shingiro mu guteza imbere indimi nyafurika n'akamaro kazo mu iterambere ry'uuy mugabane.* (2)”

Gusa umuntu yavugaga ko kumenya ibi bidasobanuye ko dukwiye gusubira mu myumvire n'uburyo bw'imikorere byo muri za 1930 mu bihe by' “Abapanafricanist” n'ibintu twavuyemo, uretse ko n'ubundi hatanakibaho ya ngirwapolitiki y'indimi bita iy' “impagarike” (vertical language policy) irwanya cya gitekerezo cya “Panafrikanism” yo muri 1930, iyo yo ikaba yari gahunda y'indimi ishyira ingufu mu ndimi z'abakoroni ubundi igapfobya indimi nyafurika zanzitwaga “indimi gakondo” byumvikanaga nk'ininura.

Biroroshye kumva ko muri ibi bihe by'ikusanyabukungu, ibihugu by' Afurika, harimo n'u Rwanda, bigomba kwiga icyongereza byanze bikunze. Mu by'ukuri, ururimi rw'icyongereza ni ururimi ruhuriweho n'ibigo, n'imiryango mpuzamahanga yose ndetse rurakoreshwa mu bushakashatsi n'ikoranabuhanga. Icyongereza rero gisa nk'aho cyamaze kuba ubukombe ahantu hose kurusha ndetse izindi ndimi zikomeye nazo zikoreshwa mu itumanaho mpuzamahanga nk'igifaransa. Nyamara, abanyafurika bakwiye kureba kure ku buryo ibyemezo bafata bitabasubiza mu kintu icyo aricyo cyose cy'ubukoroni bw'indimi mvamahanga cyatuma bibagirwa agaciro k'indimi zabo kavukire kubera gukoresha indimi z'amahanga gusa. Abolou we abyita “ubukoroni bushya bwa *bucece*” (*soft recolonization*) (3) kandi ibyo biragaragaza mu bihugu bikoresha indimi z'abakoroni! Icyo mbere umuntu yakwitaho ni ugutegura no gushyira mu bikorwa politiki y'indimi itarwanya indimi z'amahanga, ibyo twise politiki “nziza” y'indimi (“positive” language policy) (Rurangirwa, 2010:314). Icyo kabiri ni politiki y'indimi yibanda ku ndangangaciro nyafurika, ku kamaro k'indimi z' Afurika n'agaciro benezo baziha, ari nako irinda umurage w'ururimi n'umuco muri byo bikorwa byo guteza imbere indimi nyafurika. Muri make, bishatse kuvugaga ko hagomba gushakwa uko abantu basobanukirwa neza, ubundi bagahitamo hagati yo kwibera ba “terera iyo” (“linguistic fatalism”) nti hagire icyo bakora no kwibera ba “nyamuja iyo bijya” (“linguistic fanaticism”).

Icyamba mbere (“linguistic fatalism”) gifitanye isano na leta za nyuma y’ubukoroni n’imiryango mpuzamahanga, kikaba gishingiye kandi mu kwiga ubumenyi bugezweho abantu bamwe bumva ko bugomba kunyuzwa mu ndimi z’amahanga; aha hakaba ari naho cya kintu cyo guhora abantu bamwe barindagiza abandi babumvisha ko bagomba guhora babishingikirijeho, mbese nk’umubyeyi n’umwana (Abolou, 2008:39)⁽⁴⁾. Indimi nyafurika zifatwa nk’izitajyanye n’iterambere rirambye. Iki gitekerezo kigendeye ku mahame y’abakapitalisiti ya nyuma y’ubukoroni (post colonial capitalistic principles) ku birebana n’iterambere ry’ibihugu by’Afurika, abantu rero ugasanga bakifashisha mu gusobanura “akato” (embargo) gahabwa indimi nyafurika ku nzego runaka no mu bikorwa bimwe na bimwe bya gahunda z’iterambere zishyirwaho ndetse zikanashyirwa mu bikorwa n’imiryango mpuzamahanga. Icyamba kabiri cyo gishyigikiye n’abaturage bo mu cyaro bumva ko indimi nyafurika arizo zagombye gukoreshwa, bakanazitiranya n’akarango kabo ndetse n’icyubahiro bumva ko bagomba inkomoko yabo ⁽⁵⁾.

Birumvikana ko ibi byerekezo bibiri bya politiki y’indimi muri Afrika ari bimwe mu by’ingenzi bikunze kugaragara. Mu bundi bushakashatsi bwabanjirije ubu (Rurangirwa, 2010 : 461), nashyigikiye ku ruhande rumwe igitekerezo cy’uko indimi mvamahanga atarizo kamara mu gufasha abantu kugendana n’igihe; ahubwo ko indimi nyafurika nazo, tuzihaye ibya ngombwa byose mu rwego rw’iyigandimi ndetse tukazibonera amagambo akenewe, zafasha igihugu mu nzira y’iterambere. Ku rundi ruhande, nagaragaje ko ibikorwa biteza imbere indimi nyafurika bitagomba kugarukira ku gusigasira umurage w’indimi n’umuco cyangwa se ku kuzifasha kugira uruhare mu busabane n’imibanire y’abantu bya buri munsu gusa. Indimi nyafurika zishobora nazo kugira uruhare runini mu bikorwa by’iterambere. Urugero, uretse ubusabane bwa buri munsu, zishobora gufasha mu itumanaho rya tekini mu rwego rw’imishinga igamije iterambere (iyamamazabuhinzi, amahugurwa, uburezi, ubuzima, n’ibindi.), mu itangazamakuru muri rusange, cyane cyane nko mu mishinga igirwamo uruhare n’abaturage. Urugero, Chaudenson ⁽⁶⁾ avugaga ko igihombo cy’imishinga imwe n’imwe y’iterambere giterwa no kutita ku mwanya w’itumanaho mu buryo bw’itangazamakuru. Ku bw’uyu mwanditsi, birakwiye ko ibyangombwa by’itumanaho (imiyoboro, ubutumwa, inyakirabutumwa, insakazabutumwa) byakwongera guhabwa agaciro mu kuvugurura inzego z’ibikorwa.

Hamwe na hamwe ndetse usanga indimi nyafurika arizo zonyine zari zikwiye gukoreshwa mu itumanaho rigamije iterambere. Urugero, ntawashidikanya ko ingamba z’iterambere izo arizo zose zashyizweho mu Rwanda byaba mu buyobozi bwite bwa leta cyangwa mu miryango mpuzamahanga zitifashisha itumanaho mu kinyarwanda, ururimi rw’abanyarwanda bose, zitagerwaho. Kandi ni nako bimeze no ku zindi ndimi gakondo mu bindi bihugu, kabone n’iyo zaba zitandikwa ntizavugwe n’abaturage bose, kuko arizo zonyine zifasha mu kugera ku nzego zo hasi z’abaturage. Mu by’ukuri, nk’uko Kone na bagenzi be babisobanura, itumanaho rigamije iterambere bisobanuye [...] *ibyifashishwa mu itumanaho, tekini, ingamba ndetse n’ibikorwa by’itumanaho bikenerwa mu migendekere myiza [...] ya gahunda y’iterambere, mu guhanga uburyo bw’imibereho ituma iterambere rishoboka [...], mu gukusanya, gusuzuma no gutanga amakuru mu nzira y’iterambere* ⁽⁸⁾.

Bityo, nyuma y'iki gisobanuro ntawe ukwiye gutinda ku kugaraza ko ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda ari igikoresho cy'ingenzi cy'imigendekere myiza y'imishinga y'iterambere. Ikindi tutari dukwiye kwirengangiza ni uko kuba ikinyarwanda ari ururimi rw'abanyarwanda hafi ya bose, rumaze imyaka irenga ijana rwandikwa ndetse runasesengurwa, rukoresha mu nzego z'ubuyobozi, ukongeraho ko ari ururimi rw'igihugu, ibi byose byerekana ko ikinyarwanda kigomba kwitabwaho mu gihe hatekerezwa ingamba z'iterambere zigirwamo uruhare n'abanyarwanda. Tuzi twese ko kimwe mu byo banenga indimi nyafurika iyo bashatse gusobanura ko ntacyo zifasha muri gahunda z'ibigezweho bityo zikaba zitagombye kugira uruhare muri gahunda y'iterambere ari uko zitandikwa. Nyamara imwe mu myitwarire nakwita ko idahwitse ugereranyije n'ibitekerezo nagaragaje muri iyi nyandiko hari igihe ituma ntekereza ko akamaro k'ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda kataramenywa na bose mu Rwanda. Urugero rwa kimwe mu bikorwa bidakwiye biheruka kugaragara ni ukuba harageragejwe gukuraho agashami k'indimi nyafurika mu ivugurura ry'ibygishwa muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda (2008), ako gashami kakaba karigishwagamo ikinyarwanda n'igiswayire. Ni igikorwa cyateje impaka kinavugisha abantu byinshi biza no gutuma uwo mwanzuro usubirwamo ahubwo hashyirwaho agashami k'indimi zivugwa (Modern Languages) aho bigisha ubu indimi enye z'ingenzi mu gihugu, harimo ikinyarwanda n'igiswayire. Muri ako gashami ni naho honyine hemewe kwigisha mu rundi rurimi rutari icyongereza. Ariko kandi nta wakwirengangiza ko bimwe mu byemezo nk'ibi bifite aho bihuriye n'amahame ya politiki nshya y'uburezi mu Rwanda ishyize imbere ubumenyi n'ikoranabuhanga muri gahunda z'iterambere; kandi rero nk'uko twese tuzi ko imwe mu miyoboro inyuzwamo iryo koranabuhanga ari ururimi rw'icyongereza twumva impamvu y'agaciro gihabwa ubu mu Rwanda.

Ku bw'abanyapolitiki n'abafata ibyemezo, icyongereza cyagizwe ururimi ruzajya rukoresha mu burezi mu Rwanda. Cyakora, kugererageza gukura igiswayire muri Kaminuza mu gihe mu ngamba zikomeye zafashwe mu by'ubukungu harimo no kwinjira mu Muryango w'ibihugu by' Afurika y' Iburasirazuba byo biragoye kubyumva. Kuri jye icyashobora kumvikana wenda cyaba ko icyongereza kigenda kirusha ingufu igiswayire muri ibyo bihugu, cyane cyane ko ibihugu biri muri uyu muryango byose bivuga igiswayire n'icyongereza, ibi bikaba bidaha ingufu igiswayire; byongeye kandi nta n'ubwo gihabwa agaciro kamwe n'ak'icyongereza muri ibyo bihugu. Imwe mu myitwarire y'abafata ibyemezo igaragaza ko batarumva neza guteza imbere ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda cyo bivuze ndetse n'uburemere bw'akazi kagomba gukorwa kugira ngo ibyo bigerweho.

Twagiye tubona ko igisa n'ubushake bagiye berekana mu gukemura icyo kibazo gihera mu madisikuru meza ku kibazo cy'ururimi ariko atagira icyo ageraho kigaragara. Ni uko usanga kenshi na kenshi gahunda zimwe na zimwe zo guteza imbere ikinyarwanda zidakurikiranwa, ahubwo ugasanga bazitereranye impuguke mu byo guteza imbere indimi kandi izo gahunda zarateguriwe hamwe mu manama azwi. Ubu se hari uwavuga umubare w'ibiganiro byateguwe bitigeze bigera ku gikorwa na kimwe gifatika? Kimwe mu biganiro bikomeye twavugaga ni nk'icyateguwe n'Ikigo gishinzwe Ubushakashatsi n'Ikoranabuhanga (Institute for Scientific and Technological Research) ku nsanganyamatsiko nyine yitwa "Guteza imbere ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda"⁽⁹⁾.

Nyamara nubwo imyanzuro yavuye muri iki kiganiro ari ingirakamaro, kugera ubu ntirigera ishyingira mu bikorwa. Byongeye kandi usanga muri ibi biganiro byose haba havugwa ko abana b'abanyarwanda bo mu mashuri y'incuke bagombye kwigishwa mu rurimi kavukire rwabo, mu gihe abana b'abafata ibi ibyemezo ndetse n'ab'inzobere mu by'indimi boherezwa mu mashuri yigisha mu cyongereza no mu gifaransa kuva mu mashuri y'incuke. Ibi ni ukwivuguriza bikaba byongera gushimangira bwa bushake budahamye bw'abafatanyabikorwa n'inzobere mu by'indimi mu Rwanda. Uko ikibazo ndetse n'imbogamizi za gahunda yo guhugurira abantu kwigisha mu kinyarwanda mu mashuri y'incuke kifashe mu cyaro bitandukanye no mu migi aho abo bafatanyabikorwa n'inzobere baba; urugero, dushingiye ku byavuye mu bushakashatsi bwa P. Munyeshyaka (2004: 166), abatuye mu mugwi wa Kigali bashyigikira buhoro (ugererenyije n'abo mu cyaro) igitekerezo cy'uko ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda rwaba ari ngombwa cyane mu myigire y'abana⁽¹⁰⁾. Ntagushidikanya ko ibi bituruka ku mpamvu y'uko bamwe muri bo bafite abana bigishwa mu zindi ndimi (icyonegereza n'igifaransa).

Umwanzuro

Muri iyi nyandiko nagerageje kugaragaza ko hakenewe impinduka mu mikoreshereze y'ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda binyuze muri politiki nshya y'indimi ishingiye mbere na mbere ku gushyiraho ururimi fatizo rw'ikinyarwanda no kurusakaza, hanibandwa ku ruhare urwo rurimi rwagira mu iterambere. Nanagaragaje ko hakenewe gusobanura byimazeyo imimaro y'izindi ndimi z'ingenzi z'u Rwanda.

Nagaragaje uruhare ikinyarwanda cyagira mu rwego rw'itumanaho hagati ya guverinoma n'abaturage mu rwego rwo gusakaza imyanzuro ya politiki n'imishinga y'iterambere, ubukangurambaga, n'ibindi. Kuba abaturage bashishikajwe n'ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda, bafatiye cyane cyane ku ndangagaciro n'uturango tw'umuco ni ikintu gikomeye. Mu by'ukuri hari ibitekerezo bibiri bigaragaza ko nta rundi rurimi rwarusha ikinyarwanda, guhuza ibitekerezo n'ibikorwa bigamije guteza imbere abanyarwanda.

Ubundi ikinyarwanda usanga arirwo rurimi rwonyine rwafasha kugera ku iterambere muri politiki, ubukungu, imibereho myiza n'umuco by'abanyarwanda. Byakabaye bihagije rero kugihuza n'ibyo abanyarwanda ndetse n'isi turimo bakeneye muri iki gihe tuzi ko bitandukanye kandi bihora bihinduka, hashyirwaho inzego z'imikoresherezwe yacyo zizwi ndetse kigashakirwa n'amagambo akenewe muri iki gihe tugezemo. icyo twavugaga cyo ni uko kubirebana no gushyiraho inzego z'imikoresherezwe yacyo byo bisa n'ibyarangiye rwose: ikinyarwanda ni ururimi rw'igihugu kikaba kandi kinakoreshwa mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bw'u Rwanda. Nyamara ku birebana no kugishakira magambo akenewe ubu twavugaga mu by'ukuri ko nta muyobozi ubona bihangayikishije.

Uretse icyo twise ‘Kinyarwandisation’(Rurangirwa, 2010) yazanywe n’ivugurura ry’uburezi ryo muri 1978/1979 yari igamije gushyiraho imikoreshereze y’ikinyarwanda mu nzego zitandukanye z’ubuzima bw’abanyagihugu, harimo uburezi, indi mishinga yerekeye ku guteza imbere ikinyarwanda usanga yibanda ku mikoreshereze rusange ititaye ku mikoreshereze ihamye yacyo. Guteza imbere ikinyarwanda rero ntibyakunze gushyirwa muri gahunda zihutirwa za Guverinoma, kubera ko igihugu gifite n’ibindi bibazo byihutirwa kurusha iki. Ariko ibi bishobora kuba byaranatewe no kutamenya akamaro k’ururimi kavukire ndetse runakoreshwa mu nzego z’ubuyobozi mu iterambere ry’igihugu arirwo ikinyarwanda. Ibi byaba binava no kuri politiki y’indimi itagira icyerekezo gifututse, ubwitange n’intego. Mu by’ukuri icyavuye muri ibyo byose nuko aho kugira ngo rwuzuze ibya ngombwa byo kuba ururimi rukoreshwa mu nzego z’ubuyobozi n’iterambere rya rubanda nk’izindi ndimi zikoreshwa mu Rwanda, arizo igifaransa n’icyongereza, ururimi rw’igihugu rwataye agaciro karwo, rurakendera kugera aho rusigara gusa ari ururimi rukoreshwa mu biganiro bisanzwe byo mu rugo n’ibindi biganiro bya buri munsu, aho kugira ngo rube nyine ururimi rw’igihugu n’iterambere ry’abaturage nk’izindi ndimi zikoreshwa mu Rwanda, mbese nk’icyongereza n’igifaransa.

Mu ngamba nshya za politiki y’indimi mu Rwanda, kubonera ikinyarwanda amagambo akenewe muri iki gihe byari bikwiye kuba nk’inkingi ya mwikorezi. Naho ubundi byaba bigoye kubona igisubizo kirambye cy’ibibazo by’itumanaho bigaragara muri ino minsi mu nzego zinyuranye z’ubuzima bw’abaturage (mu burezi, ubuyobozi, ubutabera, ubukungu, itangazamakuru, n’ahandi.) mu gihe ikinyarwanda kikibura amagambo akenewe ubu ndetse n’amuga. Abantu bagiye binubira ikinyarwanda gikoreshwa mu itangazamakuru (ikibazo cyo gutira amagambo menshi mu zindi ndimi, kuvanga indimi, n’ibindi). Ariko rero n’ubundi igihe cyose tuzaba tutahaye agaciro ikibazo cyo kubonera ikinyarwanda amagambo akenewe dushyiraho cyane cyane ikusanyirizo ry’amuga, ntakizabuza abanyamakuru gukomeza kwirwanaho uko babishoboye mu gucura amagambo no guhindura inyandiko mu kinyarwanda, rero ibi ni nako bimeze no mu zindi nzego zose.

Gutunganya ikinyarwanda n’imikoresherezwe yacyo ku nzego zose bikwiye guhabwa agaciro gakomeye, bitabaye ibyo uru ururimi ntiruzigera rwuzuzwa ibisabwa byose kugira ngo rugeze abantu ku iterambere. Muri make ni umushinga minini ariko ushobora gukorwa haramutse hashyizweho ingamba zakwibanda ku gukoresha ikinyarwanda ku buryo bwagutse kandi bunoze mu bigo byo mu gihugu ari nako hagaragazwa n’umwanya w’izindi ndimi zikoreshwa cyane mu Rwanda. Ikinyarwanda, umuntu yakwita “ururimi *nyarwo* rw’igihugu cy’u Rwanda” kubera ko kivugwa n’abanyarwanda bose, cyari gikwiye kuba ururimi rw’igihugu nk’uko umuntu wese akwiye kubyumva muri uru Rwanda turimo.

Inama twatanga

Kumva akamaro k'ikinyarwanda nk'ururimi ruvugwa n'abanyarwanda hafi ya bose ni ingenzi mu gushyiraho politiki y'indimi inoze mu Rwanda;

Politiki y'indimi mu Rwanda ikwiye gushingira mbere na mbere ku guteza imbere ururimi rw'ikinyarwanda nk'ururimi rw'igihugu kandi rw'abanyarwanda bose;

Ururimi rw'igihugu rukwiye kwinjizwa rukanakoreshwa neza mu nzego zose z'ingenzi mu buzima bw'abaturage, kabone n'iyi zaba ari izirebana n'ibigezweho muri iki gihe;

Ibi birasaba umurimo ukomeye wo kubonera uru rurimi amagambo akenewe, by'umwihariko ku birebana n'ivugururwa ry'amagambo n'amuga yarwo, kugira ngo hakorwe ikusanyirizo ryayo rishobora gukoreshwa ku buryo bworoshye;

Abafata ibyemezo n'inzobere mu by'indimi rero bagombye kumva ko nta politiki y'indimi ishoboka mu Rwanda igihe cyose hazaba hirengagijwe ikibazo cy'ikinyarwanda.

Ibisobanuro

- (1) Official Website of the Government of Rwanda, 2008. *Imyanzuro y'Inama y'Abaminisitiri yo kuwa 8 Ukwakira 2008* [Online]. Consulted on 9 October 2008. Available at : <http://www.gov.rw/>
- (2) Byavanywe mu gifaransa: '*...la plupart des leaders africains ne sont pas encore conscients du caractère fondamental de la promotion des langues africaines et de leur importance dans le développement du continent*'
- (3) Byavanywe mu gifaransa: 'recolonisation linguistique *en douce*' (Abolou, 2008, p.68).
- (4) Byavanywe mu gifaransa: '[Le fatalisme linguistique] auquel se rattachent l'Etat post-colonial et les institutions internationales, se fonde sur l'apprentissage de la modernité qui doit nécessairement passer par les langues importées, lieux d'élucubrations paternalistes'.
- (5) Byavanywe mu gifaransa: '[Le fanatisme linguistique], prôné par les populations rurales, recommande les langues africaines, lieux d'illusion identitaire et de reconnaissance maternelle'.
- (6) R. Chaudenson, 1991. Plurilinguisme et développement en Afrique subsaharienne : Les problèmes de communication. *Cahier des Sciences Humaines*, 27(3-4), pp.305-319 cited in Abolou, 2008, p.35.
- (7) Byavanywe mu gifaransa: 'l'ensemble des ressources, des techniques, des stratégies et des actions de communication utilisées dans le but de mener à bien[...] un programme de développement [...], créer un environnement social favorable au développement [...], collecter, traiter et faire circuler toute information [...] dans le sens du développement', H.Kone et al., 1995. *La communication pour le développement durable en Afrique*, Abidjan : P.U.C.I., p.23 cited in Abolou, 2008, p.35.
- (8) Institut de Recherche Scientifique et Technologique du Rwanda(IRST) /Institute of Scientific and Technological Research, 2001. *Inama nyunguranabitekerezo ku guhesha agaciro ikinyarwanda: kuwa ku wa 10 kugeza ku wa 12 Mata 2001*, Butare: IRST.
- (9) Byavanywe mu gifaransa: 'soutiennent moins l'idée que le kinyarwanda soit essentiel à la scolarisation des enfants'.

Ibitabo n'izindi nyandiko byifashishijwe

1. Abolou, C.Roger. 2008. *Langues africaines et développement*. Brazzaville, Nsanga-Mvimba, Paris : Editions Paari.
2. Crystal, David. 2003. *English as a Global Language*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
3. Fasold, Ralph. 1984. *The sociolinguistics of society*, Basil Blackwell.
4. Fishman, A. Joshua. 1972. *Language and nationalism: two integrative essays*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers.
5. Gandara, Patricia and Megan Hopkins. 2010. *English Learners and Restrictive Language Policies*, New York, Columbia University, Teachers College.
6. Institut de Recherche Scientifique et Technologique du Rwanda (IRST) /Institute of Scientific and Technological Research. 2001. *Inama nyunguranabitekerezo ku guhesha agaciro ikinyarwanda: kuva ku wa 10 kugeza ku wa 12 Mata 2001*, Butare: IRST.
7. Lenore A. and Lindsay J. Whaley. 1998. *Endangered Languages. Current Issues and Future Prospects*, New York, Cambridge University Press
8. Kateregga, Aboubakar . 2010. Integrating the human resource into the science and technology paradigm for development: the case of Kinyarwanda as endangered resource. *Rwanda Journal*. Abstract from the 3rd International Scientific Research Conference (ISRC) proceedings. Butare: National University of Rwanda.
9. Munyankesha, Pascal. 2004. *Les défis du plurilinguisme officiel au Rwanda. Analyse sociolinguistique*. London Ontario : Université de Western Ontario (thèse de doctorat).
10. Rubin, J. & Bjorn, H.J.(eds). 1971. *Can language be planned? Sociolinguistic theory and practice for developing nations*. The University Press of Hawaii.
11. Rurangirwa, Straton. 2010. *Les politiques linguistiques du Rwanda. Enjeux, bilan et perspectives*. Thèse de doctorat non-publiée, Paris : Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris3.

12. Rurangirwa, Straton. 2003. Evolution du phénomène de l'emprunt lexical en kinyarwanda. *Etudes Rwandaises*, 4(7), pp. 77-116.
13. Rurangirwa, Straton. 2011. *Les politiques linguistiques du Rwanda de 1899 à 1994 : Du début au commencement*. Saarbrücken : Editions Universitaires Européennes.
14. Wright, Sue. 2004. *Language Policy and Language Planning. From Nationalism to Globalisation*, New York :Palgrave MacMillan,