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A pragmatic study of some sexuality related kirundi proverbs as an obstacle to aids prevention

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UNIVERSIY OF BURUNDI

FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE



A PRAGMATIC STUDY OF SOME SEXUALITY RELATED KIRUNDI PROVERBS AS AN OBSTACLE TO AIDS PREVENTION

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Dedication

To the sweet memory of my beloved late father who left too soon to witness this stage of my life,

I warmly dedicate this work.

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This work has reached the present stage owing to the contribution of many people. Therefore, many individuals deserve my sincere gratitude.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1. General introduction

Language is a primary instrument of communication in human society.Through words, gestures, sentences, people communicate their feelings, their needs, their attitudes and their ideas. It is therefore the duty of the speaker to utter clear and meaningful sentences in order to be well understood by his hearer. So the speaker may select words to use and choose the way in which he uses a language. As Horicubonye (2005: 59) says:

> *Burundians teach their children from their early age how to behave towards their superior, their elders,strangers and towards their equals. That education consists in teaching them to use words appropriately depending on the context in which they are.*

So, one's c ulture, the kind of message, the relationship between the hearer and the speaker may influence much the way the speaker addresses himself to his hearer and the way the hearer decodes the message. In addition to that, the possible context in which an utterance can be acceptably used and the background knowledge about the language used has a paramount importance while guessing the real meaning. To support this point of view Wardhough (1969: 24) says:

> *It is the context which creates possibilities for interpretation and helps remove the multiple ambiguities that utterances would have if they occurred in isolation.*

From this, it is clear that an utterance can be interpreted differently and this can mislead people and hence hamper the achievement of the speaker's objective. This is because Kirundi speakers when delivering a certain message do not use this language in the same way. There are some who prefer to use proverbs, jargons, clear language or a mixture of all the three depending up on the topics they are talking about. Most of the time Burundians avoid sex taboo by using a special language variety as said by Niyungeko(1998:23) .

1.2. Background to the study

sexual education is not taken seriously in Burundi .Moreover people do not use language explicitly and the language they use serve as an impediment to AIDS prevention. Despite all the efforts by the government an international organizations ,AIDS continues to spread .That gave me the impetus to take the plunge into investigating the language used in AIDS prevention.

1.2.1. What is HIV?

H.I.V is a virus which infects the cells that make up the human body and replicate (multiply) within those cells. This virus can also damage human cells, which is one of things that can make a person become ill. HIV can be transmitted from one person to another. Someone can become infected with HIV through contact with the bodily fluids of someone who has already HIV. So, HIV stands for Human Immunodeficiency Virus and someone who is diagnosed as infected with virus is said to be HIV positive.

1.2.1.1. Ways in which one can be infected with HIV

Sexual intercourse without condom is risky because the virus which is present in an infected person's sexual fluids can pass directly into the body of his partners. This is true for unprotected vaginal and anal sex. Oral sex carries a lower risk, but again HIV transmission can occur here if a condom is not used or if one partner has bleeding gums or an open cut however small in their mouth.

- Contact with an infected person's blood

If sufficient blood from an infected person enters someone else's body then it can pass on the virus.

- From mother to child

HIV can be transmitted from an infected mother to her baby during pregnancy delivery and breast feeding.

- Use of infected blood products

Many people in the past have been infected with HIV by the use of blood transfusion and blood products which were contaminated with the virus in the hospital for example. But in many areas this is no longer a significant risk as blood donation are routinely tested.

- Injected drugs

People who use injected drugs are also vulnerable to HIV in many parts of the world because injecting equipments are shared most of the time. A tiny amount

of blood can transmit HIV and can be injected directly into the blood stream with drugs.

1.2.1.2. Ways in which one cannot be infected with HIV/AIDS

- Shaking hands, hugging or simple kissing
- Coughs or sneezes, sweat or tears
- Mosquitoes; toilets or seats
- Eating food prepared or handled by an infected person
- Everyday contact with HIV infected persons at school, work, home or anywhere else.

1.2.2. AIDS in the world

The tragedy of HIV/AIDS epidemic threatens people of every continent without boundaries. By the end of 1998 the number of people living with HIV (human Immunodeficiency Virus) was estimated to have grown to 33 million according to UN/AIDS and WHO (World Health Organisation). Most of these infected patients did not know that they were infected. According to Dr. James in World Health Organisation (WHO) Magazine of December 1990, the AIDS virus was first identified in homosexuals and drugs user in United States of America (USA) in the late 1970's.In 1998, It was estimated that more than 162 countries and more were the developing countries. As RODEGEM (1961: 295) says: "Umukecuru ahimvye nabi akinisha imyenge y'inzu" which can be translated as "A satisfied old woman plays with house's holes'. To mean that wealthy excess leads to foolishness and finally to misfortune. John Caldwell 1997: 123) sustains this idea when he says:

> "Three areas in which cultural concepts militates against change in sexual behaviour to lessen the risk of AIDS: The first is the concept of wealthy."

As years went by AIDS epidemic equally went on spreading very fast. According to Miburu (1998: 4) among the people talked about to have carried and possibility to spread this disease are mostly prostitutes, businessmen and some drivers. At this level, AIDS changes strategies; the most vulnerable are no longer only wealthy people but also poor persons. So prostitution in this way is considered as a job through which one can gain money or other goods as people use to call it "the oldest trade in the world". So, most of these prostitutes are aware of AIDS epidemic, its bad consequences, its way of transmission and also the way they can prevent it but as RODEGEM (1961: 230) says: "Iyavukiye guhwera ntihwerwa" which can be translated as "The some who was born to die cannot grow up". These prostitutes do not care about the danger of AIDS epidemic.

1.2.3. AIDS in Burundi

In Burundi, according to the data from WHO (World Health Organisation) HIV/AIDS was discovered in 1983. From that moment, the number of HIV/AIDS infected person has increased in town as well as in country side. But in 1989, HIV/AIDS had spread very fast and the number rose from 1% to 11% in town whereas in the villages the number of infected people was 0, 7%. AIDS in Burundi is among the first diseases that kill many people. Infected patients spend much money and after their families are left in misery. Orphans become so many and continue to increase. According to the data from

UNAIDS epidemic 2006 and Report on the global AIDS epidemic in Burundi, orphans of AIDS were 120,000 when the total number of people living with AIDS was 150,000..

In fact, in 1987, because of many problems caused by AIDS, the government created the PNLS/MST (Programme National de Lutte contre le SIDA et les Maladies Sexuellement Transmissibles).

It is a project aiming at fighting against the AIDS epidemic in Burundi. After PNLS, many other organisations and associations which have the same aim of fighting against AIDS have been created. Through these organisations and associations, people have been informed about AIDS epidemic.

1.2.4. Factors of AIDS transmission in Burundi

1.2.4.1. Prostitution

Prostitution has won the accolade "The oldest trade in the world" and with this have resulted some of the most difficult medical problems to deal with for example sexually transmitted disease and the most recent is now AIDS. One wonders whether or not prostitution is the result of lack of employment or wrong conception of what the sexual organs are for. Generally, people practice prostitution because of poverty and bad living conditions and particularly in Burundi, the civil war has forced people to live in refugee camps. In that case promiscuity pushes them to have sex and consequently there are many unwanted pregnancies. This shows that the condoms are rarely used hence HIV is easily transmitted.

1.2.4.2. Devaluation, injustice and ambiguity of Burundians customs

Culturally, Burundians educate their children in the same way as some proverbs prove it "Indero iva hasi" (education is got from an early age) or "Igiti kigororwa kikiri gito" (a tree is straightened when it is small). Children are educated by their parents from their early age that is why when parents divorce, children have no one to teach them how to behave positively. A boy is intended to behave like his father and a girl like her mother as a Kirundi proverb says it "Umwana ni we se" (a boy is like his father) to mean that his behaviour must reflect the education and examples he got from his father when he is a boy and from her mother when she is a girl.

Burundian customs are very severe towards girls education. If a girl happened to get pregnant before marriage (inda y'ishushu) Burundian society seems to punish only the girl and ignores that pregnancy is a fruit of a union of a boy and a girl. In former time, a pregnant girl was thrown into "Igisumanyenzi" (in the forest). In that way, parents did not think that it could be an accident due to the misconception of the role of genital parts because young people normally, had not access to sexuality information except when they are going to get married. Even in that situation as MATEBA (1994) says that young persons got sexuality information from family members and friends."

He continues saying that nowadays, sexuality education is normally done by the local school organisation and the family is less important. Parents are shy and feel ashamed to talk about sexuality in front of their children and seem to ignore AIDS epidemic as one of the consequences of the lack of information.

Sexual intercourse is the first of the ways of HIV transmission. The best AIDS prevention programmes are those which are sexuality oriented. They

include information about genital parts, their roles, AIDS epidemic and the way of preventing it in clear language. These programs should be given to young people and this would help them to have a safe sexual development. Nevertheless, according to some studies, an early sexuality education encourages sexual activity at any early age. But many other studies conducted in this respect proved that an early sexuality education has a more positive impact than a negative one on the child's sexual behaviour in general and youth in particular. The information from UNAIDS report 2004 says that Whenever educators and planners ask; young people know that they have the right to the information that enables to safeguard their lives – they must be listened to and provided with that information clearly, openly and honestly.

From this, I notice how parents are not interested in giving information about their genital parts and mainly AIDS epidemic to their children. Even though they ask a question related to one of those topics parents try to escape. Normally, parents should overwhelm Burundian customs and inform their children about AIDS and their genital parts because this information can help young people to control their feeling, to check up their choice and to take decision.

1.2.4.3. Sexual abuse

Because of the pressure of social change and loss of the holding power of traditional taboos, child sexual abuses seem to be increasing. However, there is a growing awareness about child sexual abuse in the society. Girls who are about to arrive at the age of puberty, or have just obtained it, are often objects of older men's attention.

Although it is socially disapproved, some instances have been reported where parents, because of their poverty, accept a bride price for the marriage of a very young daughter to an older man seeking young girl as a second wife. In spite of rigorous efforts by the government aiming at educating people, it is still an accepted practice, especially, in rural areas, where are arranged marriages of young girls. Behind this economic reason, there is another cause related to AIDS. This one is a mentality according to which a virgin girl is a drug for AIDS.

1.2.4.4. Sexual harassment

Poverty forces many girls around ten years of age to be employed as housemaids or baby-sitter in rich and middle-class homes. In addition to economic exploitations, some of these girls also face sexual harassment by their bosses or house boys. Most sexual harassment acts are not reported or complained about to the police. College girls and young working girls face the problem of harassment of males on the street. This phenomenon has become so serious in recent years .

1.2.4.5. Kirundi euphemism to escape taboos

In Kirundi, there are some terms or expressions that can cause confusion between linguistic meaning and the contextual meaning when one uses them. In fact, in certain situations, taboos are talked about indirectly or figuratively. Ndihokubwayo makes it clear when he says that there are stylistic features such as metaphor and metonymy that help to cope with taboos in using language. In addition to that, Niyungeko (1998) in his study on jargon states that speakers of Kirundi avoid sex taboos by using a special language variety of the jargon. For example, having sex has yariety of synonymous expressions such as Kurya akajumbu, kuza, which are literally means (to eat sweet potatoes, to come).

Furthermore, as Gumperz (1917:33) point out,

> "The simple and fundamental fact that language changes inevitably and continuously, eventually will produce distinct forms of speech".

As a matter of fact, the several aspects of any language are the result of a good deal of factors including time, space, new situations such as war and disease. For example, in many areas, AIDS epidemic is taken as taboo and to talk about it Burundians have discovered many jargons such as agakoko (animal), agasashe (sachet), afise akantu (he/she has something) etc. then when one uses one or other jargon to inform another person about AIDS, this one can remain ignorant because he is unable to decode the information. Consequently, AIDS epidemic can continue to spread normally.

1.3. Statement of the problem

Burundians consider topics related to sexuality as taboo, so difficult to be discussed openly in front of some categories of people such as children or one's superior. To talk about them, they use proverbs, jargon and other complicated expressions. Even in difficult situations like AIDS prevention where people are supposed to say things as they are, parents and sensitizers fear and feel ashamed to talk about sexuality related words, even though they know that sexual intercourse is the most common ways of AIDS transmission. So the language used in informing people about AIDS epidemic and sexuality related topics are not clear enough to be understood by everybody and the message conveyed is not appropriate enough for AIDS prevention. this state of the affairs can lead to more devastating problems. Hence the decision to carry out this research..

1.4. Research questions

This study aims at answering the following questions:

1) Do speakers of Kirundi language discuss topics related to HIV/AIDS implicitly or explicitly?
2) Do all Burundians actively decode sex related messages?
3) Does the use of proverbs and other complicated expressions facilitate the understanding of the concept of AIDS? Does the language used in sexuality related topics have an impact on AIDS prevention?

1.6. The purpose of the study

This study aims at investigating the appropriateness of the language used in sexuality related topics in general, and in informing people about AIDS epidemic .It sets to find out the impact of the language in explicit use of Kirundi proverbs; jargon and invented proverbs on impact on AIDS prevention.

1.7. Motivation of the study

this research is motivated by the fact that AIDS is an epidemic which needs to be cured .this cannot be achieved because the language used in combating AIDS is not pragmatic enough .therefore I decide to make a pragmatic study of the language used in AIDS prevention in order to find a way of suggesting an appropriate language use in preventing AIDS.

1. 8 Definition of some key terms

HIV: Hummunodeficiancy Virus

AIDS: Acquired immunodeficiency Virus

WHO: world Health organisation

PENLS:Programme Nationale de lutte contre le SIDAMST

MST: Maladies sexuellement transmissible

USA: united States of America

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter gives an account of what has been done in similar areas as the present research. This comprises materials from different sources especially from the researches made in the previous period and in different places both nationally and internationally. The variables to be reviewed include cultural conception of AIDS epidemic, the place of Kirundi language and religion in AIDS prevention, the role of context in decoding meaning and the use of proverbs in the case of AIDS epidemic in other words the compatibility and incompatibility of Kirundi proverbs to AIDS prevention.

2.2. AIDS conception

2.2.1. African conception of AIDS and sexual behaviour change

AIDS epidemic was widely felt to be different from other diseases; it was certainly associated with sin and perhaps with the supernatural forces or witchcraft. As Mubiru (1998:8) points out;

> *"AIDS epidemic has led to the rise of patients in the rural areas; there is also a big number of orphans in the rural areas. The populations there have controversial information about AIDS in terms of its transmission, the signs and so on. While others still perceive it as witchcraft."*

Thus, many sufferers felt it to be a matter for traditional healers called "Kamenyi" in Kirundi rather than modern doctor as Caldwell finds it in his research (1992) conducted in Nigeria. Taverne(2008:131), In his research, reveals that in some areas, people take AIDS as a punishment. He observes that :

> "A person who is ill is guilty and AIDS is just
> the punishment for casual misbehaviour"

In fact, there are some areas in Africa where the concept of destiny hinders much people's behaviour change. According to Caldwell's (1983:121) research made in Nigeria, destiny is believed by most people. Thus, for Nigerians, if it is time to die, changes in sexual behaviour is unlikely to be of any help. If it is not, one can take risks. In that way, people are aware of the AIDS epidemic, but they refuse to change their sexual behaviour.

Even in Burundi, many people think the same way because some people consider AIDS as gambling. As they usually say "SIDA ni LONA" to mean that AIDS is like a game that one can win or lose. In other words, they believe that contracting AIDS depends upon persons luck. if the person is lucky he may not contract it even if he is not careful. But a person may contract AIDS If he is unlucky no matter how careful he may be.

However, in Mali, according to the information from newspaper called "Réseau Sénégalais 2006", interpretations of AIDS and concrete reactions to the disease and to prevention messages are determined by complex factors. As Claude reported in that newspaper:

> "The discourse combines various paradigms:
> Medical definitions coexist with local
> interpretations of sexuality, of marriage, of

> illness and also with more recent representations concerning with difficult reformulation of social codes."

Nevertheless, Milton and Warshow reported in journal of American Medical Association (1988:159) have developed a social marketing strategy designed to overcome the barriers to AIDS prevention and to reduce denial. So people can accept the risk of infection. According to them, it is an important step for behaviour change. In that perspective,.Brook et al reported by MUWONGE (1994:16) states that people's evaluation of their own risks together, reinforce awareness of their need for protection. They engage in solving the problems of AIDS and prevention of their lives. Thus Francis et al reported by MUWONGE (1994: 11) again join the idea of .Brook when he says:

> "at present, there is no cure for AIDS and yet, it presents a potentially health hazard. The only means likely to be effective is controlling public awareness, reducing anxiety and fear and finally change in personal behaviour."

2.2.2. The condom dilemma

A striking example of local ethnography goes to the heart of the condom dilemma. As elsewhere in the world, the issue of trust is paramount. The negative associations of condoms with casual and multi-partner sex are not easily dislodged from people's perceptions. These may be even more resistant to change than the tradition objections based on the perceived diminution of sexual sensation when using a condom.

In some area, women cannot propose the use of condom because of dowry. Brook et al (1994:22) emphasizes this point when he says:

> "AIDS prevention is particularly complex for it is subject to the polygenic cultural interpretation and resistance."

This is more especially true when it comes to the vulnerability of women in society whereby woman are owned as a property. In that way, men are empowered to have as many wives as they can. As pointed out by Ministry of Health in Ghana (1990:171)

> "Since dowries are so high, there is always a feeling of property acquisition on the part of the man."

In Burundi for instance, men, despite some differences in their reactions, share many beliefs and practices. For example, when a man has already paid dowry, his wife has no say as far as adopting AIDS preventive methods such as condoms or abstinence are concerned.

The same culture is also applied elsewhere, especially in Africa. Bledsoe (1994:18) elaborates on that point:

> "even when they (women) dare suggest avoiding risky sexual acts or using condoms they often encounter male resistance, are accused of adultery or promiscuity, one suspected of already being infected with HIV or are said to accuse their partners of infidelity."

Maria (1994:18) adds that the women's desire to use condoms is being interpreted as evidence of extra-marital affairs. On the other hand, Maria argues

that when women manage to convince their partners to use condoms other obstacles such as the unavailability and insufficient qualities of condoms arise. She also argues that moral precepts and norms may inhibit young girl from purchasing or obtaining them.

Condom use is surrounded by a lot of misconceptions. Most of people associate it with family planning or fertility control which is perceived by many cultures as a sin. Angela. quoted by MUWONGE (1994:29) maintains that fertility control is looked at as an act of self destruction, as outrage against community and as sin which carries automatic punishment. In addition, some religious ethics, views fertility control as a sacrilegious sin.

Apart from being associated with fertility control, condoms are associated with men's protection but not women's. Brook quoted by Muwonge(1994:24) emphasis this point when he says:

> "Condoms are commonly perceived as offering
> protection for men against women".

According to him, this stigmatising gendered perception is involved in many women's refusals of condoms. On that point, Maria concurs with Brook et al (1994:31) that certain beliefs related to health and disease may put both man and woman at risk of HIV transmission because preventive measures such as condoms are rejected. In the same way, Gorcohea (1994:33) states that young women in Peru have reported reluctance to using condoms because they fear that this might harm their intimate parts.

However, it is not only women who fear the use of condoms. In some societies, even men refuse condom use due to certain misconceptions. Parejo. et al (1994:34) reveal that in the Dominican Republic, prostitute clients were

reported to refuse condom use because they believe it would decrease their potency, fertility and virility. This is unfortunate because it can render ineffective the programmes of supplying condoms and encouraging people to use them continuously. According to Muwonge's observation in his research conducted in (1994:34), to some societies, encouraging people to use condoms is seen as promoting promiscuity and pre-marital sex among the youths hence, they resisted and rejected it outrighty. The negative stereotypes of condoms nowadays have grown up when deviants compare them with many things which prevent people to taste things as they are. According to data from a research made by Caldwell (1992:142)

> "it is like eating sweets with papers or with plastics around or bathing in a rain coat."

This statement has also been introduced in the Kirundi language.

> "Nta kurigatira isukari mu kamwanya."

2.3. The place of religion in AIDS prevention

It is true that the religious places and their respective leaders can be used as means through which AIDS information and education can be spread. Most of people can be aware of AIDS epidemic from the places of worship. However, this depends on a particular religion and the religious leaders who lead them. It also depends on a particular society that this information is delivered to.

Stephen (1991:14) carried out a study and found out that most of the religious leaders in Kampala were aware of the AIDS problem, but they were reluctant to preach to the people who came to their prayer places about it. It is the same case in Burundi where more than 50% of Burundians do attend

prayers regularly but few religious leaders inform them about AIDS epidemic and insist on its prevention. This is, as found again by Stephen (1991:25), due to the fear of embarrassment and ridicule from some people in the congregation. They fear that to encourage people to use it can be encouraging a pre-marital sex or multi-sexual behaviour hence the violation of God's law. In his research conducted in Southern Nigeria, Caldwell (1992:114) observes that:

> "Africa was characterized by significant levels of sexual relations outside marriage, it also had a shame of reporting AIDS infection and this had probably been exacerbated by the condemnation of extramarital sexual relations by missionary, Christianity and Islam."

However, in 1987, UNICEF carried out a study on child survival strategies and it was suggested that the church should be used to disseminate information in the rural areas since it can work as a supplement of other media like the radio television and the printed material. UNICEF's arguments were that religious leader should go beyond their emotions and illusions and inform people about AIDS in clear language.

2.4. AIDS and language use

2.1. The role of language in AIDS prevention

As language is a means of communication, it plays an important role in educating and informing people about AIDS. Kirundi language like other languages is not static; it is dynamic since it aims at adapting to new needs and ideas. It evolves through time and space. It is always shaken by an

uncompromising tendency for change and this change does naturally start right from the social events such as birth, death, disease and so on. Among the social events pointed out, AIDS epidemic has influenced much the Kirundi language change where people discovered day after day the way to talk about it. That is the way they call one who suffers from it, the way they talk about its way of transmission or the way to prevent it.

In fact, the various changes through which language goes shatter it into a number of varieties. As Gumperz (1987:33) points out:

> "The simple and fundamental fact that language changes inevitably and continually, eventually will produce distinct form of speech."

As a matter of fact, the several aspects of any language are the result of a good deal of factors such as age, sex, time, space and so on. So from this, one can use a clear language in discussing about AIDS epidemic whereas other manages to use proverbs and jargons.

2.4.2. Definition and characteristics of proverbs

It is easy to define what a proverb is but people have given different definitions. Nandwa . (1997:48) says that a proverb is a brief clearly expressed figurative comment on a situation. He adds that a person observes a situation in real life and wants to assess it or pass judgement on it but instead of discussing it directly to a conventional or custom established situation. The above quotation expressed the importance and relevance of proverbs in revealing people's views on given issues. Okepewho. (1992:226) considers a proverb as:

> "a piece of folk wisdom expressed with terseness and charm"

He goes on explaining each of the key terms in his definition as follows "the terseness" implies the economy in the choice of words and sharpness of focus white "charm" conveys the touch of literary or poetic beauty in the expression and "folk wisdom" refers to the fact that every proverb must have started its life as the product of the genius of an individual oral artist. But it becomes appropriated by the people at large (the folks because it contains a truth about life, accepted by them and appealing to their imagination). Finnegan. (1970:393) points out that there are some general characteristics of a proverb and in that way, she sums up the above definitions of a proverb as follows:

> "It is a saying in more or less fixed form by shortness, sense and distinguished by the popular acceptance of the truth tersely expressed on it"

The above quotation emphasizes the fact that even if not taken as current, nevertheless the truth of proverbs remains popularly accepted. Proverbs therefore reveal a speech community's view on giving issues, including sexuality related topics hence AIDS epidemic.

Finnegan . (1970:391) also points out that proverbs frequently occur in general conversation to embellish, conceal or hint. If one does not want to be direct in passing on a message, he can easily apply a proverb and the intended recipient quickly registers the message which may remain concealed from other in the situations.

As the functions of proverbs are numerous, some proverbs in Kirundi language are also used to talk about AIDS epidemic. Among these proverbs, some are used to warn people against AIDS, other to advise Burundians to prevent it or to protect themselves, to warn those who refuse these pieces

advice, to discourage extra-marital relations. Unfortunately, there are other proverbs that seem to be paradox to the kind already cited.

i : "Amayira abiri yananiye imfyisi" which can be literally translated as : "A hyena has been unable to pass through two paths at the same time"

ii : "Impfizi ntiyimirwa"

"A bull cannot be submitted to any kind of barrier"

The first proverb is used to warn a man or woman who has more than one partner but the second one encourages man to have more than one partner. So, it encourages extra-marital relations whereas the first one discourages it.

According to Finnegan (1970:419) proverbs are used in every occasion. Then this implies that discussion about AIDS epidemic is included. She says that:

> "We can then sum up the various situations in which the proverbs are used in Africa by saying that they really occur on all occasions when language is used for communication either as art or as tool, that is, on every sort of occasion."

In that way, the speaker who uses them has to take into account the goals he wishes to achieve or to the effect he wants on the audience or listener. He may want to educate, to flatter, to impress, to warn, to convince. Most of the case, proverbs used to talk about AIDS epidemic are used to convince. In fact, such kinds of proverbs carry truth and advices. People may use them to give strength and power to what they are saying whenever they are: in family, on the road, at the market, for instance the Kirundi proverb

"Iziza guhona zihera mu ruhongore"

That can be literary translated as

"The ones that are going to perish begin in
cow-shed"

This proverb used to convince people in general and youth in particular that they are the most vulnerable. Therefore, this proverb appeals or advice young people to stand up and prevent AIDS epidemic. This view is also shared by Tuzagi (1985:51) when he says that a proverb possesses a persuasive force. Moreover, Murekambanze (1998:9) recognizes that when one uses a proverb, one supports his ideas, his arguments or opinions through the wisdom of elders.

He goes on without saying that proverbs are closely related to tradition because they are inherited from our elders and are transmitted from generation to generation. Therefore,some of them embody the wisdom of our erroneous because the images used are culturally based. For instance, the Kirundi proverb

"Iyirinze ntirinda sengondo" literally translated as
"Once a cow is in heat, he does not select the
kind of bull"

To mean that when a man is excited, he does not care about the origin, the relationship between him and his partner. This was frequent in former time where a wife could make love with her father in law when his husband is not at home. This was not unfortunately considered by Burundian culture as a shame. Culturally this kind of extra-marital relationship was tolerated. So when a husband went away for a long time or dies his wife could continue to give birth and they said a father gives birth in his sun's or brother's behalf (yamuvyariye).This was related to "ugutera intobo" when a father makes love with his daughter-in-law and "kwinjirira" or "gucura" when a wife makes love with her brother-in-law.

But as GAHUNGU (2001:47) says

> "Nous remarquons que les Burundais attachent une grande importance à la tradition qu'à l'avenir de leur foyer."

This can be translated as:

> "We observe that Burundians attach more importance on the tradition than on the future of their famille".

This is true in the way that there are some Burundians who continue to practice "gucura", "gutera intobo", and "guharika" (when a man has more than one wife). Furthermore, proverbs used to convince and sustain people to do such kind of extra-marital relations are no longer revised despite AIDS spreading in Burundi.

Proverbs, apart from being a good way of advising and convincing, they have intention of instructing. A similar vision is that of Finnegan (1970:414) who argues that proverbs may also be especially suitable even in everyday situation of instruction." Proverbs have also the tendency to attract the imagination of the listeners. This is because they are recognized as "eternal truths" to use Okpewho's (1992:231) terms.

Schipper . (1991:7) observes that African proverbs can be roughly divided into:

a) Clear, direct statements that is, moral saying or mottoes
b) Proverbs in metaphorical form. She adds that it is impossible to provide a completely satisfactory classification of proverbs as they tend to overlap in a number of ways. But Ntahokaja tries to classify Kirundi proverbs

even if there are some that are classified in more than one category but this is due to the context in which they are used.

In fact, Kirundi proverbs are said to have cut down and merely presented in one word. So, Burundians often prefer to leave a proverb to be completed by the hearer. For example one may say: "Ahari amahoro..." meaning "Where there is peace" and the hearer is expected to get the rest of the proverb and register the meaning. The complete proverb in this case runs as "Ahari amahoro umuhoro uramwa" which can be translated as "Where peace is a billhook can be used to shave beard or cut hair." Or "Amayira abiri..." meaning "two paths..." and the hearer give the whole proverb which is "Amayira abiri yananiye imfyinsi" translated as "A hyena has been unable to pass through two pahs at the same time". In the case of AIDS prevention, this proverb means that the frequent way to be infected is to have more than one partner.

Generally, proverbs are usually with poetic flavour, say a lot in a few words. As Finnegan (1970:405-410) observes, proverbs include every aspect of the human condition: death, conflicts, love, etc. The Kenyan Philosopher Wanjohi. G. J. (1997:75) regards proverbs as the source of African philosophy, which he refers to as written verbal. For him, proverbs can function as an alternative source of philosophy.

2. 4. 3. Proverbs as vehicle and preserver of people's beliefs and views in extra marital sexual relations

Finnegan (1970:410-412) observes that proverbs may be a suitable tool of communication in situation and relation of potential conflict. To emphasize Finnegan's observation, one can take the following proverbs: "Rome was not

U. B.

built in a day." The above proverb is English one. It is similar to a Kirundi one "Bukebuke nirwo rugendo" literally translated as "Slowly is the journey". The above two proverbs are applied to tell or advise a person to persevere or continue working patiently until the desired end is achieved.

One can learn a lot about the customs of a country from proverbs. Schipper, (1991) emphasizes this point in the following observation:

> 'No great deeds, work of literature or books of history reveal so much about a culture and so briefly and memorably as its proverb'

For instance, one can learn the conception of polygamy by Burundians through proverbs. As Ntahokaja says, polygamy took place a long time ago and it may be the reason why there are many proverbs which sustain it. This idea is also observed in Ghana. According to the research made by Oruboloye et al (1997:124), a half of all men and a third of all women do not believe that man's sexuality can be confined to one woman. Despite the AIDS epidemic, they believe that men are biologically programmed to have sex with more than one woman. The majority of men in this research have experienced sex outside marriage during the previous year. Most wives knew or guessed these relations but few complained. In Kirundi language, there are many proverbs which value the ethic of man having multiple sexual partners. Paradoxically, multiple sexual partners is nowadays said to be among the ways through which AIDS epidemic is wide spread. For example, a Kirundi proverb "Umwonga umwe wonza inyoni" literally translated as "One valley makes birds slim" to mean that one wife cannot satisfy a husband or a man cannot be satisfied by one wife. As UNICEF recommends it (1994:16)

> 'In order for information to have a practical impact on a person's behaviour it must be relevant and take into account what that person believes already'

This is more especially true in a society with diverse conceptions in relation to marriage and sex. In Burundi for example, those who are for AIDS prevention use proverbs to warn people and discourage extra marital sexual relations whereas those who do not mind its prevention use proverbs to encourage sexual disorder. For instance, one uses "Intabarirwa ibwirwa nuko amaso atukuye" which can be literally translated as "The inadvisable one is advised by the redness of his eyes. That proverb in the case of AIDS prevention means that the one who refuses warnings about AIDS epidemic will accept them when he is already infected.

On the other hand, one who is against these warnings can use the following proverb used by Burundians but which is not recognized on the list of Kirundi proverbs: "Ntakwama muntoboro imwe nk'igipfungo". Which can be literally translated as: "One should not stay in the same hole like a button". This proverb is used to refuse the advice of being faithful to one partner. So, it is applied to sustain polygamy.

Therefore, valuardy quoted by Muwonge (1994:19) rejects the ideas that polygamous families are the most vulnerable when he says:

> 'Polygamy is sometimes mistakenly cited in Western press as a form of promiscuity but this is of course untrue because polygamous men may be less likely than others to engage in extra marital sexual contact'

So, as already said, proverbs may be a suitable tool of communication and in the case of AIDS epidemic, communication is among the best way of its prevention. However, the message through some of those proverbs can be incompatible with AIDS prevention. It is in this perspective then that an appropriate linguistic theory such as the pragmatic speech act theory helps to systematically analyse and disambiguate the explicit and implicit meaning of such proverbs.

2. 5. What is pragmatics?

2. 5. 1. Definitions

According to many authors, pragmatics is a science that is associated with the study of language in context. According to Leech (1983:15)

> "Pragmatics can be usefully defined as the study of how utterances have meanings in context."

Another author who defines pragmatics is Richard (1985:225) when he states that pragmatics is:

> 'The study of the use of language in communication particularly the relationship between sentences and contexts or the situations in which they are used'

In fact, according to Richard (1985), pragmatics includes:

- How the interpretation and the use of utterances depend on the knowledge of the real world.
- How speakers use and understand speech acts.
- How the structure of the sentence is influenced by the relationship between the speaker and the hearer.

Similarly, Leech (1981:1) states that:

> 'We cannot understand the nature of language
> unless we understand pragmatics.'

By nature of language, Leech means how language is used in communication.

Still other linguists have defined pragmatics. Morris (1983:18) states that pragmatics is the theory of language taken from the "point of view of users". And. Fraser (1984:30) on his behalf asserts that pragmatics is the theory of communication. From all these definitions, pragmatics main concern is how language is used in every day communication. Pragmatics is also related with regard to the importance of the context that it should take into account.

Fillmore (1977:119) raises the importance of context when he advocates a methodology to which a pragmatic analyst may often wish to appeal:

> "The task is to determine what we know about
> the meaning and context of an utterance"

Here, Fillmore's advocation puts emphasis on the meaning and context of an utterance.

As for Brown and Yule (1938:26), any analytic approach in linguistic which involves contextual consideration necessarily belongs to that area called "pragmatics". He goes on saying that, in "pragmatics" we are concerned with what people using a language are doing.

Briefly, context needs to be discussed because it is an important aspect that helps people guess meanings of a certain utterance. Pragmatics is said to be an empirical kind of investigation of language usage. Here, one may wonder if "pragmatics" is the only empirical study that can help people in decoding meanings. Certainly not, there are also syntax and semantics but pragmatics is the best as Brown and Yule (1983) say.

2. 5. 2. Pragmatics versus semantics

The two related terms are so difficult to differentiate. They are both concerned with the study of the meaning. But pragmatics deals with the aspects of meaning which are not captured in semantic theory. Because of difficulties related to terminology, it has been hard to pin down clear cases of semanticism and pragmaticism. In philosophy of language, there has been an influential tradition of philosophers such as Wittgenstein, Austin (1962) Alston and Searle, who have been sceptical of the traditional approaches to meaning in terms of abstract mental entities such concepts, and who have in one or another way assimilated semantics to pragmatics. For instance, Searle (1969:17) argues that meaning is defined in terms of what speech acts speakers perform relative to hearer.

2. 5. 3. Pragmatics as a sub-discipline of linguistics

The modern usage of the term "pragmatics" is attributed to the philosopher Morris (1938) who was concerned with the science of signs that is with semiotics. According to Levinson, (1983) Morris (1938:6) distinguished three branches of inquiry, which actually illustrate the difference between syntax, semantics and pragmatics.

i) Syntax is described as the study of the formal relation of signs to one another.

ii) Semantics is the study of the relation of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable, that is, their designation.

iii) Pragmatics is a study of the relation of signs to interpreters.

According to Levinson (1983:5) Pragmatics is concerned with the disambiguation of sentences or utterances by the context in which they were uttered. The notion of context is a cornerstone of pragmatics and it refers to all that is around the utterance that we need to interpret. This includes settings, co-text or previous talk, social situation or identity of participants, common background knowledge, medium, gestures; etc.

This study applied one of the pragmatic theory component namely speech act theory, in order to make a systematic analysis of the selected proverbs and reveal their hidden implied meanings and possible effects in relation to extra-marital activities.

2. 6. 1. Context of utterance

There is no unique answer to the question "What is context?" to cite Lyons (1981:819) words. However, some authors have attempted to explain the term context.

According to Hymes (1964) cited in Brown and Yule (1983:37-38), a context can support a range of meanings. He therefore asserts that:

> 'When a form is used in context, it eliminates the meanings possible to that context other than those the form can signal: the context eliminates from consideration the meanings possible the context can support'.

In this assertion, Hymes (1964) is emphasizing the role of context in the interpretation of an utterance.

For Brown and Yule (1983:25), context refers to circumstances in which language is used. Here, the emphasis is put on the situation of language use. This is in fact right because what is uttered in a given situation or circumstance must be contextually interpreted.

Wells (1981:158) also provide a view point as far as context is concerned. He considers context as a source for interpreting problematic or

ambiguous utterances. In other words, context helps remove multiple ambiguities that the utterances would have in isolation. In this regard, a number of features of context relevant to the disambiguation of an utterance have been suggested by Hymes (1964). For him, the more the analyst knows about the features of context, the more he is able to predict what is likely to be said. And the most important features are: participants, physical context or setting of an utterance, the topic, channel and code.

2. 6. 2. Participant

Any communicative situation entails at least two interactants: the addresser and the addressee. Lyons (1977:36) underlines that the speaker addresses an utterance to another person who is present in the situation. He focuses on the social status of the participants which determines the term of the addresser if the speaker is to produce appropriate sentences in various situations. Participants may also include audience, writes Fasold (1990:44). The speaker may address himself to one listener or more than one but in both cases, he may need to put special marking on some proverbs or jargon to attract the hearer's or the audience's attention. For instance in the present work, some special marking such as:

- Bacumugani mukirundi (In Kirundi ,they say that)
- Basokuru barayamaze (our ancestors said)
- Ngo (as)

Are used before a proverb to attract the hearer's attention.

2. 6. 3. Physical context or setting

It refers to time and place that determine the situation of an utterance. It names participant and indicates places, positions and times. Fasold (1990:44) developed a similar view when he defines a setting as physical circumstances of a communicative event including time and place of both definitions, one can say that the speaker and the hearer must know the world in which they are operating.

2. 6. 4. Channel and code.

These terms refer respectively to means by which participant have contact and the language and dialect being used.

Generally speaking, context is of unquestionable importance for the appropriate use of language. However, important context may be, the listener still has problems as far as the interpretation of the speaker's meaning is concerned. This is what Grice (1975) has explained in his theory of conversational implicature.

2.7. Grice's theory of conversational implicature.

Implicature is a term initiated by Grice (1975) to account for the listener's ability to guess the meaning intended by his/her addresser. Therefore, this refers to what the speaker implies rather than what he/she literally means. This view is supported by Grice himself (1975) when he states that

conversational implicature refers to the hearer's assumption to reinterpret messages so as to accord with the presumption that cooperative principles is observed. In this respect, this activity requires an explicit reasoning in order to grasp the speaker's intended meaning. This is well expressed by Grice (1975), cited in Leech (1983:30) when he says that:

> The presence of conversational implicature must be capable of being worked out by means of reasoning.

Allan (1986:183) defines conversational implicature as 'A pragmatic inference arising from the speaker's use of a particular language, expression in a particular context under conversational cooperative conditions'

From this definition, it is clear that the speaker must operate under some conversations, which oblige him/her to be cooperative with his listeners. Thus it is those cooperative conditions that will allow interactants to maintain a good conversation such conversation have been referred to as the cooperative principle, to use Grice's (1975) own words.

2. 7. 1. Grice's cooperative principle

Speaking to other is a social activity and like other social activities, it can only take place if the people involved (speaker and hearer) mutually recognise that certain conversations govern their actions and their use of language as said by(Allan 1986). The speaker and hearer have to cooperate one with the other, to join ward haugh's (1985:35) opinion about the speaking activity. For him, talk is a "reciprocal undertaking' during which, each participant must obey some rules. Such rules constitute, according to Grice (1975), the cooperative

principle. From this cooperative principle, he identifies four categories of maxims that serve as a reference point for language interchange. They are presented as follows (see K. Allan 1986:30)

1. The maxim of quantity: the speaker should give no more and no less information than is required to make his message clear to the hearer.
2. The maxim of quality: Do not say what you believe to be false. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
3. The maxim of relation: speaker's utterance should not be irrelevant to the context in which it is uttered, because that might make it difficult for the hearer to comprehend.
4. The maxim of manner: where possible speaker's meaning should be presented in a clear, concise manner that avoid ambiguity, and avoid misleading or confusing the hearer because of stylistic ineptitude.

These four maxims are normally considered as a means for the efficient use of language in conversation. For this reason, they have to be observed. However, Grice (1975) clearly says that the maxims should be seen not so much as rules to be obeyed as grammar rules are but as a reference point for language interchange.

Thus, the application of maxims of cooperative principle is a matter of preferences. For instance, in this study, the maxim of quality is sometimes violated because the speaker may lie if he believes that the lies are to his advantage. For example, when one is aware of AIDS epidemic, the way of its transmission and dares to say "Ntakurira imbombo mu kamwanya" literally translated as "It is no use sucking sweets in their bag"

So, this later is used to convince the hearer that it is no use thinking about condoms. Here, the speaker tries to use all means to convince the hearer because he thinks it is to his advantages. But he must assure himself that his addressee will leave without any doubt about what he has been told. In the same way, the maxim of manner may be violated because we sometimes find in a given language, expressions which are similar in meanings but used under different contexts. And this may create ambiguities on the part of the language users.

2. 8. Speech act theory

According to Traugott and Pratt, (1980:229), speech act theory is among the different pragmatic frameworks proposed for describing languages in context.They also state that speech act theory was developed in the 1960 s by a group of British language philosophers, most importantly Austin, But the theory has recently been adopted by many linguists. It treats an utterance as an act performed by a speaker in a context with respect to an addressee. As Allan (1986:164) argues, any utterance can be regarded as speech acts. Therefore, linguistic communication implies linguistic acts. Austin (1962) cited in Fasold (1990:147) makes the same observation when he says that

> "The uttering of sentences is, or is part of the doing of an action"

Searle (1969) is of the same opinion when he says that in talking, the speaker performs an act. Thus, language is used as the basis for an action to be performed.

Livinson (1983:236) states that Austin isolates three kinds of acts that are simultaneously performed. These are:

1. Locutionary act which is the semantic aspect that is the utterance of sentence with determinate sense and reference.
2. Illocutionary aspect/act which is the force or intention of the speaker that is the attempt to accomplish some communicative purpose such as promising, warning, threatening, informing, etc.
3. Perlocutionary act is the effect brought about. What the utterance make the hearer do. Such effects are special to the circumstances of the utterance.

As already said, all these acts are performed at the same time. Hence for the present work, illocutionary aspect and perlocutionary act are of much help as far as the interpretation of meaning and the effect of the speech on the hearer are concerned. Therefore, the illocutionary force is perceived through what the speaker is saying. In other words, the illocutionary force is what the utterance indicates that the speaker intends the hearer to recognise as the message bearing of the utterance.

As Levinson (1983:263-264) states, some speech acts have direct illocutionary force indicating devices while other speech acts are indirectly implied. For example, the speech act of advising may be performed by using a verb to advise but the speech act may be just implied as the following Kirundi proverb:

'Uwushaka urupfu asoma ingwe'

Literally translated as: 'The one who needs death kisses a lion'

Idiomatically, a person who uses this proverb indirectly performs a speech act of advising or warning the hearer to be aware of the danger. For example, when

this proverb is used in the case of AIDS epidemic, the one who uses it indirectly performs a speech act of warning the hearer who neglects the advices about AIDS prevention to be aware of the danger of this epidemic and accept the advices. So, if the communication is successful, the intended receiver of the utterance takes the advice, warning and acts accordingly.

2.9. Conclusion

The above related literature review indicates that some work has already been going on in connection with AIDS conception and how people in general and Burundians in particular talk about it. This literature review also reveals that a lot has been done about the role of proverbs and their place in AIDS prevention. Moreover, this literature review shows the big importance of pragmatics in using a language and in decoding meanings. As Crystal (1987:128) says when he summarizes the scope of pragmatics in the following points:

1. How the interpretation and the use of utterances depend on the knowledge of the real world.
2. How speakers use and understand speech acts.
3. How the structure of the sentences is influenced by the relationship between the speaker and the hearer.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

3.1. procedures followed to collect and analyse the data

To collect the data for this work Questionnaire was used .this was due to the fact that this method of data collection is reliable as the respondents are at the liberty to put down whatever they feel without the paying eyes of others. it is also good because many respondents could be reached within limited time.

For analysis and interpretation of the data in the study; the pragmatic speech act theory was considered to be appropriate because it allows a close examination of each proverb in order to identify its illocutionary force and its perlocutionary force. The speech act theory is one of the different pragmatic frameworks proposed for describing language in context. As the supporters of this theory suggest especially Austin and Levinson, an utterance in this case a proverb can be treated as an act performed by a speaker in a context with respect to an addressee. Utterances/words are said to have a capacity to produce a change in the target audience or in the environment. In a number of cases, the person who uses a proverb intentionary puts his/her message across indirectly so as to make the impact more forceful and to hide it from any unintended audience. The application of the pragmatic speech act theory made it possible to reveal the indirect speech acts embedded in the subtle language of proverbs which do not employ the direct illocutionary force indicating devices of the speech act..

3.2.1. Research population

This study is concerned with the sexuality related proverbs, words or expressions as an obstacle to AIDS prevention. Therefore, people with whom I

dealt with were students of the faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Department of African Language and Literature was chosen mainly because people in that department are supposed to know more about Burundian culture.Proverbs were chosen because proverbs can be used to shape people's habits, attitudes and beliefs. So, students in that department were expected to reveal many proverbs and their different interpretation.

3.2.2. Sampling techniques

In order to come out with an objective study, the simple random sampling commonly called probability sampling was adopted. Each student of the third year had an equal chance of being selected and thereafter be given a questionnaire. Third year was chosen because they were permanent at Mutanga campus while those in fourth year were in teaching practice when researcher conducted this research.

According to Fink (1995:10)

> The simple random sampling is a sampling in which every subject or unit is given equal chance of being selected. This is to say that members of the target population are selected one at a time and independently.

Because of this equality of opportunity of being selected given to every member random samples are considered relatively unbiased.

Given the fact that the population was big, the researcher found it necessary to reduce it by taking representative elements. In third year, there were 82 but only 80 attended regularly classes. This number of students could not allow the research to attempt to survey all of them. Thus, my investigation

was limited to 50% of the whole total number of students registered in the third year.

My sample was hence made up of 40 students who were selected among students in department of African language and literature using the simple random sampling.

I made a list of those 80 students and I wrote down their numbers on small pieces of paper .Then I put them in a box and called the students to choose a number from the box .The 40 first numbers that were taken from the box were kept as the sample .Then I looked at the list and gave the questionnaire to the students that corresponded to the selected numbers

3.2.4. Questionnaire

In my research, a questionnaire was used to gather as much information as possible from students. I distributed the questionnaires to all students constituting my sample. The questionnaire was in Kirundi for the simple reason that the information needed was in Kirundi. Above all, every student in the Department of African language and literature can understand it. I designed the questionnaire in such a way that questions would induce students questioned to express an opinion or state facts that I expected to know about.

Furthermore, the questionnaire gave the respondents the opportunity to present a well thought response which they must have thought about carefully before writing it down. I managed to collect the questionnaires but four students did not hand back the copies. It means that thirty six out of forty copies of questionnaires were collected.

3.3. Data analysis procedures

The analysis of the data already collected is the most important stage of the whole work since it gives clarity to the previous steps. In fact, I tried to analyse some sexuality related proverbs I got from the students. By so doing, I saw in which sexuality related Kirundi proverbs, words and expressions can be obstacles to AIDS prevention. These responses were presented in tables and I grouped responses in four themes. After having put answers in table, I analysed the data.

3.4. Problems encountered

Eliciting sufficient required information from students who had to follow their courses and prepare exams was very difficult.

a) Some subjects did not hand back copies others did not answer to all my questions
b) Some individuals resented being bothered or expected payment for their contribution.
c) To disambiguate the hidden meanings and implication of proverbs was a demanding and challenging task due to the various possible interpretations.
d) To translate Kirundi proverbs in English was also a very difficult task.

CHAPTER IV: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4. 1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of data gathered during the data collection stage. The aim of this chapter is mainly to find answers to the research questions. Therefore, the task of this researcher is to show on the basis of the data from questionnaires to what extent the research questions, the backbone of her study, received adequate answers and explanations. In addition to that, a number of proverbs related to sexuality collected from Rodegem's list were classified, analysed and interpreted according to the type of people they talk about, what they say and probably do in relation to AIDS prevention. So, this chapter is structured around four themes that could fit the problem at hand well. Thus, questionnaires and proverbs collected from Rodegem's were grouped accordingly. Those themes are:

- AIDS information and ambiguity of the language used
- The conflict between Burundian culture and AIDS prevention
- The compatibility and incompatibility of sexuality related proverbs with AIDS prevention.
- The impact of sexuality related proverbs, taboo words and expressions on the AIDS prevention.

4. 2. Data presentation

4. 2. 1. Data from questionnaire

As already mentioned in the preceding chapter, people who were given questionnaires were forty and after the collection, we found that only thirty six handed them back as the table below shows it.

Number of copies given out	Number of copies returned	%
40	36	90%

4. 2. 1. 1. Data from questions related to the theme of AIDS information and ambiguity of the language used

This theme embodies the following questions and their respective responses. So, most of those responses were presented in tables.

Question n°1: Have you ever been informed about AIDS epidemic?

The response to this question is presented in the following table.

Table n°1 Presentation of data from question n 1

Answer	frequency	%
Yes	36	100%
No	0	%
Total	36	100%

To this question,36 out of 36 responded in affirmative That represent 100% of my respondents.

Question n°2: Did your church leaders inform you about AIDS epidemic?

Table n°2 Presentation of data from question n 2

Answers	Frequency	%
Yes	7	19%
No	27	75%
Total	34	94%

The responses to that question showed that only only 7respondents representing 19% got information from their church teachers whereas 27 respondents representing 75% of the respondents were not informed about AIDS epidemic by their church. Here, two persons did not give their answers to this question.

Question n°3: Among the following organisations that act against AIDS, which One informed you more about AIDS epidemic?

Table n°3 Presentation of data from question n 3

	Frequency	%
SWAA-BURUNDI	10	28%
CNLS	6	17%
FVS	9	25%
ABUBEF	7	19%
ANSS	4	11%
Total	36	100%

In ranking these organisations, one can see that, SWAA-BURUNDI with 27, 7% is the one that informed more the respondents about AIDS. this is followed by FVS with 25%. The rest are ABUBEF with 19% and CNLS with 17%. The last one is ANSS with 11%.

Question n°4: Have you ever read texts from these organisations to inform yourself about AIDS epidemic?

Table n°4 Presentation of data from question n 4

Answers	Frequency	%
Yes	28	78%
No	8	22%
Total	36	100%

This table shows that 78% informed themselves about AIDS epidemic through texts from organisations already said whereas 22% did not do it.

Question n°5: Do you have some difficulties to understand while reading those Texts?

Table n°5 Presentation of data from question n 5

Answers	Frequency	%
Yes	21	58%
No	15	42%
Total	36	100%

This table reveals that 58% of my informants had difficulties to understand when they were informing themselves about AIDS through texts whereas 42% understood those texts.

Question n°6: What are the key messages in these texts?

Table n°6 Presentation of data from question n 6

Answers	Frequency	%
How is AIDS transmitted	5	14%
What is AIDS	18	50%
How it cannot be transmitted	6	17%
The use of condoms	7	19%
Total	36	100%

Through this table, 14% of my informants stated that the key message in those texts were How AIDS is transmitted, 50% proposed that the key message in those texts is "What is AIDS", 17% suggested that the key message in those texts were made of how AIDS cannot be transmitted, and finally 19% of my

informants proposed that the key message in those texts was about by the use of condoms.

Question n°7: Are there some polysemous terms in these texts? Give examples and fill in this table.

Table n°7 Presentation of data from question n 7

Kirundi terms	Meaning 1	Meaning 2
Umugera	Virus	A hook
Agapfuko	Condom	A small bag
Imbuto	Sperm	Grains
Gusomana	To kiss someone	To drink with someone
Kuryamana	To have sex with someone	To sleep with
Agakingirizo	Condom	A small cover
Igitsina	Genital part	A root
Abasoda	Lymphocytes T4	soldiers

The responses to this question were not only this. I simply wrote down what was relevant to my question because there were some who wrongly filled my table by giving for example different jargons used to stigmatise AIDS patients.

Question n°8: Among the following categories of people, which one do you like to discuss about AIDS epidemic?

Table n°8 Presentation of data from question n 8

Answer	Frequency	%
Parents	5	14%
Friends	31	86%
Total	36	100%

This table shows that a big number of my informants 86% shared information about AIDS with their friends. It also shows that 14% of my informants discussed topics related to AIDS epidemic with their parents.

Question n°9: a) what is the kind of language do you use when you are discussing with your friends?

Table n°9 Presentation of data from question n 9 a

	Frequency	%
a) Proverbs	14	39%
b) Jargons	15	42%
c) Clear language	3	8%
d) A mixture of the three kinds of language	4	11%
Total	36	100%

This table shows that a big number of my informants used jargons when they were discussing with their friends.

b) What is the kind of language do you use when you are discussing with your Parents?

Table n°10 Presentation of data from question n 9 b

	Frequency	%
a) Proverbs	15	42%
b) Jargons	3	8 %
c) Clear language	12	33%
d) A mixture of the three kinds of language	6	17%
Total	36	100%

A big number of my informants used proverbs when they were discussing with their parents as revealed by this table. This number is represented by 41, 1%.

Question n°10: Give examples of different words used to talk about AIDS when you are with your friends

The responses were of two types: words to denote AIDS, the way they talk about its way of transmission and its way of prevention.

- **Words to denote AIDS**

- Agakoko (small animal)
- Ibidukikije (what is around us)
- Agasashi (sachet)
- Umusumari (nail)
- Bimwe biharawe (what is up to date)
- Ibikoko(animals)
- LONA (betting)

- **Words or expressions used to talk about its way of transmission**

- Gukina agapira (to play a small ball)
- Gukina agapira utambaye igodiyo (to play a small ball without boots)
- Kurya akajumbu kaboze (to eat rotten sweet potatoes)
- Kumira isashi (to swallow sachet)

Question n°11: Give examples of different words used to talk about AIDS when you are with your parents

Answers

- SIDA (AIDS)
- Ruhonyanganda
- Ako kari mugihugu (what is in country)
- Bimwe biharawe (what is up to date)
- Umugera (a hook)
- Yangwara (the illness, disease)
- Kakabi (the bad)
- Kimwe camaze abantu(the big one which decimated people)

Question n°12: Is it easy to understand messages through those languages?

Table n°11 Presentation of data from question n 12

answers	frequency	%
Yes	19	53%
No	17	47%
Total	36	100%

This table shows that 53% of my informants understand the language used to talk about AIDS epidemic whereas 47% did not understand it.

Question n°13: What are the difficulties that lead to the misunderstanding of the Language used when you are talking about AIDS epidemic?

The responses to this question focused on the following points:

- When they use jargons and you do not know it you cannot know its meaning. So, you cannot decode the message.

- When they use proverbs sometimes they use animals or other things while talking about a person. So like jargons, it becomes difficult to understand when it is one's first time to hear about it.

- When they use a clear language, there are things that people fear to talk about openly. Then, they try to use other expressions that make the message difficult to understand.

4. 2. 1. 2. Data from questions related to the second theme: the conflict between Burundian culture and AIDS prevention

Question n°14: Between the two following ways of AIDS prevention, which one is sustained most by your church leaders?

Table n°12 Presentation of data from question n 14

	Frequency	%
Condoms	5	14 %
Abstinence	31	86 %
Total	36	100%

This table shows that 14% of church leaders sustained condom use whereas 86% were for abstinence.

Question 15: Between the two following ways of AIDS prevention, which one is taught most by sensitizers during AIDS prevention campaign?

Table n°13 Presentation of data from question n 15

	Frequency	%
Condoms	29	81 %
Abstinence	7	19 %
Total	36	100%

The respective percentages that represent the use of condoms and abstinence as means of AIDS prevention taught during sensitization campaign are 81% and 19%.

Question n°16: what are your suggestions for a better message delivery during aids prevention campaign, at home, at your church or in texts informing about AIDS with your parents, with your friends, your church leaders or sensitizers?

Answers: the suggestions to this question were the following:

- Avoid reluctance when informing people about AIDS.
- Avoid medical terms or explain them.
- Avoid a mixture of languages such as the use of French terms to avoid taboo words.
- Avoid confusing words and expressions such as: the use of polysemous terms, the use of euphemism, the use of jargons, proverbs and so on.

4. 2. 1. 3. Data from the theme: The incompatibility of sexuality related proverbs to AIDS prevention.

Question n°17: Are you interested in using proverbs while chatting?

Table n°14 Presentation of data from question n 17

Answers	Frequencies	%
Yes	29	81%
No	7	19%
Total	36	100%

In this table, 81% of my informants used proverbs in their conversation and 19% were not interested in their use.

Question n°18: If yes, where do you like to use them?

Table n°15 Presentation of data from question n 18

	Frequencies	%
To advise	14	39%
To warn	11	30%
To praise	5	14%
Anywhere	6	17%
Total	36	100%

If I tried to classify the circumstances in which my population used proverbs from the high level to the low level, a number represented by 39% used proverbs when they are advising. In second position came 30% who used proverbs when they were warning, in third position came people who used proverbs anywhere represented by 17% and finally came people represented by 14% who used proverbs to praise.

Question n°19: Are you aware of Kirundi proverbs that are related to extra-marital relations?

Table n°16 Presentation of data from question n 19

	Frequencies	%
Yes	28	78%
No	7	17%

Two persons did not respond to this question. This table shows that 78% of my populations were aware of proverbs related to extra-marital relations.

Question n°20: Among the following categories of people which one uses most proverbs?

Table n°17 Presentation of data from question n 20

	Frequencies	%
Old persons	21	58%
Educated persons	0	0%
Young people	9	25%
Any person	6	17%

58% of my populations were for the idea that old people use proverbs. In the second position came 25% of my informants who were for the idea that young person use proverbs the most In the following position came people represented by 17%. In the last position came people represented by 0% who said that educated people use proverbs the most.

Question n°21: If proverbs related to extra-marital relations exist, where do you often hear them?

Table n°18 Presentation of data from question n 21

	Frequencies	%
At the market	4	11%
At home	21	58%
In wedding ceremonies	11	31%

If we try to rank these results from the highest to the lowest, I find that such proverbs were used most at home. These ideas were sustained by 58% of my population 31% represent people who were for the idea that such kind of proverbs are often used at the wedding ceremonies. The lowest percentage 11% represent people who sustained that extra-marital proverb are used at the market.

Question n°22: If such proverbs exist, are there some which can hamper AIDS prevention?

Table n°19 Presentation of data from question n 22

Answers	Frequencies	%
Yes	26	72%
No	10	28%

A big number of my informants that is 72% was for the idea that some proverbs related to extra-marital relations hinder AIDS prevention whereas a small number represented by 28% denied it.

Question n° 23: Give examples of those proverbs and explain how they hamper AIDS prevention.

Answers: Those examples are the following:

- Wambara warahenye ukaba waramaze guhemuka
  - Literal meaning: He who puts on clothes after having been naked has already lost his honour
  - Idiomatic meaning: It's no use pretending to change your behaviour when you have already misbehaved.

- Impfizi ntiyimirwa
  - Literal meaning: A bull has no boundaries
  - Idiomatic meaning: A man is allowed to have sex with any woman he wants

- Umwonga umwe wonza inyoni
  - Literal meaning: one valley makes birds slim
  - Idiomatic meaning: one wife cannot satisfy a man

- Ntakwama muntoboro imwe nk'igipfungo
  - Literal meaning: It is no use to be always in the same hole like a button
  - Idiomatic meaning: It is no use to have only one partner
- Mushikawe mwiza umushikurako ikibondo
  - Literal meaning: From your beautiful sister you root up a baby
  - Idiomatic meaning: you are free to make love with everybody
- Impene yona aho iziritse
  - Literal meaning: A goat cheat where it is tied

- Idiomatic meaning: one is allowed to have sex with whoever he sees near him

- Iyirinze ntirinda sengondo

- Literal meaning: once a cow is in heat it does not care about a particular colour of a bull.
- Idiomatic meaning: when one wants to have sex, it's no use for him to wait for his/her legal wife/husband.

- Intayebayeba y'umugabo igira ngo nyina niwe acumba bunini

- Literal meaning: A man who does not travel thinks that his mother is the one who prepares a big bread
- Idiomatic meaning: A man who never cheats his wife thinks that there is no other wife who can make love better than his wife.

The explanations of how those proverbs can hamper AIDS prevention were the following:

- The message through those proverbs are paradoxical to AIDS prevention
- There are some proverbs which encourage extra-marital relations.
- Some proverbs are against abstinence
- Some proverbs are against AIDS prevention
- The message through some proverbs encourage polygamy
- Some proverbs ignore the existence of AIDS epidemic
- Some proverbs do not care about AIDS prevention

Question n°24: Give examples of proverbs recognized on the list of Kirundi proverb, proverbs that are not recognized on the list of Kirundi proverbs and jargons used to do the following:

a) To encourage men's extra-marital relations.

Answers

- Umwonga umwe wonza inyoni
- Literal meaning: one valley makes bird slim
- Idiomatic meaning: one wife cannot satisfy a man

- Umutama ahera amenyo ntahera amero
- Literal meaning: An old man end teeth but not eagerness
- Idiomatic meaning: A man is always in need of someone with whom he can make love.

- Mushikawe mwiza umushikurako ikibondo
- Literal meaning: From your beautiful sister you root up a baby
- Idiomatic meaning: you are free to make love with everybody

- Nta kwama muntoboro imwe nk'igipfungo
- Literal meaning: It is no use to be always in the same hole like a button
- Idiomatic meaning: It is no use to have only one partner

- Ubutsima bw'injevyi n'inyoni zirabwihako
- Literal meaning: Njevyizi's bread even birds takes part on it

- Idiomatic meaning: No man can abstain to have sex with a careless woman

- Iyirinze ntirinda sengondo

- Literal meaning: once a cow is in heat it does not care about a particular Colour of bull.
- Idiomatic meaning: when a man wants to have sex, it is impossible for him to wait for his legal wife. Or it is impossible for men to abstain themselves.

a) To encourage women's extra-marital relations

- Umwonga umwe wonza inyoni

- Literal meaning: one valley makes bird slim
- Idiomatic meaning: one wife cannot satisfy a man

- Uwambaye yarahenye aba yaramaze guhemuka

- Literal meaning: He who puts on clothes after having been naked has already lost his honour
- Idiomatic meaning: It's no use pretending to change behaviours when one has already misbehaved.

b) To discourage men's extra-marital relations

- Bararuhiga yugururiye ingwe

- Literal meaning: Bararuhiga opened for a lion
- Idiomatic meaning: A man who devotes himself to extra-marital relations sooner or later will carry AIDS in his family.

- Mpunge ugwaha yakimajije amaguru

- Literal meaning: I leave what is here has been wandering the whole world on foot.
- Idiomatic meaning: It is no use to run away because you are not at ease because wherever you go you will find problems.

- Ingenzi y'imihana niyo nzanyi y'amazimwe
- Literal meaning: The visitor of many houses is the carrier of gossips
- Idiomatic meaning: A man who cheats his wife at the end of the day may carry AIDS epidemic in family.

- Amaherezo y'inzira ni munzu
- Literal meaning: The end of a way is in the house
- Idiomatic meaning: A man who leaves his wife trying to run after others, after having been infected with AIDS comes back to the legal wife because no other woman will accept him in this situation.

- Mpa numve yishwe n'umurahu
- Literal meaning: Give I taste died of hotness
- Idiomatic meaning: The one who is fond of extra-marital relations most of the time can die of AIDS

- Nyamugaburirwa inzu zose yishwe n'inzara
- Literal meaning: The one who eats in all houses died of hunger
- Idiomatic meaning: A man who is confident cannot cheat his wife.

- Umwuka w'inumpu n'umwe
- Literal meaning: The vapour of sweet potatoes is one
- Idiomatic meaning: All wives are the same.

- Amayira abiri yananiye imfyisi

- Literal meaning: Two ways has been impossible for a hyena
- Idiomatic meaning: Two partners at the same time always carry problems.

c) To discourage women's extra-marital relations

- Akataretse kaba gasema

- Literal meaning: what refuses to stop is a bad prediction
- Idiomatic meaning: A woman who refuses to give up extra-marital relations prepares herself to be infected with AIDS epidemic.

- Amayira abiri yananiye imfyisi

- Literal meaning: Two ways has been impossible for a hyena
- Idiomatic meaning: To have two partners at the same time always carry problems.

- Mpa numve yishwe n'umurahu

- Literal meaning: Give I taste died of hotness
- Idiomatic meaning: A woman who is fond of extra-marital relations can die of AIDS.

d) To advise people to use condoms

- ta mukinyi w'umupira atagira igodiyo

- Literal meaning: No ball player without boots
- Idiomatic meaning: It is not good to have sex without condom

- Indya iryoha ifundikiye

- Literal meaning: food is delicious when it is covered.
- Idiomatic meaning: it is good to protect oneself when making love

- Umuhinga w'ukuramvya impamba ayitekera nk'itu.

- Literal meaning: The expert in lasting provision ties it like a bowl.
- Idiomatic meaning: The one who wants to save his life always uses condom when he makes love.

- Indangare y'umugeni yigemura ititwikiriye

- Literal meaning: A stupid bride brings himself/herself without voile
- Idiomatic meaning: The careless man makes love without condom.

e) To discourage people to use condom

- Nagusa rurajana

- Literal meaning: Even without anything it takes it
- Idiomatic meaning: Dying from AIDS because you did not use condom to protect yourself is not different from dying from any other disease.

- Ntakurira imbombo/isukari mu kamwanyi

- Literal meaning: It is no use to eat sweet (sugar in a sachet)
- Idiomatic meaning: It is no use to use condom when you are making love

- Nta Kwogana ikoti y'imvura

- It is no use to swim in a rain coat
- Idiomatic meaning: It is no use to use condom when you are making love

- Nta kurya upfunze umunwa

- Literal meaning: It is no use to eat with a closed mouth
- Idiomatic meaning: It is no use to protect yourself with condom when you are making love.

4. 2. 1. 4. The impact of sexuality related proverb, taboo words and expressions on the AIDS prevention.

Question n°25: How those proverbs can have an impact on the hearer?

Answers:

- The message conveyed can be different from the message heard and the hearer does not react as he is expected.
- The expected impact can immediately change because if one analyses those proverbs without context of rendition he could not understand what it refers to.
- If the speaker and the hearer do not share the same background culture, the proverbs uttered by the speaker cannot have an impact on the hearer
- If the speaker and the hearer share the same background culture, the proverbs uttered by the speaker can immediately make the hearer to react as he is expected or refuse to react accordingly.
- These proverbs can have a positive or negative impact since they function as pieces of advice.
- If those proverbs are in the category of those which sustain sexual disorder, they can hinder the hearer's behaviour change or they can prevent one from giving up extra-marital relations.
- Those proverbs can facilitate the hearer's behaviour change if the hearer wants to give up extra-marital relations, prostitution or polygamy. In that

case, those proverbs must necessarily be in the category of those which discourage extra-marital relations.

- Those proverbs can mislead people in general and youth in particular who do not think twice about them

4. 3. Discussion

4. 3. 1. AIDS information and the ambiguity of the used language.

Sexual practices are known as the most important vehicle of HIV/AIDS virus. Therefore, the prevention messages are normally intended to talk about sexual behaviour openly as Francis (1994:11) suggested:

> At present, there is no cure for AIDS and yet, it presents a potentially health hazard. The only means likely to be effective is controlling public awareness, reducing anxiety and fear and finally change in personal behaviour.

In the same perspective, UNICEF's (1987) suggestions remind people that church should be used to disseminate information since it can work as a supplement of other media like a radio, television and the printed materials. Then, parents, teachers and church leaders as they are among the first educators, are supposed to inform the population about AIDS epidemic and teach them the means of its prevention. But even if many people are informed about AIDS epidemic, as table n°1 revealed it, where 100% of my informants said that they are informed about AIDS, table n°8 and table n°2 showed that a big number of parents and church leaders did not share AIDS information with their children

or church goers. It was found that 19% of church leaders and 14% of parents informed their people.

From that, we can deduce that parents feel ashamed to inform their children because to talk about AIDS implies talking about sexuality, and parents may fear to utter taboo words in front of their children. It may be the same for church leaders. They fear to inform people about AIDS in church because among church goers there are children. Furthermore, church leaders may fear to violate God's law by teaching the use of condom because as Muwonge (1994:29) said:

> Condom use is surrounded by a lot of misconception. Most people associate it with family planning or fertility control and some religious ethics views fertility control as a sacrilegious sin.

In addition to that, Muwonge (1994:24) observed that to some societies encouraging people to use condoms is seen as promoting promiscuity. So, church leaders may avoid violating God's law. However, the 2004 UNAIDS report observed that:

> Whenever educators and planners ask, young people know that they have the right to the information that enables to safeguard their lives. They must be listened to and provided with that information clearly, openly and honestly

My informants were eager to know more about AIDS epidemic. This was revealed in the table n°4 where 78% inquired about AIDS through texts. But, the strategy of applying words to situations, using the word in original context and finding the best word to communicate the idea in mind as done by many associations and organizations to inform people about AIDS epidemic through text as shown in table n°3, n°6, 7 and answers to question n°10 is complex. Therefore, the number of words or expressions used in HIV/AIDS information is not understood by everybody. So, chart n°5 showed that 58% of my informants had difficulties to understand the meaning of some expressions used in AIDS prevention.

The reason was that there were words or expressions that could have more than one meaning. For instance, the words: agafuko, igitsina, ibikoko can be immediately understood by some persons as small bag, the root, animals instead of condom, genital part, AIDS epidemic. Furthermore, my informants may have difficulties to understand those words or expressions because of the use of metaphor or metonymy as Ndihokubwayo (1998) says that there are stylistic features as metaphor and metonymy that help to cope with taboos in using language. For example, in a warning: «Mwirinde kuryamana n'umurwayi wa SIDA mutikingiye. » « Avoid sleeping with an AIDS patient without being protected. »

In this warning, the term kuryamana (to sleep with), means to have sex with someone. But the speaker in referring to having sex with someone by « to sleep with» uses metonymy because by definition metonymy is the act of referring to something by the name of something else that is connected with it. But to sleep with someone does not necessarily mean to have sex with that person that is why the context has a paramount importance for example, in the same utterance, the part…n-umurwayi wa SIDA mutikingiye. » (With an AIDS

patient without being protected has a big role in understanding the whole warning. From the verb «kwikingira» (to protect oneself) we can deduce «agakingirizo» (a cover) and instead of considering «agakingirizo» as a cover ,one immediately thinks about condom because he already knows the context in which this word «agakingirizo»(a cover) is used through the name «umurwayi wa SIDA» (an AIDS patient).

The use of stylistic features ;the use of metaphor or metonymy are most of the case observed through proverbs as Ntahokaja (1977:23) said that most of the time Burundians use proverbs when they are talking about sex related topics. Thus, Table n°9 and table n°10 showed that my informants used difficult language while discussing about AIDS epidemic with their friends or their parents. That is 39% used proverbs in interacting with their parents and 42% used jargons while discussing with their parents. From this, I can deduce that the understanding of polysemous words, stylistic features such as metaphor, metonymy, euphemism and others was difficult and the main objective of using them was to avoid taboo word but, as Wardhough (1969:24) said, it is the context which creates possibilities for interpretation and helps remove the multiple ambiguities that an utterance would have if they occurred in isolation.

4. 3. 2. The conflict between Burundian culture and AIDS prevention

Kirundi, the mother tongue of Burundians helps them to share customs, belief and culture of their society. Therefore, as sexuality is considered as a taboo domain, topics related to sexuality are not dealt with in front of children. Sexual behaviours were avoided even though they constitute a frequent way of AIDS wide spreading. So, table n°12 and table n°13 showed the way in which

sensitizers and church leaders informed people how they can fight against AIDS epidemic. As Gahungu (2001) said:

> Nous remarquons que les Burundais attachent une grande importance à la tradition qu'à l'avenir de leur foyer.
>
> We observe that Burundians attach more importance to the tradition rather than on the future of their family (Translation mine)

These two groups of people insisted on different things. Sensitizers insisted on the condom use whereas church leaders insisted much on abstinence. We noted therefore that for the use of condom for instance only 14% of church leaders sustain it whereas 80% of sensitizers insisted on it. For the case of abstinence, only 19% of sensitizers insisted abstinence whereas church leaders who insisted on it were represented by 86%. From this, I noted that most church leaders may not use all the means of AIDS prevention while informing people about AIDS prevention. They may teach them abstinence and seem to ignore condom use not because they did not know about it but because they feared to encourage promiscuity and God's law violation. Caldwell (1992:114) elaborated on a similar point when he said that Africa was characterized by a significant level of sexual relations outside marriage, and that it also had a shame of reporting AIDS infection and this had probably been exacerbated by the condemnation of extra-marital relations by missionaries, Christianity and Islam. Those church leaders were aware of extra-marital relations in Burundi but they were reluctant to teach people the condom use. In that way, the maxim of quantity was and this one obliges the speaker to give no more and no less information than is required

to make his message clear to the hearer. But in teaching only abstinence as means of prevention, church leaders did not think that they gave uncompleted information.

The responses proposed to question n°16 also revealed that my informants were not satisfied with the shyness of Burundians towards AIDS information. Some proposed to avoid the mixture of language while talking about medical terms. Many others were against the indirect information such as the use of proverbs, euphemism, metaphor, synonyms and so on. Even here, we observed that another maxim has been violated: the maxim of manner where possible speaker's meaning should be presented in a clear and concise manner that avoids ambiguity and misleading or confusing the hearer. Therefore, I deduced that the use of metaphor, euphemism, synonyms and other stylistic features to avoid taboos may lead to ambiguities. It is clear therefore that the intended effect from the language used has not been achieved.

4. 3. 3. The incompatibility of sexuality related proverbs with AIDS prevention

Tuzagi (1995, 51) pointed out that a proverb possesses a persuasive force. This may be the reason why 80% of my informants were interested in using proverbs. Among them, 39% used them when warning and 31% when advising. Those percentages were revealed by table n°14 and 15. Therefore, 58% of those proverbs were used at home and by old persons as shown by table n°18 and table 17. But among those proverbs there were some that were related to extra-marital relations hence, incompatible with AIDS prevention as presented in table 16 and table 19. From that, I deduced that Burundians in general and old persons in particular did not overtly transmit the message while warning or

advising. They did it indirectly and let the hearer guess the meaning and reacted by way of implicature. Murekambaze (1998:9) clarifies it when she says:

> When one uses a proverb, one supports his ideas, his arguments or opinion through the wisdom of our elders

Similarly, Levinson (1983:263-264) observed that

> Some speech acts have direct illocutionary force indicating devices while other speech acts are indirectly implied.

Most of indirect illocutionary forces indicating devices are observed through sexuality related topics. As Ntahokaja (1977) said Burundians use proverbs when they are talking about sex related topics. In that way, they consider proverbs as a good and polite way of discussing about such topics. However, those proverbs can lead to ambiguities or a total misunderstanding of delivered message. For instance, table 19 and responses to question n°23 showed that in the case of AIDS epidemic, there was a number of Kirundi proverbs related to extra-marital relations that can hamper AIDS prevention. This may be due to the bad illocutionary force on the part of the speaker on one hand; and on the other it may be due to the misunderstanding on the part of the hearer or the ambiguity in meaning because those proverbs can have many different meanings. For example, the proverb

> "Intayebayeba y'umugabo igira ngo nyina
> niwe acumba bunini"

> A man who does not travel thinks that his mother is the only one who prepares a big cassava bread.

Normally, "Kuyebayeba" means "Wandering" and "Gucumba" is to prepare cassava bread. But there is another meaning of those key words. The verb "kuyebayeba" can mean "to practice extra-marital relations". The noun "nyina" (mother) can stand for a legal wife. The verb "gucumba" (to prepare bread) in Burundian culture can be used when one wants to say "to have sex" in a polite way. So, the whole proverb can contextually mean that a man who never cheats on his wife thinks that there is no other wife who can take care of him better than his legal wife or there is no other wife who can make love better than his wife.

Here, the literal meaning and the contextual meaning are far different. In the first, there is an idea of eating whereas in the second there is an idea of making love or taking care of someone. This proverb then can be applied to a man who has only one wife. It can be used to advise or to encourage man to have more than one wife. The main speech act performed in that proverb is to encourage polygamy what can be an obstacle to AIDS prevention even if valuardy quoted by Muwonge (1994:19) rejected the idea that polygamous families are the most vulnerable when he said:

> Polygamy is sometimes mistakenly cited in Western Press but this is of course untrue because polygamous man may be less likely than others to engage in extra-marital sexual contacts

Then, the hearer must know the context in which the speaker utters a proverb. In this perspective, Hymes (1964) suggested that the more the analyst knows about the features of context, the more he is able to predict what is likely to be said. For the most important features are: participants, physical contexts setting of an utterance, the topic, channel and code. So, the speaker and the hearer must share the same background knowledge. On the contrary, illocutionary force or the speaker's intention will be of the less importance.

However, all sexuality related proverbs are not necessarily an obstacle to AIDS prevention. There are some that are compatible with AIDS prevention. This was revealed by responses to question n°24 where almost a half of his responses showed that among extra-marital related proverbs there were some that discouraged or condemned extra-marital relations which is the frequent way of AIDS transmission. Others were used to encourage condom use.

5. 3. 4. The impact of sexuality related proverbs, taboo words and expressions on AIDS prevention

Sexuality related words, expressions or proverbs have an impact on the hearer as revealed by responses to question n°26. As Austin (1990:147) says: "The uttering of sentences is part of the doing an action."

Similarly, Searle (1969) says that speaking is performing an act. In this perspective, the illocutionary force must engender a perlocutionary act on the part of the hearer. But the effect on the hearer can be either positive or negative. Nevertheless, for proverb, a word or expression to have an impact on the hearer, the context in which this one is uttered should not be neglected. As Richard (1985:225) defines pragmatics that it is the study of the use of language in

communication particularly the relationship between utterances and contexts or the situations in which they are used. Proverbs then, as they are most of the time used to hide taboo words or expressions, give difficult task to the hearer. They oblige the hearer to guess the message conveyed through those proverbs. As consequences, the conveyed message can be different from the message heard by the hearer because of misinterpretation on the part of the hearer or the message conveyed through that proverb can lead to ambiguities because that proverb may have two opposite impacts one negative and another positive.

For instance, this Kirundi proverb: "Uwambaye yarahenye aba yaramaze guhemuka"/ "He who puts on clothes after having been naked has already lost his honour."

This proverb for example can show a positive and a negative behaviour at the same time. So, it is up to the hearer to choose between the two the one that fits better to the situation. Therefore, the verb "Kwambara" means to put on clothes. Normally, when one is dressed, he is considered as "Umupfasoni" (a gentleman or lady). Then, clothing is the symbol of a good personality and good behaviour. "Guhena" means to be naked and it is opposite to "kwambara". When one is naked he is not umupfasoni instead, he is a dishonourable person. "Guhemuka" refers to being unfaithful to one's engagement. But, according to the context, the verb "guhemuka" means to lose one's honour. The three verbs constitute a key to the meaning of the whole proverb. In this proverb, "kwambara" is positive. If one has a good behaviour that is "arambaye" he is dressed or "arikwije". He is dressed enough, he is not naked. He is an honourable person. The word "yarahenye" on the other hand, means that one has already taken off clothes. The two words are opposites. To be dressed is the opposite of being naked, thus to be a dishonourable person.

Here, there is a kind of ornament in how these words are used. The speaker wants to mean that it is no use pretending to be innocent or good-mannered when in reality you are not. As for the message to be transmitted, the speaker chooses suitable words to express it, to convince the hearer that it is no use changing one's behaviour once you have been involved in bad actions. So, the focus of proverbs is generally the same: proverbs advise, warn, and give the moral lesson to their interlocutors as Finnegan (1970:414) suggested that proverbs may be especially suitable even in everyday situation of instruction. Those proverbs may have positive or negative effect. According to UNICEF (1994) in order for information to have a practical impact on a person's behaviour, it must be relevant and take into account what that person believes already. So most of those extra-marital related proverbs have negative meaning but may convey positive message if the hearer sees importance in behaviour change. It can also have a negative meaning but can convey a positive message when the intention of the speaker is for a positive or good manner. Then, the proverb analysed above will help the hearer to give up all those acts that can be an obstacle to AIDS prevention because he will understand that if he is a prostitute or a polygamist he is naked. But this proverb can make the hearer to continue those bad behaviours because he may understand by "naked" that it's no use changing because he is already infected with AIDS epidemic.

As stated by Finnegan (1995), proverbs used in conversation mainly serve to spice up the talk. The direct relevance of the proverbs to the issue is often not very clear, sometimes the two are only vaguely associated. So, the speaker of a proverb chooses images which denote the culture of both the speaker and the listener. The latter are supposed to share the same cultural background. But, if the hearer fails to relate the image such as metaphor, metonymy, irony to what

they refer to, he will not be able to understand the meaning of proverb. In the proverb above, there is much metaphor. I compare a well mannered person to someone who is dressed. All in all, it is difficult to believe that a person who has been misbehaving can easily change. He is expected to always misbehave. But, even if he is already infected, he may prevent AIDS to spread if he succeeds to understand the sense or intention of the message conveyed through that proverb.

4. 4. Classification, pragmatic analysis and interpretation of some proverbs which are compatible and those which are incompatible with AIDS prevention

The proverbs presented below have been thematically classified according to the type of people they talk about, what they say and what they probably do in relation to AIDS prevention. According to the data from our research, those proverbs can be divided in four groups. There were proverbs that encourage polygamy, those that discourage it, or point out the disadvantages of it, those that discourage condom use and those that encourage condom use. Among those proverbs; there were some that were probably not recognized on the list of Kirundi proverbs but that were used as proverbs.

4. 4. 1. Analysis and interpretation of some proverbs that are compatible with AIDS prevention

This category comprised proverbs that discourage extra-marital relations or polygamy and those that encourage the condom use. Proverbs that discourage extra-marital relations were analysed because sexual intercourse is the frequent

way of VIH transmission as Pollok (1988) noted. The following proverbs discourage polygamy.

1) Nyamugaburirwa inzu zose yishwe n'inzara
"He who eats in every house died of hunger"

i) This proverb can be interpreted as "A man with two wives or more in different houses may die of hunger.
ii) This proverb can also be translated as "A man with many wives can be disappointed by missing the one to take care of him.
iii) This proverb can be applied as a warning to a man with two or more wives in different houses because he can miss his meals when each of those wives thinks that he has eaten at another wife's home.
iv) A man who is confident cannot eat at someone's home.

Here, the verb "kugaburira" (to feed) can contextually mean to 'take care of" and the expression "kwicwa n'inzara" (to die of hunger) can mean to lack affection or to miss someone who takes care of oneself. When a child is ill the mother is the first to know it. It is the same when a husband has a problem his wife is the first to help him. But if a husband has two or more wives each of them thinks that another wife is taking care of that husband and will find solution to the problem. In that way, this husband can die or suffer seriously because he lacks someone to take care of him.

Another proverb which can have a similar objective as the above one is the following.

"Amaherezo y'inzira ni munzu"

"The end of the way is in the house"

i) It can be applied when a man or a woman tries to get another partner

ii) It can be used to warn a man or a woman in order to give up extra-marital relations because at the end of the day he will come back to the one he has neglected.

So, in this proverb, the word "inzira" (the way) stand for the time used to give up, neglect the legal wife or husband and "inzu" (house) as in the first proverb can stand for a wife but here "inzu" give the image of a partner because it can be used for men as for women since when a wife leaves the house it is her husband who takes care of children and vice versa. The whole proverb then advises men or women not to leave their legal wives or husbands because when they will get problems such as poverty, illness or others, they will be obliged to come back to their former partners.

However, Caldwell (1977: 123) in his research made in South Nigeria showed that men are most of the time the ones to leave their wives:

> It is widely assumed that in South Nigeria husband cannot sexually abstain for the duration time when their wives are not available for making love. Their wives do not complain about their husbands' extra-marital sexual activities during this time.

The following Kirundi proverb can be used to warn Burundians who have such behaviour.

"Mpunge urwaha yakimajije amaguru"
"He who leaves his home because of problems has been wandering the whole world on foot."

i) This can be used to advise men or women to stay with one partner
ii) It can also be used to show the disadvantages of trying to get more than one partner.

In this proverb, the expression "Kukimaza amaguru" can be divided into "kumara" (to end) and "ki" stand for igihugu (country). So the whole word "kukimaza" can be to end the whole world and kukimaza amaguru (to end the whole world on foot). It can contextually mean "to walk without any rest". Also "urwaha" can be "urupfu" (death) or urugamba (war). And "guhunga urwaha" can be to leave the place because of inconvenience(ingorane)

As Brown and Yule (1983:25) put it:

"Context refers to circumstances in which language is used"

If the speaker utters that proverb in the context of illness one can consider "urwaha" as urupfu but when he utters it in the context of wars one can consider urwaha as (urugamba) war.

All in all, this proverb means that there is no way you can escape from problems rather than resisting. It advises people to resist to problems, illness, hunger and poverty instead of leaving your partner because he/she is poor or ill and go to

marry a rich widow. One should resist and stay with one's poor partner. Otherwise, this proverb can be used to encourage or advise men or women to have one partner. Thus it can help the couple to prevent AIDS epidemic.

In Kirundi conversation, the above proverb can sometimes be accompanied by another proverb and they are delivered as:

"Amaherezo y'inzira ni munzu
Kandi umwuka w'inumpu n'umwe"

"The end of a way is in the house and the
vapour of sweet-potatoes is one"

This second proverb can be used to emphasize the speech act performed in the precedent proverb.
It can be used to discourage vagabondage

i) This can be used to tell a man or a woman that the partner he is looking for is like his/her legal one
ii) This proverb performs a speech act of discouraging extra marital relations or an abandonment of the first partner

In this proverb "inumpu" stands for partners and "umwuka" (vapour) represent how those partners are. The whole proverb contextually means that it's no use looking for many partners because at the end of the day you will realise that the second is like the first.

Nandwa et al (1997) in defining a proverb suggested that before uttering a proverb a person observes a situation in real life and wants to pass a judgement

on it. So, there is a proverb in Kirundi language that judges people who always wander from house to house. It is delivered as:

> "Ingenzi y'imihana niyo nzanyi y'amazimwe"
> "The one who visits many houses is the carrier of gossips"

i) This proverb can be used to advise people to stay at their homes.
ii) It can also be used to advise men or women not to cheat on their partners.
iii) It can be used again to warn people that they can bring problems from other families by the act of visiting them. For instance bad behaviour, diseases, etc.
iv) It can be used even in the case of AIDS prevention to warn men or women not to have sex with another partner other than the legal one because they can be contaminated and after bring AIDS epidemic in their respective families.

In this proverb, "ingenzi" (tourist or the one who visits) represents the one who cheats his partner and "imihana" (houses) gives the image of partners a wife and her husband because the holders of a house are a husband and his wife. Amazimwe (gossips) in Burundian culture is prohibited because they can cause the break down of family relations. "Amazimwe" (gossips) most of the time are lies and lies brig many problems. So, the word "amazimwe" (gossips) considered as problems culturally can also be compared with AIDS when this proverb is uttered in the context of AIDS prevention. In this context, the whole proverb can be interpreted as the one who cheat the other

between a husband and his wife is the one who brings AIDS epidemic in a family.

However, the one who cheats the other is not necessarily infected with AIDS epidemic because he can use condoms or by chance, he can have sex with an HIV sero negative partner. In this light, Burundians use some proverbs to encourage or advise people to use condom. Then, the two following proverbs are used to advise people to use condoms

1. "umuhinga w'ukurambisha impamba ayitekera mw'itu"
"to make a provision last longer, experts tie it in a bag or packs it"

i) This proverb can be used to warn someone who neglects and misuses what he has.

ii) It can also be used to advise people to take care of their life

iii) It can be used in the AIDS prevention, to make people be aware of protecting themselves when they want to have sex.

In this proverb, the word "impamba" (provision) means "life" because when one is in a journey and he has nothing to eat he can die. So, "impamba" (provision) for someone who is travelling is life.
The word "ayitekera" he ties it) comes from the verb"gutekera" (to tie) and in this context it is to cover or to protect. Normally, one covers something because he wants to protect it for instance from dust and in AIDS prevention the dust can be compared to HIV infection. "itu" (a bag)in this proverb is the content and the cover. But, in the context of

AIDS prevention, "itu" (bag) can be the genital part compared to the content and condom compared with the cover. So, the whole proverb contextually intends to tell people that the one who wants to preserve his life always uses condom.

2) Indangare y'umugeni yigemura ititwikiriye

(A stupid bride-girl or bride-boy brings herself without voile)

i) This proverb can be used to advise people in general and women in particular to always cover themselves, to put on appropriate clothes.

ii) It can also be used to warn young ladies not to put on short skirts.

iii) This proverb can be a wink to people who do not protect themselves when having sex.

The noun "umugeni" (bride) does not only represent only women but also men. In this context, it means "whoever wants to have sex". The verb "kwigemura" stands for the act of having sex and "kwitwikira" (to put on voile). Therefore, in Burundian culture, a bride girl must put on voile, she must cover her face. The act of putting on voile gives the image of protection and embellishment. When she does not put on voile, she exposes herself to many things such as criticisms. In the case of AIDS prevention, "a voile" (umushanana) as a cover and also as protection gives the image of condom because condoms are used to protect people from being infected by HIV as a voile is used to protect the bride from being criticised. This proverb then can be used in AIDS prevention as a kind of awakening people to use condom when they are having sex. This proverb intends to tell people that they have to protect their lives by using condoms.

In fact, the above two proverbs perform the same speech act of encouraging, advising or pointing out the advantages of using condoms. But if one does not analyse the proverb deeply, he may consider that this advice is addressed only to girls because they are the one who put on voiles.

4.4.1. Analysis and interpretation of some proverbs which are incompatible with AIDS prevention

This second category of Kirundi proverbs is made up of proverbs which encourage extra-marital relations, polygamy or polyandry on one hand and those which discourage condom use on the other hand. First of all, the following proverbs can be used to encourage extra-marital relations.

1) Iyirinze ntirindira sengondo

Once a cow is in heat it does not wait for a particular bull.

i) This proverb can be used to justify why a wife or a husband is having sex with another partner other than his or hers.

ii) It can also be used to justify pre-marital relations

iii) It is currently used to justify a rape for instance a father who rapes her daughter.

Normally, in "iyirinze", "I" stands for a cow but contextually "I" represents human being. "sengondo" is a particular bull but here it is compared to one's partner. Then the two meanings "a particular bull and one's partner" are close because one's partner is also particular. The verb "kurinda" has two different meanings in Kirundi language. The first one is "not to have fear" and the second one is often used for cow (when a cow is in heat. But even if they use animals in

this proverb, it is used most of the time for human beings and it contextually means that when a man or a woman is sexually excited he is not obliged to make love with only his wife or her husband. This proverb may be used to justify why someone cheats on his wife or husband.

2) umwonga umwe wonza inyoni
One valley makes birds become slim

i) This proverb can be used in eating matters. It advises people to vary the places where they look for food.
ii) It can be also an appeal to people to try to develop and change their way of living.
iii) Apart from those positive pieces of advice, this proverb can convey a negative one when it is used to encourage people to have more than one partner.

In that way, the word "umwonga" (valley) is no longer a place but a person. Most of the time people change partners because of many reasons such as the affection he/she expects to get from the new partner, the richness of the new partner and so on. So, as birds hope to find what they eat on that valley, this person hopes to get whatever she/he needs from the new partner. The word "inyoni" (bird) stands for that person who wants to change a partner or who wants to have more than one partner. In addition to that, the verb "kwonda" (to be slim) contextually means to lack all those facilities he/she expects to get from the new partner. All in all, this proverb does not talk about birds as animals it talks about human beings. It encourages people to have more than one partner at the same time.

The above proverb has a close meaning with another one which is delivered as :

"nta kwama mu ntoboro imwe nk'igipfungo"
"One should stay always in the same hole as a button"

Here, "intoboro" (a hole) stand for a partner. This proverb as the precedent one advises people to vary partner or to have more than one partner at the same time.

So, the above three proverbs perform the same speed act. They encourage extra-marital relations. Murekambanze (1998) recognizes that one uses a proverb to support his ideas; she goes without saying that proverbs are closely related to tradition because they are inherited from our elders and are transmitted from generation to generation. May be, some of them were used in former time because they had no dangerous consequences as nowadays such as transmitted diseases.

However, even today, despite the existence of these sexually transmitted diseases like AIDS, people continue to use such kinds of proverbs. Among those proverbs, there are some which constitute an obstacle to the prevention of those sexually transmitted diseases such as those which discourage condom use. Thus, the following proverbs are used to discourage condom use.

1) Nta kwogana ikoti y'imvura.
   Never swim with a raincoat.

(i) This proverb can be used to advise people to uncover themselves before swimming.

(ii) This proverb can also be used to discourage people to protect themselves when they are having sex.

Here, "ikoti y'imvura" 'raincoat) stands for a condom since a condom is taken as a cover like a raincoat.

The verb "to swim" in this context means to have sex and the whole proverb performs a speech act of discouraging people to use condom.

The above proverb is similar to the following one:

2) "Nta kurira imbombo mu Kamwanya"
"Do not eat sweet in a sachet"

Or "Nta kurigatira isukari mu kamwanya".
Do not suck sugar in a sachet".

In these two proverbs, the word "imbombo"(sweet) and "isukari"(sugar) stand for the act of making love and "akamwanya"(sachet) gives the image of condom in this context "isashe"(is compared with condom because condoms are used to cover and protect genital parts as sachets are used to cover sweets.

All in all, almost all those kinds of proverbs are new in Kirundi language they are called "imituzuka". Some of them were created with the existence of AIDS epidemic because they are used as defense mechanism.

4.5. The language that hampers the understanding of those proverbs.

4.5.1. The use of metaphor

Metaphor is a figure of speech that always causes potential problems to language understanding. In fact, it does not mean what it seems to mean at first glance. Metaphor is likely to cause most of the problems because it occurs so frequent since it always involves an implicit comparison between two terms. One way to handle metaphor is to analyze what the two terms have in common that is relevant to the context. This figure of speech is used in the responses to

n°10 where my informants gave different words used to talk about AIDS epidemic. There are some who call AIDS "ibikoko" (animals). Here, the dreadfulness of AIDS epidemic is compared to the dreadfulness of AIDS. So, it means that AIDS kills like fierce animals.

Furthermore, this figure of speech is mostly used within proverbs. A striking example of the use of this figure of speech is observed in one of the proverbs given as responses to questions n°23. That proverb was delivered as:

> "Uwambaye yarahenye aba yarahenye aba yaramaze guhemuka"
> "He who puts on clothes after having been naked has already lost his honour"

In this proverb, we compared a well mannered and respectful person to someone who is dressed and its opposite that is the one who is not dressed or who is naked is compared to someone who has been misbehaving.

4.5.2. The use of synonyms

Synonyms are words that mean the same or nearly have the same meaning. Unfortunately, the words rarely mean the same thing. The different expressions used to talk about having sex are taken as synonymous. For instance, the verbs "kuryamana" (to sleep with) and "gufata ku nguvu" (to rape) are synonymous because all of them mean sexual intercourse. But the way this act is done is different. In "kuryamana" (to sleep with) there is a kind of consent but in "gufata ku nguvu" (to rape) it is by force. That is why the receiver must look at the distinction between words rather than similarities when he faces the problem of understanding caused by synonymy.

4.2.3. The use of polysemous words

The understanding of a word that has more than one meaning is very difficult. In the case of AIDS prevention, some words and expressions are used with unfamiliar meaning. Some of them are used to inform people about AIDS epidemic its way of transmission and how they can prevent it. Therefore, the hearer has to choose the meaning that is appropriate to the context of the AIDS epidemic. For instance, when one says

"Vyanse koresha agafuko"

The first meaning is "when it is impossible use a small bag" but in the context of AIDS prevention it means "if you cannot abstain from having sex, use a condom". Polysemous words can also be observed in a so-called "umutuzuka" (new proverb, those formulated on the occasion of new events) delivered as:

"Nta wukina umupira atambaye igodiyo"

"No one plays football without putting on boots"

Here, the first meaning of "gukina" is to play. "Gukina umupira" is to play basketball or football and "igodiyo" has the meaning of "boots". But if we consider the context in which Burundians use it, the whole proverb means "There is no safe sex without condom". So the second meaning or contextual meaning of the verb "to play" (gukina) means to make love and the contextual meaning of "igodiyo" (boots) is condom.

4.6. Conclusion

Through the analysis of extra-marital related proverbs, sexuality related words and expressions; some cooperative maxims had been violated. First of

all, the maxim of quantity in the sense that many parents and church leaders were shy to inform openly their children or church goers about AIDS epidemic. In addition, some church leaders insisted only on one means of AIDS prevention. Furthermore, my informants noted that medical terms were not clearly explained and this was not informative enough. Secondly, maxim of manner was violated. I informants showed that when Burundians discuss about AIDS epidemic, they prefer to use proverbs that are difficult to understand. Finally, the maxim of quality was violated because, as I observed through extra-marital related proverbs, speakers may convey messages that are known to be incompatible with AIDS prevention.

CHAPTER V: GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusion

The main focus of my study was a pragmatic analysis of some Kirundi words, expressions and proverbs related to sexuality that can hamper AIDS prevention.

In chapter one, we stated the problem and tried to give some information about AIDS epidemic. We also stated our motivation to the choice of the topic under study, its aim, research questions and hypotheses.

Chapter two dealt with literature review and theoretical framework, I described the theory we used in the analysis. This section was mainly about the theory on pragmatics and the use of proverbs. It also dealt with all the other studies and researches that were done in the same field.

Chapter three put much emphasis on the methodology I used to collect the data. In the same chapter, I stated the way I were going to analyse the data, the encountered difficulties during the data collection.

Chapter four was an attempt to present data from my research and analyse them.

Through the study, I tried to take into account situations or contexts in which those words, expressions, proverbs were used. Some theories were considered. Therefore, this study attempted to find out:

1) Whether or not the message conveyed through the language used in sexuality related topics and information about AIDS is appropriate enough to facilitate AIDS prevention.

It also sought to determine:

2) Whether or not speakers of Kirundi language discuss the topics related to HIV/AIDS explicitly.

The present work has been in general concerned with the interpretation and the use of utterance following the knowledge of words and the way speakers use and understand speech act. After the analysis of our data, it was observed that message conveyed through the language used in sexuality related topics and information about AIDS is not appropriate enough to facilitate AIDS prevention. Because among those sexuality related topics are extra-marital related proverbs which convey a paradoxical message to AIDS prevention and in delivering information about AIDS epidemic, Burundians in general and parents in particular were not explicit enough to convey the massages that are free from ambiguities. It was also noted that speakers of Kirundi language discuss topics related to HIV/AIDS implicitly. This was due to the fact that Burundians consider HIV/AIDS as taboo and to talk about it they used proverbs, jargons and other complex words or expressions. As Niyungeko (1998:24) state it,

> "Speakers of Kirundi avoid sex taboo by using
> special language variety"

It was found that parents and church leaders do not discuss about AIDS with their children or church goers explicitly.

Finally, the study revealed that the language used in sexuality related topics has an impact on AIDS prevention because, as Searle (1969) states in talking one performs an act.

Unfortunately, among those sexuality related topics, there are proverbs which conveyed message that are not clear enough and this can have an unintended effect. Moreover, among those proverbs, there were some that convey a paradoxical message to AIDS prevention and that can have a negative impact on AIDS prevention.

5.2. Recommendations

Based on the findings of this work the researcher wishes to make the following recommendations:

- Parents should expose their children to sex education from their under ages so their children can be informed about AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.
- Parents should be friends to their children this will give children the confidence to share problems with their parents.
- Children should be advised against infidelity in plain language rather than through proverbs .
- People should be informed of many ways by which AIDS can be prevented rather than divelling on abstinence only.
- churches should make it a point of religious duty to inform people about AIDS prevention.

During the analysis of data from my research, some recommendations come in my mind. In addition to that, there are some suggestions proposed by my informants about AIDS prevention and a better message deliver. So, from the age when a child is able to understand health problems; sexuality phenomena, parents should begin by explaining the notion of infection and inform him on health care policies including how to prevent AIDS epidemic.

Parents should look for a time to exchange with their children about AIDS epidemic in order to know what they learn from their friends. That would help parents to know their children concerning the Level of information about AIDS epidemic. Parents should not advise or inform their children through proverbs because they are not easy to understand. As church constitutes a good

medium of communication, church leaders should use it to inform people about AIDS. Furthermore, they should not focus only on abstinence but they should show clearly all means of AIDS prevention and let each one chose the best one. Last but not least, some sexuality related proverbs should be revised because some of them are incompatible with AIDS prevention. In addition, linguist should elaborate Kirundi English dictionaries.

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APPENDIX: KIRUNDI VERSION

Questionnaire

I. Uzuza ahabuze canke mucagure <u>inyishu ibereye nk'uko mubisabwa kuri kimwe muri ibi bibazo bikurikirikira</u>

1. Izina ryawe:
2. Igitsina:
    a) gore ☐
    b) gabo ☐
3. Imyaka:
4. ishengero:
    a) abavyeyi basengamwo:
    b) wewe usengamwo
5. Urubatse?
    a) ego ☐
    b) oya ☐
6. Mwoba mumaze kwumva ibijanye n'ikiza SIDA?
    a) ego ☐
    b) oya ☐
7. Muri aya mashirahamwe agwanya ikiza SIDA akwirikira, tora ayakunda kubaha inyigisho cane zijanye n'ikiza SIDA.
    a) SWAA-Burundi ☐
    b) CNLS ☐
    c) FVS ☐
    d) ABUBEF ☐
    e) ANSS ☐

8. Mwoba mumaze gusoma ibisomwa vyoba biva mu mashirahamwe twavuze hejuru kugira mwiyigishe mwenyene ibijanye n'ico kiza.

a) ego ☐

b) oya ☐

i) Muri ivyo bisomwa bashimikira ku biki cane?

ii) Iyo muriko murasoma hari ivyo mudatahura?

a) ego ☐

b) oya ☐

iii) Tanga uturorero uce usigura.

iv) Muri ivyo bisomwa mwoba musangamwo amajambo abadidanira?

a) ego ☐

b) Oya ☐

9. Muri iyo migwi y'abantu bakurikira ni bande mukunda kuvugana cane ibijanye na SIDA?

a) abavyeyi ☐

b) abagenzi ☐

i) Ni iyihe mvugo mukunda gukoresha muriko muraganira n'abo Bantu?

a) Imigani, imyibutsa ☐

b) Imiteburo ☐

c) Imvugo isanzwe ☐

d) Imigani, imyibutsa n'imvugo isanzwe bivanze ☐

ii) Biraborohera gutahura inyigisho ziciye muri izo mvugo?

a) ego ☐

b) Oya ☐

iii) Ni izihe ngorane mukunda kugira zibatuma mudatahura neza imvugo

yakoreshejwe muri ivyo bisomwa?

iv) Mwohanura iki kugira izo nyigisho zitangwa muzitahure nk'uko bitegerejwe?

II. Murakunda kwumvira ibiganiro aho abariko baraganira bakoresha imigani?

a) ego ☐

b) oya ☐

2. Mwoba mukunda gukoresha iyo muriko muraganira?

a) ego ☐

b) oya ☐

i) Usanga iriho, ni hehe ukunda kwumva bayikoresha cane?

a) Mw'isoko ☐

b) Imuhira ☐

c) Mu manza z'ubugeni ☐

d) Kuri kaminuza ☐

ii) Muri iyi migwi y'abantu ni bande bakunda gukoresha imyibutsa?

a) Abasaza ☐

b) Abize ☐

c) Abakiri bato ☐

d) Ab'ari bob osa ☐

iii) Usanga iyo myibutsa ibaho hoba harimwo iyikoreshwa ikabera intambamyi abashaka kwirinda SIDA ?

a) ego ☐

b) oya ☐

4. Tanga akarorero k'umwibutsa bashobora gukoresha mu gukora ibi bintu bikurikira ?:

a) Guha inkingi abagabo barenga ibigo

b) Guha inkingi / guhimiriza abagore barenga ibigo.

c) Guca intege abagabo barenga ibigo

d) Guca intege abagore barenga ibigo

e) guhanura abantu ngo bakoreshe agafuko k'ukwikingira

f) Guca intege abakoresha agafuko k'ukwikingira

i) N'ubuhe buryo iyo migani n'imyibutsa ishobora kugira ico ihinduye ku bayikoresha no ku bayumva?

Menya neza; ku kibazo ca kane, aho mudatoye umwibutsa uzwi mu rutonde rw'imyibutsa y'ikirundi, tanga imvugo y'ugutebura bahora bakoresha mu kubivuga ariko mubivuge.

APPANDIX: ENGLISH VERSION

Questionnaire

Fill in the gaps or tick the appropriate answers as required by each of the items below

1) Your name

2) Sex: Male ( ) Female ( )

3) Age:

4) Religious affiliation for:

a) Your : father

b) Your: mother

5) Marital status :Married ( ),Single( )Other

6)Have you ever headed about AIDS?

a) Yes ( )

b) No ( )

6) Among those organisation choose one that inform you more about

AIDS: SWAA-BURUNDI

CNLS

ABUBEF

ANSS

7)have you ever read texts from those organisation to teach yourself about AIDS?

a) Yes

b) No

8) In those texts what they teach most?

i) Are there what you do not understand?

a) Yes

b) No

9) Among those group of people with which do you like to discuss about AIDS

a) Parents

b) Friends

i) Which language do you normally use?

a) Proverbs

b) Jargon

c) Simple language

ii)Is it easy to understand that kind of language?

a) Yes

b) No

iii) What do you suggest for a good understanding?

6)Do you appreciate or enjoy listening to a talk or conversation in which proverbs are used by the speakers?

a) Yes ( )

b) No ( )

c) Sometimes ( )

7)Are you interesting in using proverbs when you are conversing?

a) Yes ( )

b) No ( )

c) Sometimes ( )

d) Very often ( )

8) If yes what for?

a) To abuse

b) To advise

c) To praise

9) Are you aware of the existence of proverbs in Kirundi language that have direct or indirect reference to extra marital relationships?

a) Yes ( )

b) No ( )

i) If yes in which situation do you hear people using them?

a) in church

b) At home

c) At the market

d) At marriage ceremonies

ii) What sort of people mostly use proverbs?

a) Old people ( )

b) Educated people ( )

c) Young people ( )

d) Any other ( )

10) Are there some proverbs which are sexuality related?

a) Yes ( )

b) no ( )

i) Are there some that encourage extra marital relations? Give examples

ii) Are there some that are used in the AIDS epidemic cases?

a) Yes ( )

b) No ( )

If yes are all of them against or for its prevention? Give examples and explain